HERODOTUS,

TRANSLATED

FROM THE GREEK,

WITH NOTES AND LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

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A NEW EDITION, CORRECTED AND REVISED.

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INTRODUCTION.

Whoever has employed his time on a long and laborious work is anxious to prove to others, as well as to himself, the utility of what he has performed; since the imputation and the consciousness of having misapplied such efforts are almost equally unpleasing. If authority be allowed an adequate justification, the translator from classic writers has little occasion to argue in his own defence, the practice of the ablest men in the most enlightened countries being undeniably on his side. Of Italian and French literature, translations from the classics form no small or unimportant part; and if in our own language, accurate versions of many ancient authors be still wanting, the deficiency is owing, I conceive, to some other cause, rather than to any disapprobation of such works in those by whom they might have been performed. Perhaps the literary rank assigned in this country to translators is not elevated enough to gratify the ambition of the learned; perhaps the curiosity of the public has not yet been turned sufficiently that way, to make the reward in general proportionate to the labour. Whatever be the cause that more has not been done, translations of eminent merit have appeared among us in a sufficient number to prove decisively the opinion held of them by some of our most accurate and judicious scholars. In translating the Ancient Poets, our countrymen have, indeed, very honourably exerted their talents, and their success has proved that our language is fully calculated for the transfusion of the highest classical beauties: while the French, among whom the demand for translations has urged them to be performed at any rate, have been obliged to content themselves with prosaic versions of the noblest poems of antiquity. The honour thus acquired ought to have encouraged us to proceed in laying open the remaining stores of ancient literature. But it is an humbler task to follow the steps of a prose writer, than to emulate the flights and harmony of a poet.

There appears to be only one important objection that can be made to works of this nature, which is founded on a fear that they may encourage indolence, and introduce the superficial ostentation of a knowledge neither sound nor accurate, to the prejudice of real learning. That vanity may be furnished, by translations, with the means of pretending to acquisitions which she has not made, cannot perhaps be denied, and such effects may certainly be traced in many writings of our continental neighbours; but that literature will thereby be injured, is not equally capable of proof. The foundation of learning is usually laid, if laid at all, and the taste for it imbibed, if it can be communicated, before the student has the liberty of considering whether it is easier to read the ancients in their own languages or in modern versions; and till we hear that some persons have studied Greek, because there were books in that language of which they could not find translations, we may rest satisfied, that few, if any will neglect such studies on

the mere prospect of that assistance. But an abuse, if it did exist, ought not to preclude the use; and whoever recollects how much our favourite Shakspeare enlarged the treasures of his active mind, by information deduced from these secondary sources, will confess, at least, that an excellent, as well as an impertinent or idle, use may be made of translated classics.

In this country, where successful industry produces elevation of rank, and gives access to polished society, there will always be many persons, who, with enlightened and discerning minds, and a considerable disposition to literature, are debarred from the perusal of ancient authors by the want of a suitable education. Many by birth entitled to every advantage, are early called away from learning to scenes of active occupation. Some such I have seen, and highly value, who, not ashamed of a deficiency occasioned by unavoidable circumstances, or by honest, useful, and honourable occupations, are desirous to form, if possible, complete collections of approved and elegant translations. But whether the desire of such aid be thus general, or directed only to particular authors, whether it be entertained by men or women, it is liberal in its kind, and ought by all means to be gratified.

Nor is it only to unlearned persons that translations may be of service: to those also who are employed in the study of the ancient languages, they are often highly useful. In obscure and perplexed passages, they who publish notes not unfrequently consult their ease, by passing over in silence what they are not able to explain; and even they by whom the Latin versions annexed to Greek authors were formed, will be found on many occasions, by rendering word for word, to have left the sense as dark as they found it in the original; but a translator into vernacular language is a commentator, who is bound, if possible, to explain every thing: his version, in order to be approved, must have the air and manner of an original, and he has no more license to be obscure than if it really were so. Being confined to this attention throughout, he usually examines and compares with greater diligence than any other commentator: he is compelled at least to understand himself, which is one good step towards being intelligible to others, and, where he finds this wholly impracticable, is driven ingenuously to confess it. If this reasoning be not fallacious, it must happen, that, in good versions, illustrations will often be found which could not be obtained from any editions of the original: this at least I have found by experience, in rendering Herodotus, that, after consulting all the commentators, I have frequently been obliged to have recourse to new considerations, before I could make my translation entirely clear and satisfactory to myself.

If the practice of translating be fully approved, there can be no doubt concerning the claim of Herodotus to an early distinction of this kind. His matter is no less curious than diversified, and his history, as far as his own knowledge and diligent researches could make it, entitled to attention and belief. When he approaches to his own times, there is little reason to suspect him of error or inaccuracy; and, whatever we may think of some particulars respecting the Persian invasion, he is in that matter as moderate as any of his countrymen; and, in a case so very extraordinary, the deposition of such a witness must deserve particular consideration.

Yet Herodotus, though mentioned always with respect, and dignified by courtesy with the title of the Father of History, has been treated with some neglect by the English literati. While Thucydides and Xenophon have been naturalized among us, in correct and elegant translations, this historian, the first remaining link of that important chain, has hitherto been represented only by Littlebury. The scarceness of that translation, notwithstanding the inconvenience of its form, from wanting the usual subdivisions; the

entire absence of notes, so particularly necessary to this author; and other defects, which it might seem invidious here to mention, first pointed out the necessity of supplying the public with another. From the nature of the notes subjoined to the present translation, it will easily be perceived that I have been more desirous to assist and to amuse the English reader, than to claim the credit of abstruse or uncommon learning. It may, indeed, be said, by such as are more ready to throw out an acute than a candid observation, that in so doing, I have probably consulted my own strength, as much as the reader's convenience. This I shall neither acknowledge nor deny: but when it shall be seen how various the matter is, which, even for the above-mentioned purposes, I have been obliged to collect, the imputation perhaps will not be thought extremely formidable. For my own part, I shall be fully satisfied with what I have done, if it shall be pronounced, by those who are capable of deciding, that in many topics of inquiry, I have in general been happy enough to avoid misleading my readers.

From the notes to M. Larcher's celebrated French translation, which are very numerous, and intended evidently for the critical and the learned, rather than the common reader, I have extracted such as seemed most suited to my own design: to these I have subjoined his name. For the rest, which have the signature *T.* annexed, I confess myself responsible: except in the case of a very few, the contribution of one or two friends, which, for many reasons, I should have been glad to have had so numerous as to have demanded separate signatures. The assistance, however, that I have received, I shall always thankfully acknowledge, and be rather proud to declare, than studious to conceal.

I shall now conclude this address, by which, I hope, the reader will be convinced that I offer him a useful work, and one executed with the spirit of a man who wishes to serve the public, and to promote the cause of literature. The labour of almost three years is now submitted to his judgment; for which though I have not conscious dignity enough to dismiss it without any apprehension, I request no further indulgence than candour will readily bestow on a work of difficult execution; I have done my best, and must abide the consequences. Avocations, cares, and ill health, I have had in common with others; but these are so inseparable from human life, that they ought perhaps to be supposed in every estimate of labour. It has been remarked, by critics of deserved eminence and popularity, that the perfections and beauties of a translation are usually, without reserve, referred to the merit of the original work; while all defects and imperfections are heaped upon the shoulders of the poor translator. To this common lot of my brethren, I also very willingly submit; nor can there perhaps be two authors more likely to justify such decisions than Herodotus and his translator. Had I been aware how much of my time would be occupied by this undertaking, I should probably have shrunk from it: now it is completed, whether I shall again venture upon that perilous ocean, where many a braver heart than mine has trembled, will depend perhaps upon the degree of approbation which the present adventure shall obtain from my impartial and judicious countrymen.

A

SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

HERODOTUS.

It may be observed of biography, that few things confessedly so useful have been so much perverted or so frequently abused. Perhaps it is neither unjust nor uncandid to add, that this has been in a peculiar manner the error of modern times. We have seen the lives of men remarkable neither for the splendour nor the extent of their accomplishments displayed in formidable volumes, and obtruded on the world with a confidence which private partiality could not justify, and which a reverence for the public might well have moderated: we have seen the minute occurrences of domestic life, I had almost said betrayed, and the little weaknesses of exalted and amiable minds ostentatiously enumerated, from the mistaken idea of satisfying a curiosity beneficial neither to science nor to virtue. In writing ancient lives, this fault indeed cannot be committed; but even that species of biography has been much disfigured by the ambition of collecting every trifling hint that antiquity has left, and swelling out the rest by vague and often very arbitrary conjectures. For my own part, I should little suppose that I treated the English reader with becoming respect, if, in professing to give a Life of Herodotus, I did not immediately inform him that my materials were not only very dubious but very scanty: such, however, as they are, it would be no difficult task to imitate the example of many who have preceded me, and expand my observations into a serious volume. Were I to glean all that has been said of my historian, from the different books which I have necessarily read; were I to obey the suggestions of fondness and the impulse of fancy, rather than those of my cooler judgment and my regard for the correctness of historic truth, I have a subject before me which might be protracted at pleasure. To me it seems acting a more consistent part once for all to declare, that there is no regular account of Herodotus, either more ancient or more authentic than that of Suidas; and this is comprised in a very narrow compass. What all modern editors of his works have said of him rests chiefly on the relation of Suidas as a basis, and I might labour in vain to find a better guide. I wish therefore my readers to understand, that what I shall produce will be derived from the same authority, with a few additional remarks suggested by passages produced in the Bibliotheca Græca of Fabricius, or the Prolegomena of Wesseling.

It appears that the father of history was born at Halicarnassus, the metropolis of Caria. At what particular period may be collected from Aulus Gellius, book xv. chap. 23,

who informs us that the three celebrated historians, Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, flourished nearly at the same time. "At the commencement of the Peloponnesian war," says he, "Hellanicus was sixty-five years old, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty." The Peloponnesian war began in the second year of the eighty-sixth Olympiad: Herodotus must consequently have been born in the first year of the seventy-fourth Olympiad. This was four years before Xerxes invaded Greece, and four hundred and forty-four years before the Christian era.

The name of his father was Lyxes, of his mother Dryo: and we are told also, that his family was illustrious. At this time Lygdamis was prince of Halicarnassus, and, as it should seem, universally detested for his insolence and tyranny. It is certain that when he grew up, Herodotus left his native place and removed to Samos: Suidas says, on account of Lygdamis; but it does not appear whether he was violently expelled by his arbitrary master, or whether, in abhorrence of the tyrant, he voluntarily withdrew himself. At Samos he studied the Ionic dialect; but as this subject may be less intelligible to the English reader, I shall digress a little upon it. By birth Herodotus was a Dorian, and the dialect of his country was, comparatively speaking, so rude and dissonant, that even in later times, we hear the other Greeks reflecting on those who used it, for their broad and inharmonious pronunciation.

See Theocritus, Id. xv. ver. 88.

Τρυγονες εκκναισευνται πλατυασδοισαι απαντα.

The meaning of which is, "They make a noise like pigeons, pronouncing every thing with a broad dialect." To which remark, as a kind of vindication, it is replied, in the verse which follows:

Δωρισδεν δ' εξεστι δοκω τοις Δωριεεσσι.

Which is, "Surely Dorians may speak Doric."

Hesychius also, at the word *βαρβαροφ·νοι*, tells us that the inhabitants of Elis, as well as the Carians, were so named on account of their harsh and indistinct pronunciation.

Herodotus himself, book i. chapter 56, informs us, that the Greek language properly so called, is divided into two dialects, the Doric and the Ionic; the first, the language of the Pelasgi, the last of the Hellenes. Strabo also, in his eighth book, observes, that the Ionic was the language of Attica, and the Doric of Æolia. The Æolic and the Doric did not materially vary from each other, and the Attic was the Ionic more refined. Herodotus, therefore, having learned the Ionic dialect, as more pleasing than his native Doric, composed his history in it. To collect materials he travelled through Greece, Egypt, Asia, Colchis, Scythia, Thrace, and Macedonia, &c.; and it is sufficiently evident that he personally visited most of the places he describes.

Of the ardour with which he was inspired in the cause of liberty, we have strong and unequivocal testimony. First, in his exile from his country, whether voluntary or not; in various animated expressions to this effect, scattered through his books; but best of all in his subsequent conduct. Understanding that a party was formed against Lygdamis, he left Samos, and joined the friends of freedom. By their common exertions, the tyrant was expelled, and the public liberty restored. But, as not unfrequently happens on similar occasions, contentions arose, factions were formed, and Herodotus was a second time compelled to leave his country. He now visited Greece again, which became the noble theatre of his glory. It was then the time of celebrating the Olympic games, and he did not omit the favourable opportunity of reciting his history to so illustrious an audience. Probably it was only the introductory parts, or certain particular

and selected portions; but there must have been something very captivating in his style, some regular and connected series of interesting history, some superior and striking character of genius: for we are informed that he was listened to with universal delight and applause; and we are farther gratified with the curious anecdote of Thucydides, which has so often been related. He was present at this great solemnity, with his father Olorus, and on hearing the composition of Herodotus, discovered the seeds of those exalted talents which afterwards made his name immortal. After listening to the father of history with the most composed and serious attention, he burst into tears. He was then no more than fifteen years old; and Herodotus, observing his emotion, exclaimed to Olorus, οργᾳ ἡ φυσις του υἱου σου προς τα μαθηματα—Your son burns with an ardour for science. This is said to have happened in the eighty-first Olympiad. Twelve years afterwards the historian read a continuation or second portion of his work to the Athenians, at the feast of the Panathenæa. The people of Athens, not satisfied with heaping praises upon him, presented him with ten talents, which gift was solemnly ratified by a decree of the people.

The next incident of our author's life of which we have to speak, may at first sight appear inconsistent and extraordinary. Honoured as all illustrious strangers were at Athens, and favourable as the opportunity must have been to have prosecuted his studies, and to have indulged his ardour for science, he might reasonably have been expected to have fixed his residence at Athens; but this we find was not the case. In the beginning of the following Olympiad, he joined himself to a colony sent by the Athenians to form a settlement in Magna Græcia. Whether he was prompted on this occasion by that fondness for travelling which always distinguished him, or whether he was induced to take this step from motives of private connexion and attachment, is totally unknown. It is certain that Lysias, who afterwards became so famous as an orator, was one of those who accompanied him. At Thurium,[1] which was the place then colonized, it is more than probable that he spent the remainder of his days, though there are some who assert that he died at Pella in Macedonia. Pella, however, gave no name to Herodotus, but became afterwards famous for being long the residence of Euripides, who from this circumstance has frequently been called the Bard of Pella; an appellation which our poet Collins happily introduces in his beautiful Ode to Pity:

> By Pella's bard, a magic name,
> By all the griefs his thought could frame,
> Receive my humble rite;
> Long, Pity, let the nations view
> Thy sky-worn robes of tenderest hue,
> And eyes of dewy light.

Herodotus, in like manner, from his long continuance at Thurium, obtained the epithet of the Thurian. This appellation is nowhere to be found more early than in the works of Aristotle. Avienus, Julian, Pliny, and others, call him the Thurian; while Strabo, of greater antiquity than any of these, Aristotle excepted, in his fourteenth book expressly calls him the Halicarnassian, adding, however, that he was afterwards named the Thurian, because he removed with a colony to that place.

Pliny has an expression relating to Herodotus, which many have misinterpreted. "Auctor," says he, "ille Herodotus historiam *condidit*, Thuriis in Italia;" which has been understood as asserting that he *wrote* his history at Thurium. But this is impossible in fact, because I have shown, that many years before he went to Thurium at all, he had

[1] Written also Thurii and Thuriæ; and founded almost upon the spot where formerly had stood Sybaris, so infamous for effeminate manners.

publicly recited his work, or certain portions of it, on two very memorable occasions; at the Olympic games, and at Athens. It is therefore more reasonable and consistent to understand by this expression of Pliny, that he revised, corrected, and perhaps enlarged his history at Thurium. Suidas positively declares, that Herodotus died at Thurium; and though he mentions, as I have before intimated, that some affirmed him to have died at Pella, he produces no authority, which he would probably have done, if there had been any that deserved much notice. This assertion therefore appears not to claim any great degree of confidence; but an argument against his having died at Thurium rests on a passage which occurs in the life of Thucydides, by Marcellinus, who affirms that the tomb of Herodotus was to be seen at Athens, among the monuments of Cimon. The President Bouhier has from this concluded and asserted that he died at Athens. Of this the question of M. Larcher, as he has applied it from Dodwell, seems a sufficient and satisfactory refutation. How can it be proved, says the learned Frenchman, that this was not a cenotaph, one of those marks of honour frequently paid to illustrious characters, without regarding the place where they might happen to die? Stephen of Byzantium gives an inscription, said to have been found at Thurium, which asserts unequivocally, "This earth contains in its bosom Herodotus, son of Lyxes, a Dorian by birth, but the most illustrious of the Ionian historians."

Of the works of Herodotus we have remaining these nine books, to which the names of the Nine Muses have been respectively annexed; upon which subject I have spoken somewhat at large, in a note at the beginning of the third book. Whether he ever wrote any thing else, has been a matter of much controversy among scholars. Certain allusions and expressions, to be found in the Nine Muses, seem at first sight to justify the opinion that we do not possess all his works. But this must ever remain a matter of extreme uncertainty; yet it becomes me to add, that there are no references pointed out by the learned to any other of his works, in any ancient author. Aristotle, in his History of Animals, book viii. chap. 18, censures Herodotus for saying that at the siege of Minos an eagle was seen to drink, when it is notorious that all birds, γαμψωνυχες, having crooked claws, never do drink. Now it is certain, that no such expression occurs in what we have remaining of Herodotus. "Probably," says Fabricius, in reply to this, "Aristotle might have a more perfect copy of the Nine Muses than has come down to us."

The style of Herodotus might well demand a separate dissertation: this, perhaps, is not the properest place to speak at any length upon the subject. It has been universally admired for being, beyond that of all other Greek writers of prose, pure and perspicuous. Cicero calls it *fusum atque tractum*, at the same time copious and polished. Aristotle gives it as an example of the λεξις ειρομενη, which is literally, *the connected style*, but as he explains it, it means rather what we should call *the flowing* style; wherein the sentences are not involved or complicated by art, but are connected by simple conjunctions, as they follow in natural order, and have no full termination but in the close of the sense. This he opposes to that style which is formed into regular periods, and rather censures it as keeping the reader in uneasy suspense, and depriving him of the pleasure which arises from foreseeing the conclusion. The former, he says, was the method of the ancients; the latter, of his contemporaries. (Rhet. iii. 9.) His own writings afford an example of the latter style, cut into short and frequent periods, but certainly much less pleasing than the flowing and natural smoothness of Herodotus. Plutarch, who wrote a treatise expressly to derogate from the fame and authority of Herodotus, in more places than one speaks of his diction with the highest commendation. Longinus also, as may

be seen in various passages which I have introduced, and commented upon in the progress of my work, added his tribute to the universal praise.

Every one knows, who has made the experiment, how difficult and almost impossible it is to assimilate to the English idiom, the simple and beautiful terseness of Greek composition. If any scholar, therefore, who may choose to compare my version with the original Greek, shall be inclined to censure me for being occasionally diffuse, I would wish him to remember this. I would desire him also to consider that it was my duty to make that perspicuous to the less learned reader, which might have been conveyed in fewer terms to the apprehensions of the more learned or the more intelligent.

On the subject of translations in general, I entirely approve of the opinion of Boileau. In a preceding publication I have before referred to this, but I see no impropriety in its having a place here in the words of Lord Bolingbroke.

"To translate servilely into modern language an ancient author, phrase by phrase, and word by word, is preposterous: nothing can be more unlike the original than such a copy; it is not to show, it is to disguise the author. A good writer will rather imitate than translate, and rather emulate than imitate: he will endeavour to write as the ancient author would have written, had he wrote in the same language."—*Letters on History*.

Perhaps I ought not to omit, that many eminent writers, both of ancient and modern times, accuse Herodotus of not having had a sufficient regard to the austere and sacred dignity of historic truth. Ctesias, in Photius, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Aulus Gellius, and, above all, Plutarch, have made strong and violent objections to many of his assertions. To many general censures which in this respect have been aimed against the fame of our historian, I have made reply in various parts of my notes; and the plausible but unjust tract of Plutarch, on the Malignity of Herodotus, has been carefully examined, and satisfactorily refuted, by the Abbé Geinoz, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

It is my intention, if what I here offer the public be deemed worthy of encouragement, to translate this tract of Plutarch, and with it the learned Abbé's three Dissertations. As these last are alike remarkable for their learning, their acuteness, and their efficient answer to all that Plutarch has alleged, the whole will, I think, make a very necessary and useful supplement to my present work.

I have little to say concerning the life of Homer, imputed by some to Herodotus, and in more modern editions published with his works. It seems generally determined among scholars, that though undoubtedly of great antiquity, it must have been written by some other hand. Vossius, Faber, Rykius, Spanhemius, Berglerus, Wesseling, and others, are decidedly against its authenticity; which has nevertheless been vindicated by Fabricius, by our countryman Joshua Barnes, and lastly by the President Bouhier. It must strike the most careless and indifferent observer, that the style of the Life of Homer, whoever was the author, does not bear the smallest resemblance to that of the Nine Muses. "In the life of Homer," says Wesseling, "that unvaried suavity of the Ionic dialect, so remarkable in the Muses, never occurs at all." The great and the most satisfactory argument against its being genuine seems to be this:—Of all the ancient writers who have taken upon them to discuss the birth, the fortunes, or the poems of Homer, not one has ever, by the remotest allusion, referred to this work, which bears the name of Herodotus.

Almost every European language has to boast of a translation to Herodotus. There is one in Dutch, German, Italian, and more than one in French. My work appeared in

1791, not long after which a single volume was published by Mr. Lempriere, the learned compiler of the Classical Dictionary, who has not been pleased to favour the public with his continuation.

And here my account of the historian must conclude; but when I consider the great admiration which for successive ages he has deservedly obtained, when I reflect on the instruction he communicates in the most pure and delightful style, I cannot but regret, that the sources of information concerning him are not more clear as well as more copious. I would not trifle with my reader, by leading him through the mazes of a labyrinth, where a few intervals of light and beauty would but ill compensate for the tediousness and uncertainty of his way; I have rather chosen to place before him a plain uninterrupted path, from which he may discern at one view the clearest prospect I could present to him, as well as the materials of which it is composed.

CONTENTS.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK I.

CLIO.

I.[1] To rescue from oblivion the memory of former incidents, and to render a just tribute of renown to the many great and wonderful actions, both of Greeks and Barbarians,[2] Herodotus[3] of Halicarnassus produces this historical essay.[4]

Among other things, it will be necessary to investigate the sources of the hostilities which subsisted between these people. The more learned of the Persians assert the Phœnicians to have been the original exciters of contention. This nation migrated from the borders of the Red Sea[5] to the place of their present settlement, and soon distinguished themselves by their long and enterprising voyages.[6] They

1 The simplicity with which Herodotus commences his history, and enters immediately on his subject, has been much and deservedly admired, and exhibits a striking contrast to the elaborate introductions of modern writers. It is not, however, peculiar to Herodotus; it was the beautiful distinction of almost all the more ancient authors.—*T.*

2 *Barbarians.*]—As this word so frequently occurs in the progress of our work, it may be necessary, once for all, to advertise the English reader, that the ancients used it in a much milder sense than we do. Much as has been said of the pride of the old Romans, the word in question may tend to prove, that they were in some instances less tenacious of their national dignity than the Greeks. The appellation of Barbarians was given by the Greeks to all the world but themselves; the Romans gave it to all the world but the Greeks.—*T.*

3 *Herodotus.*]—It has been suggested as a doubt, by many of the learned, whether it ought not to be written Erodotus. For my own part, as I am able to remember no proper name terminating in dorus and dotus, as Diodorus, Diodotus, Heliodorus, &c., which is not derived from the name of a divinity, I have no scruple in asserting my belief that it must be Herodotus, compounded of dotus and the Greek name of Juno.—*T.*

There is hardly any author, ancient or modern, who has been more warmly commended or more vehemently censured than this eminent historian; but even the severe Dionysius declares he is one of those enchanting writers, whom you peruse to the last syllable with pleasure, and still wish for more. Plutarch himself, who has made the most violent attack on his veracity, allows him all the merit of beautiful composition.—*Hayley.*

4 In my version, as it now stands, I have not satisfied a friend, whose opinion I respect no less than I value his esteem. This gentleman considers the expression of "historical essay," as not conveying an adequate explanation of the original Greek. He approves of the criticism in Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. i. p. 59, to which I refer the reader.

History, in the Greek, is derived from a verb, signifying to inquire minutely; and it is the opinion of Kuster, as well as of other eminent critics, that the word history itself, in its original sense, implies accurate inquiry, and stands properly for what the author's own researches demonstrated to him, and what he learned by the information of others. According to this interpretation, the first words of Herodotus might be rendered thus:

"Herodotus of Halicarnassus produces this work, the result both of his own researches, and of the inquiries made by him of others."

This is certainly paraphrastical; but the criticism is ingenious, and appears to be well founded. The material point to be established from it is, that in the time of Herodotus, ἱστοριη did not signify history; the word then used in that sense was συγγραφὴ.—*T.*

5 *From the borders of the Red Sea.*]—When Herodotus speaks, for the first time, of any people, he always goes to their original source. Some authors make the Phœnicians to have originated from the Persian Gulf; which opinion, though reported, is not believed by Strabo. Voltaire, taking it for granted that they migrated by sea, ridicules the idea of their coming from the Red Sea to Phœnicia; as well he might. Larcher proves, in the most satisfactory manner, that his misconception arose from his ignorance of Greek. It is evident from another passage in Herodotus, (book vii. chap. 89,) that the Phœnicians, when they changed their place of residence, passed over by land.—*Larcher,* (principally.)

6 *Long and enterprising voyages.*]—The first among the Greeks who undertook long voyages, were the Ionians. Upon this people, Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, has the following remark: "From the general character by which Homer constantly distinguishes the Phœnicians, as a commercial and seafaring people, it has been naturally supposed, that he was indebted to that nation for much of his information with regard to distant voyages. I think we cannot be at a loss to account for the poet's acquiring, *at home,* all the knowledge of this kind which we meet with in his works. We know the Ionians were amongst the earliest navigators, particularly the Phocæans and Milesians. The former are expressly called the discoverers of Adria, Iberia, Tuscany, and Tartessus."—*Wood on Homer.*

exported to Argos, amongst other places, the produce of Egypt and Assyria. Argos, at that period, was the most famous of all those states which are now comprehended under the general appellation of Greece.[1] On their arrival here, the Phœnicians exposed their merchandise to sale. After remaining about six days, and when they had almost disposed of their different articles of commerce, the king's daughter, whom both nations agree in calling Io, came, among a great number of other women, to visit them at their stations. Whilst these females, standing near the stern of the vessel, amused themselves with bargaining for such things as attracted their curiosity, the Phœnicians, in conjunction, made an attempt to seize their persons. The greater part of them escaped, but Io remained a captive, with many others. They carried them on board, and directed their course for Egypt.

II. The relation of the Greeks differs essentially: but this, according to the Persians, was the cause of Io's arrival in Egypt, and the first act of violence which was committed. In process of time, certain Grecians, concerning whose country writers disagree, but who were really of Crete, are reported to have touched at Tyre, and to have carried away Europa, the daughter of the prince. Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated:[2] but they were certainly guilty of the second provocation. They made a voyage in a vessel of war[3] to Æa, a city of Colchos, near the river Phasis; and, after having accomplished the more immediate object of their expedition, they forcibly carried off the king's daughter, Medea. The king of Colchos despatched a herald to demand satisfaction for the affront, and the restitution of the princess; but the Greeks replied that they should make no reparation in the present instance, as the violence formerly offered to Io[4] remained still unexpiated.

III. In the age which followed, Alexander, the son of Priam, encouraged by the memory of these events, determined on obtaining a wife from Greece, by means of similar violence; fully persuaded that this, like former wrongs, would never be avenged.

Upon the loss of Helen, the Greeks at first employed messengers to demand her person, as well as a compensation for the affront. All the satisfaction they received was reproach for the injury which had been offered to Medea; and they were farther asked how, under circumstances entirely alike, they could reasonably require what they themselves had denied.

IV. Hitherto the animosity betwixt the two nations extended no farther than to acts of personal and private violence. But at this period, continue the Persians, the Greeks certainly laid the foundation of subsequent contention: who, before the Persians ever invaded Europe, doubtless made military incursions into Asia. The Persians appear to be of opinion, that they who offer violence to women must be insensible to the impressions of humanity and justice, but that such provocations are as much beneath revenge, as the women themselves are undeserving of regard; it being obvious, that all the females thus circumstanced must have been more or less accessary[5] to the fact. They asserted also, that although women had been forcibly carried away from Asia, they had never

1 *Greece.*]—The region known by the name of Hellas or Greece, in the time of Herodotus, was, previous to the Trojan war, and indeed long afterwards, only discriminated by the names of its different inhabitants. Homer speaks of the Danaans, Argives, Achaians, &c., but never gives these people the general name of Greeks.—*Larcher.*

2 *Thus far the Greeks had only retaliated.*]—The editor is in possession of a translation of the first two books of Herodotus, published in London so early as the year 1584. It is in black letter, and may be considered as a great curiosity. The above passage is thus rendered: "It chaunced afterward, that certaine Greekes, whose names they knew not, taking shore and landing at Tyrus, in like manner made a rape of the kinges daughter, named Europa. These were the people of Crete, otherwise called the Cretenses. By which meanes yt was cardes and cardes betweene them, the one beyng full meete and quit with the other."—*The first Books of Clio, London,* 1584.

3 *In a vessel of war.*]—Literally in a long vessel.—The long vessels were vessels of war; the round vessels merchantmen and transports.—*T.*

4 *Violence formerly offered to Io.*]—It may be urged that the king of Colchos had nothing to do with the violence offered to Io; she was carried off by the Phœnicians. But, according to the Persians, all the nations of Asia composed but one body, of which they were the head. Any injury, therefore, offered to one of the members, was considered as an hostility against the whole. Thus, as we see in a succeeding paragraph, the Persians considered the Greeks as their enemies, from the time of the destruction of Troy.—*Larcher.*

5 *More or less accessary, &c.*]—Plutarch, who has written an essay expressly to convict Herodotus of malignity, introduces this as the first argument of the truth of his accusation. The Greeks, says he, unanimously affirm, that Io had divine honours paid her by the Barbarians; that many seas and capacious harbours were called after her name; that to her many illustrious families owe their original: yet this celebrated writer does not hesitate to say of her, that she suffered herself to be enjoyed by a Phœnician mariner, with whom she fled, from the fear of being disgraced by the publication of her crime. He afterwards endeavours to throw an odium on the most illustrious actions of his countrymen, by intimating that the Trojan war was undertaken on account of a profligate woman. "For it is evident," says he, "that these women would have been never carried away except with their own consent."—*Plutarch on the malignity of Herodotus.*

resented the affront. The Greeks, on the contrary, to avenge the rape of a Lacedæmonian woman, had assembled a mighty fleet, entered Asia in a hostile manner, and had totally overthrown the empire of Priam. Since which event they had esteemed themselves justified in considering the Greeks as the public enemies of their nation. It is to be observed, that the Persians esteem Asia, with all its various and barbarous inhabitants, as their own peculiar possession, considering Europe and Greece as totally distinct and unconnected.

V. The above is the Persian tradition; who date the cause and origin of their enmity to Greece from the destruction of Troy. What relates to Io is denied by the Phœnicians; who affirm that she was never forcibly carried into Egypt. They assert, that during their continuance at Argos, she had an illicit connexion with the pilot of their vessel,[6] and proving pregnant, she voluntarily accompanied them to Egypt, to avoid the detection of her crime and the indignation of her parents. Having now stated the different representations of the Persians and Phœnicians, I shall not detain the reader by an investigation of the truth of either narrative. I shall commence with an account of that personage, of whose first attacks upon Greece there exists the most unquestionable testimony. I shall, as I proceed, describe with some minuteness the smaller cities and larger communities: for, many of these, at present possessed neither of opulence nor power, were formerly splendid and illustrious; others have, even within my remembrance, risen from humility to grandeur. From my conviction, therefore, of the precarious nature of human felicity,[7] these shall all be respectively described.

VI. Crœsus, by descent a Lydian, was the son of Alyattes, and sovereign of those countries which lie on this side of the river Halys. This stream, in its passage from the south[8] towards the north, passes through Syria[9] and Paphlagonia,[10] and finally empties itself into the Euxine. Crœsus, we have reason to believe, was the first of the barbarian princes who exacted tribute from some nations of Greece, and entered into leagues of amity with others. Before his time, the Greeks were universally free: he, however, subdued the Æolians, the Ionians, with such of the Dorians as are situate in Asia, whilst he formed a friendly alliance with the Lacedæmonians. It appears that the incursion of the Cimmerians[11] into Ionia, was before the

6 *Connexion with the pilot of their vessel.*]—I make no apology for inserting the following singular translation of the above passage:—With whose assertions the Phœnices agree not aboute the lady Io; whom they flatly denye to have beene caryed by them into Ægipt in manner of a rape: shewinge howe that in their abode at Argos, shee fortuned to close with the maystor of a shippe, and feelynge herselfe to bee spedde, fearynge and doubtinge greatlye the severitye and cruel tyrannie of her parentes, and the detection of her owne follye, shee willinglye toke shippe and fledde straight awaye."—*Clio.* b. 1.

7 *Precarious nature of human felicity.*]—This moral reflection of Herodotus cannot fail of bringing to mind the consolatory letter written from Greece, by Sulpicius to Cicero, on the death of Tullia the orator's daughter. At the distance of more than four hundred years from the time of Herodotus, Sulpicius thus expresses himself on a similar occasion:—"On my return from Asia, as I was sailing from Ægina towards Megara, I could not help looking round on the circumjacent country. Behind me was Ægina, before me Megara, Piræus on my right hand, Corinth on my left; all which places, formerly flourishing and happy, now lay before my eyes prostrate and in ruins," &c. The whole letter is eminently beautiful, and I lament that it is beyond our limits to transcribe it.—*T.*

8 *This stream, in its passage from the south.*]—There are different opinions concerning the course of this river. Arrian says, that it does not flow from the south, but from the east. This author having in his mind the place of the sun's rising in the winter, accuses Herodotus of a mistake in the passage before us. Wesseling had the same idea, who nevertheless has not solved the difficulty. The truth is, there were two rivers of this name, the one rising from the south, the other from the east. Herodotus speaks of the first, Arrian of the last. D'Anville is of the same opinion.—*Larcher.*

9 *Syria.*]—Syria was at that time the name of Cappadocia. See chap. lxxvi.—*T.*

10 *Paphlagonia.*]—It may appear matter of surprise to some, that Herodotus should make the Syrians border on the Paphlagonians. But by the Syrians, Herodotus here means the Cappadocians, called by the Greeks Leuco-or White-Syrians. This is obvious from Strabo, as well as from Herodotus himself, in his second book.—*Palmerius.*

11 *Cimmerians.*]—Strabo dates this incursion of the Cimmerians about the time of Homer, or somewhat before. Wesseling thinks, and with reason, the authority of the geographer of less weight than that of our historian, who supposes it to have been in the reign of Ardyis. See chap. xv. of this book: and chap. xii. of book iv. For my own part, I am of opinion that the two authors speak of two distinct incursions. Herodotus refers to the last. At the time of the first there were no Greek cities in Asia Minor; and it was his intention to intimate, that the last had no operation injurious to the liberties of Greece.—*Larcher.*

Many learned men are of opinion, that the Cimmerians were the descendants of the Scripture Gomer. The reasons alleged are of this nature. In the genealogical table of Moses, we are told that Gomer was the son of Japhet. The scholiasts, and those of them too which are most authentic, say, that Cimmeris was the son of Japetus. Japetus is by Apollodorus said to be the son of Cœlum and Terra, that is of Noah, who was called Vir Terræ. On Cimmerian darkness, see book, iv. c. 1, n. The Greek Κιμερος, means a mist or darkness, and Cimmerius, the Latin derivative, is applied to any thing dark or black. Strabo says that the soil of their country was black, from excessive heat; but this could not be peculiar to the country of the Cimmerians, it was probably common to other lands affected by the same cause.—*T.*

time of Crœsus; but their sole object was plunder, and none of the cities were molested.

VII. The family of Crœsus were termed the Mermnadæ; and it may be proper to relate by what means the empire descended to them from the Heraclidæ. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was king of Sardis, and of the family of Alcæus the son of Hercules.[1] The first of the Heraclidæ was Agron[2] who reigned also at Sardis; he was the son of Ninus, the grandson of Belus, the great-grandson of Alcæus. Candaules the son of Myrsus was the last of this race. The people of this district were in ancient times called Meonians; they were afterwards named Lydians from Lydus the son of Atys. From him, before the time of Agron, the princes of the country derived their origin. The Heraclidæ, descended from Hercules and a female slave of Jardanus,[3] enjoyed a delegated authority from these princes, and afterwards obtained the supreme dignity from the declaration of an oracle. They retained their power in regular and uninterrupted succession, from father to son, to the time of Candaules, a period equal to twenty-two ages of man,[4] being no less than five hundred and five years.

VIII. Candaules[5] was attached to his wife beyond the common limits of affection, and conceived, in the ardour of his passion, that her beauty was beyond all competition. Among those who attended near his person, Gyges the son of Dascylus had rendered him essential service, and was honoured by his particular confidence. To him he frequently extolled the beauty of his wife in exaggerated terms. Under the influence of a most fatal delusion, he took an opportunity of thus addressing him; "Gyges, I am satisfied, that we receive less conviction from what we hear, than from what we see,[6] and as you do not seem to credit all I tell you of my wife's personal accomplishments, I am determined that you shall see her naked." "Suffer me," replied Gyges, "to remonstrate against the imprudence of your proposal. Remember, sir, that with her clothes a woman

1 *Alcæus the son of Hercules.*]—Concerning the name of the son of Hercules by the female slave of Jardanus, Diodorus Siculus and our historian are at variance. Herodotus calls him Alcæus, Diodorus says his name was Cleoalus. But it is by no means surprising, that in matters of such remote antiquity writers should disagree. Apollodorus contradicts both Herodotus and Diodorus, and makes Crœsus not one of the Mermnadæ, but one of the Heraclidæ, born of Agelaus son of Hercules by Omphale. Diodorus calls the son of Hercules, by Omphale, Lacon. I presume not to decide in this controversy, but with me the authority of Herodotus has the greatest weight.—*Palmerius.*

2 *Agron.*]—Thus the best manuscripts spell this name. Julius Pollux says, that Ninus, son of Belus, called his son Agron because he was born in the country.—*Larcher.*

3 *Jardanus.*]—In contradiction to both Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, Palæphatus de Incredibilibus writes Jordanus.—*T.*

4 *Twenty-two ages of man.*]—For twenty-two, Larcher reads fifteen ages.—That it ought to be so we are ready enough to believe, and his arguments on the subject are clear, ingenious, and convincing; but having no authority for this reading in any edition which we have had the opportunity of consulting, it was thought proper literally to translate the text.—*T.*

5 *Candaules.*]—The story of Rosamond, queen of the Lombards, as recited by Mr. Gibbon, bears so exact a resemblance to this of Candaules, that we are unable to forego the pleasure of transcribing it.—"The queen of Italy stooped from her throne to the arms of a subject; and Helmichis, the king's armour-bearer, was the secret minister of her pleasure and revenge. Against the proposal of the murder he could no longer urge the scruples of fidelity or gratitude; but Helmichis trembled when he revolved the danger, as well as the guilt. He pressed and obtained, that one of the bravest champions of the Lombards should be associated to the enterprise; but no more than a promise of secrecy could be drawn from the gallant Perideus.—The mode of seduction employed by Rosamond, betrays her shameless insensibility both to honour and to love. She supplied the place of one of her female attendants who was beloved by Perideus, and contrived some excuse for darkness and silence, till she could inform her companion, that he had enjoyed the queen of the Lombards, and that his own death, or the death of the king, must be the consequence of such treasonable adultery. In this alternative he chose rather to be the accomplice than the victim of Rosamond, whose undaunted spirit was incapable of fear or remorse."—*Gibbon.*

6 *From what we hear, than from what we see.*]—Dionysius Halicarnassensis remarks on this passage, that Herodotus here, introducing a Barbarian to notice, makes use of a figurative expression peculiarly appropriate to Barbarians; substituting the ears and the eyes for the discourse and sight of objects.

> Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
> Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus.—*Hor. Ars. Poet.* 180.

Polybius coincides in part with our historian, when he advances, that nature having provided us with two instruments, if they may be so termed, of the senses, hearing and sight, the latter, according to Heraclitus, is the most certain, the eyes being more decisive evidence than the ears. This is in many respects true; but Theophrastus has sagaciously remarked, according to Plutarch, that of all the senses the ear is that by which the passions may be the most easily excited.—*Larcher.*

Our veneration for the ancients, however, must not prevent us from perceiving, that both the above remarks want solidity. The truth is, that we do not more implicitly believe our eyes than our ears, or the contrary, except in those cases which respectively demand the testimony of either organs. It should be remembered, that when any thing is related to us, our ears give no kind of testimony concerning the fact, they inform us only that such words are spoken to us: after which, if what is related be an object of sight, we wish to appeal to our eyes for proof; if an object of hearing, to our ears; if of taste, smell, or touch, to the organs formed for such decision; and this is the sole ground of preference in any case. The remark of Horace rests on a different foundation, and is very just.—*T.*

puts off her modesty.[7] Many are the precepts recorded by the sages for our instruction, but there is none more entitled to our regard than that, 'it becomes a man to look into those things only which concern himself.' I give implicit confidence to your assertions, I am willing to believe my mistress the most beautiful of her sex; but I beg you not to repeat a request with which it will be criminal to comply."

IX. Gyges, from apprehension of the event, would have persevered in his refusal; but the king could not be dissuaded from his purpose. "Gyges," he resumed, "you have nothing to fear from me or from your mistress; I do not want to make experiment of your fidelity, and I shall render it impossible for the queen to detect you. I myself will place you behind an open door of the apartment in which we sleep. As soon as I enter, my wife will make her appearance; it is her custom to undress herself at leisure, and to place her garments one by one in a chair near the entrance. You will have the fairest opportunity of contemplating her person. As soon as she approaches the bed, and her face is turned from you, you must be careful to leave the room without being discovered."

X. Gyges had no alternative but compliance. At the time of retiring to rest, he accompanied Candaules to his chamber, and the queen soon afterwards appeared. He saw her enter, and gradually disrobe herself. She approached the bed; and Gyges endeavoured to retire, but the queen saw and knew him. She instantly conceived her husband to be the cause of her disgrace, and determined on revenge. She had the presence of mind to restrain the emotions of her wounded delicacy, and to seem entirely ignorant of what had happened; although, among all the Barbarian nations,[8] and among the Lydians in particular, for even a man to be seen naked, is deemed a matter of the greatest turpitude.

XI. The queen persevered in the strictest silence; and, having instructed some confidential servants for the occasion, she sent in the morning for Gyges. He, not at all suspicious of the event, complied instantly with the message, as he was accustomed to do at other times, and appeared before his mistress.[9] As soon as he came into her presence, she thus addressed him: "Gyges, I submit two proposals to your choice; you must either destroy Candaules, and take possession of me and of the kingdom, or expect immediate death. Your unqualified obedience to your master, may prompt you to be once again a spectator of what modesty forbids: the king has been the author of my disgrace; you also, in seeing me naked, have violated decorum; and it is necessary that one of you should die." Gyges, after he had somewhat recovered from his astonishment, implored her not to compel him to so delicate and difficult an alternative. But when he found that all expostulations were in vain, and that he must either put Candaules to death, or die himself, he chose rather to be the survivor. "Since my master must perish," he replied, "and, notwithstanding my reluctance, by my hands, by what means can your purpose be accomplished?" "The deed," she answered, "shall be perpetrated in that very place which was the scene of my disgrace. You shall kill my husband in his sleep."

[10] XII. Their measures were accordingly con-

7 *With her clothes a woman puts off her modesty.*]—We can by no means, says Plutarch, in his Conjugal Precepts, allow this saying of Herodotus to be true: for surely, at this time, a modest woman is most effectually veiled by bashfulness, when the purest but most diffident affection proves, in the privacy of matrimonial retirement, the surest testimony of reciprocal love.—*T.*

Timæus in Athenæus affirms, that the Tyrrhenians accustomed themselves to be waited upon by naked women; and Theopompus, in the same author, adds, that in the above-mentioned nation it was by no means disgraceful for women to appear naked amongst men.—*Larcher.*

8 *Among all the Barbarian nations.*]—Plato informs us, that the Greeks had not long considered it as a thing equally disgraceful and ridiculous for a man to be seen naked; an opinion, says he, which still exists amongst the greater part of the Barbarians.—*Larcher.*

To the above remark of Larcher may be added, that, according to Plutarch, it was amongst the institutes of Lycurgus, that the young women of Sparta should dance naked at their solemn feasts and sacrifices; at which time also they were accustomed to sing certain songs, whilst the young men stood in a circle about them, to see and hear them.—*T.*

9 *Appeared before his mistress.*]—The wife of Candaules, whose name Herodotus forbears to mention, was, according to Hephæstion, called Nyssia. Authors are divided in their account of this Gyges, and of the manner in which he slew Candaules. Plato makes him a shepherd in the service of the Lydian king, who was possessed of a ring which he found on the finger of a dead man enclosed within a horse of bronze. The shepherd, learning the property which this ring had, to render him invisible when the seal was turned to the inside of his hand, got himself deputed to the court by his fellows, where he seduced the queen, and assassinated Candaules. Xenophon says he was a slave; but this is not inconsistent with the account of Plato, were it in other respects admissible. Plutarch pretends, that Gyges took up arms against Candaules, assisted by the Milesians. The opinion of Herodotus seems preferable to the rest: born in a city contiguous to Lydia, no person could be better qualified to represent what relates to that kingdom.—*Larcher.*

10 Upon the event recorded in this chapter, the firste booke of Clio has this curious remark in the margin: "The Divil in old tyme a disposer of kingdomes, and since the Pope."—*T.*

serted: Gyges had no opportunity of escape, nor of evading the alternative before proposed. At the approach of night, the queen conducted him to her chamber, and placed him behind the same door, with a dagger in his hand. Candaules was murdered in his sleep, and Gyges took immediate possession of his wife and of the empire. Of the above event, Archilochus[1] of Parös, who lived about the same period, has made mention in some Iambic verses.

XIII. A declaration of the Delphic oracle confirmed Gyges in his possession of the sovereignty. The Lydians resented the fate of Candaules, and had recourse to arms. A stipulation was at length made betwixt the different parties, that if the oracle decided in favour of Gyges, he should continue on the throne; if otherwise, it should revert to the Heraclidæ. Although Gyges retained the supreme authority, the words of the oracle expressly intimated, that the Heraclidæ should be avenged in the person of the fifth descendant of Gyges. To this prediction, until it was ultimately accomplished, neither prince nor people paid the smallest attention. Thus did the Mermnadæ obtain the empire, to the injurious exclusion of the Heraclidæ.

XIV. Gyges, as soon as he was established in his authority, sent various presents to Delphi,[2] a considerable quantity of which were of silver. Among other marks of his liberality, six golden goblets,[3] which weighed no less than thirty talents, deserve particular mention. These now stand in the treasury of Corinth; though, in strict truth, that treasure was not given by the people of Corinth, but by Cypselus the son of Eetion.[4] This Gyges was the first of the Barbarians whose history we know, who made votive offerings to the oracle, after Midas the son of Gordius,[5] king of Phrygia. Midas consecrated to this purpose his own royal throne, a most beautiful specimen of art, from which he himself was accustomed to administer justice. This was deposited in the same place with the goblets of Gyges, to whose offerings of gold and silver the Delphians assigned the name of the donor. Gyges, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, carried his arms against Miletus and Smyrna, and took the city Colophon. Although he reigned thirty-eight years, he performed no other remarkable exploit: we shall proceed, therefore, to speak of his son and successor, Ardys.

XV. This prince vanquished the Prienians, and attacked Miletus. During his reign, the Cimmerians, being expelled their country by the Nomades of Scythia, passed over into Asia, and possessed themselves of all Sardis, except the citadel.

XVI. After reigning forty-nine years, he was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned

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1 *Archilochus.*]—As without these concluding lines the sense would be complete, many have suspected them to have been inserted by some copyist. Scaliger has reasoned upon them, as if Herodotus meant to intimate, that because Archilochus makes mention of Gyges in his verses, he must have lived at the same period; but this by no means follows.

Of Archilochus, Quintilian remarks, that he was one of the first writers of Iambics; that his verses were remarkable for their ingenuity, their elegant style, and nervous sentiment. Book x. chap. 1.—He is also honourably mentioned by Horace, who confesses that he imitates him. See 19th epistle, book 1st. Ovid, if the Ibis be his, speaks too of the Parian poet. Cicero, in his Tusculan Questions, says, that he lived in the time of Romulus. His compositions were so extremely licentious, that the Lacedæmonians ordered them to be removed from their city, and Archilochus himself to be banished. He was afterwards killed in some military excursion, by a person of the name of Coracus. Whoever wishes to have a more particular account of Archilochus, may consult Lilius Gyraldus de Poetar. Histor. dial g. ix. chap. 14.

2 *Presents to Delphi.*]—Amongst the subjects of literary controversy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, this was one: Boyle defended Delphos, principally from its being the common usage; Bentley rejects Delphos as a barbarism, it being merely the accusative case of Delphi. He tells a story of a popish priest, who for thirty years had read mumpsimus in his breviary, instead of sumpsimus; and, when a learned man told him of his blunder, replied, I will not change my old mumpsimus, for your new sumpsimus. From a similar mistake in the old editions of the Bible in Henry the Eighth's time, it was printed Asson and Mileton; under Queen Elizabeth, it was changed into Asson and Miletum; but in the reign of James the First, it was rectified to Assos and Miletus. Swift made a point of always writing Delphos, upon which Jortin facetiously remarks, that he should have submitted to reason, and received instruction from whatever quarter it came; from Wooton, from Bentley, or from Beelzebub.—*T.* See *Bentley on Phalaris.*

3 *Six golden goblets.*]—In the time of Herodotus, the proportion of silver to gold was as one to thirteen: these six goblets, therefore, were equivalent to 2,106,000 livres. The calculations of Herodotus differ in some respects from those of Diodorus Siculus.—*Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis.*

Alyattes and Crœsus obtained their wealth from some mines in Lydia situated between Atarna and Pergamos. The riches of Gyges were proverbial, and were mentioned in the verses of Archilochus: those of Crœsus effectually surpassed them.

Divitus audita est cui non opulentia Crœsi.—*Ovid.*

Larcher.

4 *But by Cypselus the son of Eetion.*]—In the temple at Delphi were certain different apartments or chapels, belonging to different cities, princes, or opulent individuals. The offerings which these respectively made to the deity, were here deposited.—*Larcher.*

5 *Midas the son of Gordius.*]—There were in Phrygia a number of princes called after these names, as is sufficiently proved by Bouhier.—*Larcher.*

twelve years. After him, his son Alyattes possessed the throne. He carried on war against Cyaxares[6] the grandson of Deioces, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna, which Colophon[7] had built, and invaded Clazomenæ. In his designs upon this place he was disappointed; but he performed, in the course of his reign, many very memorable actions.

XVII. He resumed against the Milesians, the war which his father had commenced; and he conducted it in this manner: As the time of harvest approached, he marched an army into their country, to the sound of the pastoral pipe, harp, and flutes masculine and feminine.[8] On his arrival in their territories, he neither burned, nor in any respect injured, their edifices which stood in the fields; but he totally destroyed the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the Milesians were securely situated near the sea, all attack upon their city would probably have proved ineffectual. His motive for not destroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that, on every repetition of his incursions, he might be secure of plunder.

XVIII. In this manner was the war protracted during a period of eleven years; in which time the Milesians received two remarkable defeats; one in a pitched battle at Limeneium, within their own territories, another on the plains of Meander. Six of these eleven years, Sadyattes the son of Ardys reigned over the Lydians: he commenced the Milesian war, which his son Alyattes afterwards continued with increase of ardour. The Milesians, in this contest, received no assistance from any of their neighbours, except from Chios. The inhabitants of Chios offered their support, in return for the aid which they had formerly received from the Milesians, in a war with the Erythræans.

XIX. In the twelfth year of the war, the following event happened, in consequence of the corn being set on fire by the enemy's army. A sudden wind directed the progress of the flames against the temple of the Assesian Minerva,[9] and entirely consumed it. It was not at first considered as a matter of any importance; but after the return of the army to Sardis, Alyattes was seized with a severe and lingering disease. From the impulse of his own mind, or from the persuasion of his friends, he sent to make inquiries of the oracle concerning his recovery. On the arrival of his messengers, they were informed, that till the temple of the Assesian Minerva, which they had consumed by fire, should be restored, no answer would be given them.

XX. Of this circumstance I myself was informed at Delphi, but the Milesians add more. They inform us that Periander the son of Cypselus, when he heard the answer given to Alyattes, despatched an emissary to Thrasybulus king of Miletus, with whom he was intimately connected, desiring him to pay suitable attention to the present emergence. This is the Milesian narrative.

XXI. Alyattes, on the return of his messengers, despatched an herald to Miletus, whose commission was, to make a truce with Thrasybulus for such time as might be required to repair the temple. Thrasybulus, in consequence of the intimation he had received, was aware of the intentions of Alyattes, and conducted himself in this manner: All the corn which was found, or could be procured at Miletus, was, by his direction, collected in the most public place of the city; he then ordered the Milesians, at an appointed period, to commence a scene of feasting and convivial mirth.[10]

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6 *Against Cyaxares.*]—This is perfectly consistent. Phraortes, the father of Cyaxares, reigned in Media at the same time that Ardys, grandfather of Alyattes, sat on the throne of Sardis.—*Larcher.*

7 *Colophon.*]—Gyges had taken Colophon, about which time doubtless a colony deserted it, and settled at Smyrna. Κτιζω, as Wesseling properly observes, is continually used for, to send out a colony. In chap. cl. it is said, that some Colophonians, banished for sedition, had settled at Smyrna. If he alludes to the same emigrants, their sedition was probably against Gyges, after his conquest; but these could hardly be numerous or respectable enough to deserve the name of a colony.—*T.*

8 *Flutes masculine and feminine.*]—Aulus Gellius says, that Alyattes had in his army female players on the flute. Larcher is of opinion, that Herodotus alludes only to the different kinds of flutes mentioned in Terence, or perhaps to the Lydian and Phrygian flutes, the sound of one of which was grave, of the other acute.—*T.*

9 *Assesian Minerva.*]—Assesos was a small town dependent on Miletus. Minerva here had a temple, and hence took the name of the Assesian Minerva. This deity was then called the Minerva of Assesos, as we say, at the present day, the Virgin of Loretto.—*Larcher.*

The virgin, in the Romish church, certainly resembles, in all respects, a heathen tutelary divinity; and affords one of those instances of similarity between one worship and the other, so well illustrated in Middleton's celebrated Letter from Rome.—*T.*

10 *Convivial mirth.*]—Many stratagems of a similar nature with this of Thrasybulus may be found in the Stratagemata of Polyænus; a book not so well known as it merits. A similar artifice is recorded of one of the Roman generals, I forget which, who, though reduced to the extremest want, ordered all the bread they had remaining, after a long siege, to be thrown over the walls among the enemy. The besiegers, fatigued and exhausted, imagined that their opponents were prepared to hold out much longer, and hastily retired. See also Cæsar, in his account of the civil war, book iii. 48, where

XXII. Thrasybulus intended the Sardian ambassador should inform his master of the scene of festivity, and of the abundance of provisions he had beheld. He was not disappointed: the herald witnessed the above mentioned spectacle, delivered his message, and returned to Sardis. This, as I have been informed, was the sole occasion of the peace which ensued.

Alyattes had imagined, that the Milesians suffered exceedingly from the scarcity of corn, and were reduced to extreme distress. The return of his messenger convinced him he had been mistaken. A strict alliance was immediately formed betwixt the two nations: instead of one, Alyattes erected two temples to Minerva, and was soon afterwards restored to health.—The above is a faithful account of the war betwixt Alyattes and the Milesians.

XXIII. Periander, the son of Cypselus, who communicated to Thrasybulus the reply of the oracle, was king of Corinth. A most wonderful incident is said by the Corinthians to have happened in his time, and the story is confirmed by the Lesbians. It is asserted, that Arion the Methymnæan was carried to Tænarus on the back of a dolphin. [1]He excelled all his cotemporaries in his exquisite performance on the harp; and we have reason to suppose he was the first who invented, named, and taught at Corinth, the Dithyrambic measure.[2]

XXIV. After residing for a considerable time at the court of Periander, he was desirous of visiting Italy and Sicily. Acquiring there considerable wealth, he wished to return with it to Corinth: with this view, he embarked at Tarentum in a Corinthian vessel, preferring the mariners of that nation. As soon as they stood out to sea, the sailors determined to destroy Arion, for the sake of his riches. He discerned their intentions, and offered them his money to preserve his life. The men were obdurate, and insisted that he should either kill himself, that they might bury him on shore,[3] or leap instantly into the sea. Reduced to this extremity, he entreated, that if they would not spare his life, they would at least suffer him to decorate himself in his most valuable clothes, and to give them a specimen of his art in singing; promising, that as soon as he had finished, he would destroy himself. They were anxious to hear a man, reputed the greatest performer in the world; and, in compliance with his request, retired from him, to the centre of their vessel. He accordingly dressed himself sumptuously, and, standing on the side of the ship, with his harp in his hand, he sang to them a species of song, termed Orthian.[4] As soon as he had finished, he threw himself, dressed as he was, into the sea. The mariners pursued their course to Corinth; but he, it is affirmed,[5] was taken up by a dolphin and carried to Tænarus. As soon as he got on shore, he went, without changing his dress, to Corinth, and on his arrival told what had befallen him. Periander disbelieved his story; and, keeping him in close custody, endeavoured to find out the crew. As soon as he had met with them, he inquired if they could give him any intelligence of Arion. They replied, that his excursion to Italy had been successful, and that they had left him well at Tarentum. Arion then appeared, dressed as they had seen him leap into the sea. Overcome with terror at the circumstance, they confessed their crime. This event is related both by the Corinthians and the Lesbians, and there remains at Tænarus a small figure in brass, of a man seated on a dolphin's back, the votive offering of Arion himself.

he tells us, that his soldiers made bread of a root called chara, adding, ex hoc effectos panes, quum in colloquiis Pompeiani famen nostris objectarent, vulgo in eos jaciebant, ut spem eorum minuerent.

1 *He excelled.*]—Arion, it seems, was a citharœdus, which differed from the citharistes in this: the former accompanied his instrument with his voice; the latter did not.

2 *Dithyrambic measure.*]—This was a kind of verse or hymn in honour of Bacchus, or in praise of drinking: it was a rude and perplexed composition, replete with figurative and obscure expressions.—*Bellanger.*

Clemens of Alexandria affirms, that the inventor of the Dithyrambic was Lassus or Lasus of Hermione. It should seem, however, from Pindar and his scholiast, that this species of poetry is so very ancient that its original inventor cannot be ascertained.—*Larcher.*

3 *Bury him on shore.*]—This passage, which perplexed the learned Reiske, seems to me sufficiently clear. The sailors indirectly promised Arion that they would bury him, if he would be the instrument of his own death.—*Wesseling.*

4 *Orthian.*]—The Orthian hymn was an air performed either on a flute or cithara, in an elevated key and quick time. It was, therefore, peculiarly adapted to animate combatants. See Aulus Gellius. By this species of song, Timotheus so inflamed the ardour of Alexander, that he instantly leaped up and called for his arms. See Eustathius. See also Dryden's Ode on St. Cæcilia's day.—Maximus Tyrius says, that to excite military ardour the Orthian song was peculiarly adapted, as that called Parænion was for social and convivial occasions. See also Homer, book xi.

Thence the black fury through the Grecian throng
With horror sounds the loud Orthian song.—*T.*

5 *It is affirmed.*]—Voltaire abuses Herodotus for telling this story, as considering it true; but surely without reason, as he by no means vouches for its truth.

Gibbon, however, calls the story-telling tone of Herodotus half skeptical and half superstitious.—*T.*

XXV. When he had put an end to the Milesian war, and after a reign of fifty-seven years, Alyattes died. He was the second of his family who made an offering at Delphi, which he did in consequence of his recovery from illness. He presented a large silver goblet, with a saucer of iron,[6] curiously inlaid; it is of surprising workmanship, and as worthy of observation as any of the things preserved at Delphi. The name of the maker was Glaucus, an inhabitant of Chios, and the inventor of this art of inlaying iron.

XXVI. On the death of his father, Crœsus succeeded to the throne; he began to reign at the age of thirty-five, and he immediately commenced hostilities with the Ephesians. Whilst he besieged Ephesus[7] with an army, the inhabitants made a solemn dedication of their city to Minerva, connecting by some ligature[8] their walls to the temple of the goddess. This temple is at a distance of about seven stadia from the old town. Soon afterwards he attacked every state, both of the Ionians and the Æolians: the motives which he assigned were various, important in some instances, but, when such could not be found, frivolous pretexts sufficed.

XXVII. Not satisfied with compelling the Asiatic Greeks to render him tribute, he determined on building a fleet, to attack those who lived in the islands. From this purpose, although he had made great preparations, he was deterred by the memorable reply of Bias[9] of Priene, who was at that time in Sardis; or, as others say, of Pittacus[10] of Mitylene. Of this person the king was inquiring whether there was any intelligence from Greece: "The islanders, sir," he replied, "are about to form a body of ten thousand horse, with the intention of attacking you at Sardis." The king, supposing him serious, said, that nothing would be more agreeable to him, than to see the islanders invading the continent of Lydia with cavalry. The other thus interrupted him: "Your wish to see the inhabitants of the islands pursue such measures, is certainly reasonable; but do you not imagine, that the circumstance of your building a fleet to attack the islanders, must give them equal satisfaction? They can wish for no better opportunity of revenging the cause of these Greeks on the continent, reduced by you to servitude, than by meeting the Lydians on the ocean." The wisdom of the remark was acceptable to Crœsus: he not only declined all thoughts of constructing a fleet, but entered into an amicable alliance with the Ionians of the islands.

XXVIII. He afterwards progressively subdued almost all the nations which are situate on this side the river Halys. The Cilicians and the Lycians alone were not brought under his yoke; but he totally vanquished the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians,[11] Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians.

XXIX. After Crœsus had obtained all these victories, and extended the power of the Lydians, Sardis became the resort of the great and the affluent, as well as of such as were celebrated in Greece for their talents and their wisdom. Among these was Solon:[12] at the request of the Athenians, he had formed a code of laws for their use. He had then engaged in a course of

6 *Saucer of iron.*]—This basin is mentioned in Pausanias, book x.: where also Glaucus is spoken of as the original inventor of the art. A further account of Glaucus may be found in Junius de Pictura Veterum.—*T.*

7 *Whilst he besieged Ephesus.*]—The prince of Ephesus, at this time, was Pindar the nephew of Crœsus; the story is told at length by Ælian, book iii. chap. 26.—*T.*

8 *By some ligature.*]—The object of the ancients, by thus consecrating their towns, was to detain the deities by a kind of force, and prevent their departure. It was believed, that when a city was on the point of being taken, the deities abandoned it.—*Larcher.*

9 *Bias.*]—Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, and Valerius Maximus, severally give an account of Bias. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece. Some fishermen found a golden tripod, upon which was inscribed, "To the wisest:" it was given to Bias, who sent it to Delphi. When his vanquished countrymen fled before the enemy, each took with him the most valuable part of his property. Bias took nothing: on being asked why, "I always carry," he replied, "my most valuable things with me," meaning his learning and abilities.—*T.*

10 *Pittacus.*]—Pittacus of Mitylene was another of the seven wise men. His life is written by Diogenes Laertius. In a war betwixt the Athenians and the people of Mitylene, he challenged the enemy's general to single combat, and with a net which he secretly brought, he entangled and easily conquered his adversary. From this circumstance, the contest of the retiarii and mirmillones are said first to have arisen. His most memorable saying was,—"Endeavour to prevent calamity: if it happen, bear it with equanimity."—*T.*

11 *Mariandynians.*]—These people were the inventors of the shrill pipe used at funerals, which was sometimes also called gingras, (γιγγρος.) Hence Μαριανδυνος αυλος, more Mariandyno vociferat. Pollux says this pipe was contrived by a Phœnician.—By a Phœnician these authors seem to mean, one who spoke the eastern language, and not the Greek. Æschylus has the expression, Μαριανδυνον βοα.—*T.*

12 *Solon.*]—To give a particular account of Solon would exceed our limits. He was one of the seven wise men of Greece, born at Salamis; and, according to Aulus Gellius, flourished at Athens, when Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome. He was a wise, but severe legislator, rescuing his countrymen from superstition, ignorance, and vice. His life is given at length by Plutarch.—*T.*

travels, which was to be of ten years' continuance; his avowed purpose was of a philosophical nature; but his real object was to avoid the necessity of abrogating the laws he had enacted. The Athenians were of themselves unable to do this, having bound themselves, by the most solemn oaths, to preserve inviolate, for ten years, the institutions of Solon.

XXX. During his absence, Solon had visited Amasis in Ægypt, and came now to Crœsus,[1] at Sardis. He was received on his arrival with the kindest hospitality, and entertained in the palace of Crœsus. In a few days, the king directed his servants to attend Solon to the different repositories of his wealth, and to show him their splendid and valuable contents. When he had observed them all, Crœsus thus addressed him:—"My Athenian guest, the voice of fame speaks loudly of your wisdom. I have heard much of your travels; that you have been led, by a truly philosophic spirit, to visit a considerable portion of the globe. I am hence induced to inquire of you, what man, of all you have beheld, has seemed to you most truly happy?" The expectation of being himself esteemed the happiest of mankind, prompted his inquiry. Solon proved, by his reply, his attachment to truth, and abhorrence of flattery. "I think," said he, "O king, that Tellus the Athenian best deserved the appellation of happy." Crœsus was astonished: "On what," he asked, "were the claims of Tellus to this distinction founded?" "Because," answered Solon, "under the protection of a most excellent form of government, Tellus had many virtuous and amiable children; he saw their offspring, and they all survived him: at the close of a prosperous life, we celebrated his funeral, with every circumstance of honour. In a contest with some of their neighbours, at Eleusis, he flew to the assistance of his countrymen: he contributed to the defeat of the enemy, and met death in the field of glory. The Athenians publicly buried him in the place where he fell; and his funeral pomp was magnificently attended."

XXXI. Solon was continuing to make respectful mention of Tellus, when Crœsus anxiously interrupted him, and desired to know, whom, next to Tellus, he esteemed most happy, not doubting but the answer would now be favourable to himself. "Cleobis and Bito," replied Solon: "they were Argives by birth, fortunate in their circumstances, and so remarkable for their bodily prowess, that they had both of them been crowned as conquerors in their public games. It is further related of them, that on a certain festival of Juno, their mother was to have been carried to the temple in a chariot drawn by oxen. The beasts were not ready[2] for the purpose; but the young men instantly took the yokes upon themselves, and drew their mother in the carriage to the temple, through a space of forty-five furlongs. Having performed this in the presence of innumerable spectators, they terminated their lives in a manner which was singularly fortunate. In this event, the deity made it appear, that death is a greater blessing to mankind than life. The surrounding multitude proclaimed their praise: the men commended their prowess; the women envied their mother; who was delighted with the deed itself, and the glory which attended it. Standing before the shrine, she implored the divinity, in whose honour her sons' exertions had been made, to grant them the greatest blessings man could receive. After her prayers, and when the succeeding sacrifice and festival were ended, the young men retired to rest within the temple; but they rose no more. The Argives have preserved at Delphi the figures of Cleobis and Bito, as of men deserving superior distinction." This, according to Solon's estimate, was happiness in the second degree.

XXXII. Crœsus was still dissatisfied: "Man of Athens," he resumed, "think you so meanly of my prosperity, as to place me even beneath men of private and obscure condition?" "Crœsus," he replied, "you inquire of me my sentiments of human nature; of me, who con-

1 *Came now to Crœsus.*]—It is doubted by some authors, whether the interview which is here described ever took place. The sagacious reply of Solon to Crœsus has been introduced in a variety of compositions ancient and modern. See Juvenal, sat. x. verse 273. See Ausonius also, and Ovid. The dying speech of Julian, as given by Mr. Gibbon, from Libanius, (vol. iv. p. 200, octavo edition,) contains many sentiments similar to these of Solon. "I have learned," says Julian, "from religion, that an early death has often been the reward of piety." Upon which, after commending the story of Cleobis and Bito, in Herodotus, our English historian adds, "Yet the Jupiter (in the 16th book of the Iliad) who laments with tears of blood the death of Sarpedon his son, had a very imperfect notion of happiness or glory beyond the grave." Pausanius relates, that this history is represented in a marble monument at Argos.—*T.*

2 *The beasts were not ready.*]—Servius, in his commentaries on Virgil, says, that the want of oxen, on this occasion, was on account of a pestilential malady, which had destroyed all the cattle belonging to Argos.—*Servius ad Virgil. Georg.* lib. iii. 532.

sider the divine beings as viewing us men with invidious and malignant aspects.[3] In the space of a protracted life, how many things occur, which we see with reluctance and support with anguish. I will suppose the term of human life to extend to seventy years;[4] this period, if we except the intercalary months, will amount to twenty-five thousand two hundred days: to make our computation regular and exact, suppose we add this month to each alternate year, we shall then have thirty-five additional months, or one thousand two hundred and fifty days. The whole seventy years will therefore consist of twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty days; yet of this number will every day be productive of some new incident. Thus, Crœsus,[5] does our nature appear a continued series of calamity. I see you as the sovereign of many nations, and possessed of extraordinary affluence and power. But I shall not be able to give a satisfactory answer to the question you propose, till I know that your scene of life shall have closed with tranquillity. The man of affluence is not, in fact, more happy than the possessor of a bare sufficiency; unless, in addition to his wealth, his end of life be fortunate.[6] We often discern misery in the midst of splendid plenty, whilst real happiness is found in humbler stations. The rich man, who knows not happiness, surpasses but in two things the humbler but more fortunate character, with which we compare him. Yet there are a variety of incidents in which the latter excels the former. The rich man can gratify his passions; and has little to apprehend from accidental injuries. The poor man's condition exempts him entirely from these sources of affliction. He moreover possesses strength and health; a stranger to misfortune, he is blessed in his children and amiable in himself. If at the end of such a life, his death be fortunate, this, O king, is the truly happy man; the object of your curious inquiry. Call no man happy till you know the nature of his death; he is at best but fortunate. All these requisites for happiness it is in no man's power to obtain; for no one region can supply them; it affords, perhaps, the enjoyment of some, but it is remarkable for the absence of others. That which yields the more numerous sources of gratification is so far the best: such also is the imperfection of man, excellent in some respects, weak and defective in others. He who possesses the most advantages, and afterwards leaves the world with composure, he alone, O Crœsus, is entitled to our admiration. It is the part of wisdom to look to the event of things; for the Deity often overwhelms with misery those who have formerly been placed at the summit of felicity."

XXXIII. To these words of Solon, Crœsus refused both his esteem and praise, and he afterwards dismissed the philosopher with indifference.[7] The sentiment which prompts us not to be elate with temporary bliss, but to look beyond the present moment, appeared to Crœsus neither wise nor just.

XXXIV. Solon was no sooner departed, than, as if to punish Crœsus for his arrogance, in esteeming himself the happiest of mankind, a wonderful event befell him, which seemed a visitation from heaven. He saw in his sleep a vision, menacing the calamity which afterwards deprived him of his son. Crœsus had two sons: the one, marked by natural defect, being dumb; the other, whose name was Atys, was distinguished by his superior accomplishments. The intimation of the vision which Crœsus saw was, that this Atys should die by the point

3 *With invidious and malignant aspects.*]—This is one of the passages in which the malignity of Herodotus, according to Plutarch, is most conspicuous. Thus, says Plutarch, attributing to Solon what he himself thinks of the gods, he adds malice to blasphemy.—*T.*

4 *The term of human life to extend to seventy years, &c.*]—This passage is confessedly one of the most difficult in Herodotus. Larcher has a long and ingenious note upon the subject, which we have omitted; as well from its extreme length, as from its not being entirely consistent with our plan. It is not unworthy observation, that Stobæus, who has given this discourse of Solon, omits altogether the passage in question; and, indeed, Larcher himself is of opinion that the original text of Herodotus has been here altered. See Psalm xc. 10: "The days of our age are threescore years and ten, and though men be so strong that they come to fourscore years, yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow, so soon passeth it away, and we are gone."—*T.*

5 *Thus Crœsus.*]—See Spenser, canto ii. 14:

> For who will bide the burden of distress,
> Must not here think to live, for life is wretchedness.

6 *His end of life be fortunate.*]—This sentence of Solon is paraphrased by Sophocles, in his Œdipus Tyrannus. It was, indeed, a very favourite sentiment with the Greeks in general. See the Andromache of Euripides, v. 99; with many other places in his tragedies.—*Larcher.*

7 *Dismissed the philosopher with indifference.*]—At this period the celebrated Æsop was also at the court of Crœsus, and much respected. He was afflicted with the disgrace of Solon; and, conversing with him as a friend, —"You see, Solon," said he, "that we must either not come nigh kings, or we must entertain them with things agreeable to them." "That is not the point," replied Solon; "you should either say nothing to them, or tell them what is useful."—"I must confess," says Bayle, after relating the above, "that this caution of Æsop argues a man well acquainted with the court and great men; but Solon's answer is the true lesson of divines, who direct the consciences of princes."—*T.*

of an iron spear. Roused and terrified by this dream, he revolved the matter seriously in his mind. His first step was to settle his son in marriage: he then took from him the command of the Lydian troops, whom he before conducted in their warlike expeditions: the spears and darts, with every other kind of hostile weapon, he removed in a heap to the female apartments, that his son might not suffer injury from the fall of them.

XXXV. Whilst the nuptials of this son employed his attention, an unfortunate homicide arrived at Sardis, a Phrygian by nation, and of the royal family. He presented himself at the palace of Crœsus, from whom he required and received expiation[1] with the usual ceremonies. The Lydian mode of expiation nearly resembles that in use among the Greeks. When Crœsus had performed what custom exacted, he inquired who and whence he was. "From what part," said he, "of Phrygia do you come? why are you a suppliant to me? what man or woman have you slain?" "O king," replied the stranger, "I am the son of Gordius, who was the son of Midas. My name is Adrastus;[2] unwillingly I have killed my brother, for which I am banished by my father, and rendered entirely destitute." "You come," replied Crœsus, "of a family whom I esteem my friends. My protection shall, in return, be extended to you. You shall reside in my palace, and be provided with every necessary. You will do well not to suffer your misfortune to distress you too much." Crœsus then received him into his family.

XXXVI. There appeared about this time, near Olympus in Mysia, a wild boar[3] of an extraordinary size, which, issuing from the mountain, did great injury to the Mysians. They had frequently attacked it; but their attempts to destroy it, so far from proving successful, had been attended with loss to themselves. In the extremity, therefore, of their distress, they sent to Crœsus a message of the following import: "There has appeared among us, O king! a wild boar of a most extraordinary size, injuring us much; but to destroy which all our most strenuous endeavours have proved ineffectual. We entreat you, therefore, to send to us your son, at the head of a chosen band, with a number of dogs, to relieve us from this formidable animal." Crœsus, remembering his dream, answered them thus: "Of my son you must forbear to make mention; him I cannot send; he is lately married, and his time and attention sufficiently employed. But a chosen band of Lydians, hunters, and dogs, shall attend you; and I shall charge them to take every possible means of relieving you, as soon as possible, from the attacks of the boar."

1 *Expiation.*]—It was the office of the priests to expiate for crimes committed either from accident or design, and they were therefore called Kathartai, Purifiers: but it should appear from the above, and other similar incidents, that kings anciently exercised the functions of the priesthood.—*T.*

The scholiast of Homer informs us, (see verse 48, last book of the Iliad,) that it was customary amongst the ancients, for whoever had committed an involuntary murder to leave his country, and fly to the house of some powerful individual. There, covering himself, he sate down, and entreated to be purified. No person has given a more full, and at the same time more correct, account of the ceremonies of expiation, than Apollonius Rhodius.

Their visits cause her troubled mind distress'd;
On downy seats she placed each princely guest.
They round her hearth sate motionless and mute;
With plaintive suppliants such manners suit.
Her folded hands her blushing face conceal;
Deep in the ground he fix'd the murderous steel:
Nor dare they once, in equal sorrow drown'd,
Lift their dejected eyelids from the ground.
Circe beheld their guilt: she saw they fled
From vengeance hanging o'er the murderer's head.
The holy rites, approved of Jove, she pays:
Jove, thus appeased, his hasty vengeance stays.
Those rites from guilty stains the culprits clear,
Who lowly suppliant at her cell appear.
To expiate their crime in order due,
First to her shrine a sucking pig she drew,
Whose nipples from its birth distended stood;
Its neck she struck, and bathed their hands in blood.
Next with libations meet, and prayer she plied
Jove, who acquits the suppliant homicide.
Without her door a train of Naiads stand,
Administering whate'er her rites demand.
Within, the flames that round the hearth arise,
Waste, as she prays, the kneaded sacrifice:
That thus the Furies' vengeful wrath might cease,
And, Jove appeased, dismiss them both in peace,
Whether they came to expiate the guilt
Of friends' or strangers' blood, by treachery spilt.

Fawkes' Apollonius Rhodius.

2 *Adrastus.*]—There is a passage in Photius relative to this Adrastus, which two learned men, Palmerius and Larcher, have understood and applied very differently. The passage is this: Photius, in his Bibliotheca, giving an account of the historical work of Ptolemæus son of Hephæstion, says thus: "He also relates that the name of the person who, in the first book of Herodotus, is said to have been killed by Adrastus son of Gordius, was Agathon, and that it was in consequence of some dispute about a quail."

The above, and, as it should seem with greater probability, Palmerius, applies to the brother of Adrastus; Larcher understands it of the son of Crœsus.

With respect to the quail, some of our readers may probably thank us for informing them, that the ancients had their quail as the moderns have their cock-fights.—*T.*

His cocks do win the battle still of mine
When it is all to nought, and his quails ever
Beat mine inhooped at odds.—*Shakspeare.*

3 *A wild boar.*]—It should seem, from the accounts of ancient authors, that the ravages of the wild boar were considered as more formidable than those of the other savage animals. The conquest of the Erymanthian boar was one of the fated labours of Hercules; and the story of the Caledonian boar is one of the most beautiful in Ovid.—*T.*

XXXVII. This answer of Crœsus satisfied the Mysians;[4] but the young man hearing of the matter, and that his father had refused the solicitations of the Mysians for him to accompany them, hastened to the presence of the king, and spoke to him as follows: "It was formerly, sir, esteemed, in our nation, both excellent and honourable to seek renown in war, or in the hunting of wild beasts: but you now deprive me of both these opportunities of signalizing myself, without having reason to accuse me either of cowardice or sloth. Whenever I am now seen in public, how mean and contemptible shall I appear! How will my fellow citizens or my new wife esteem me? what can be her opinion of the man whom she has married? Suffer me, then, sir, either to proceed on this expedition, or condescend to convince me that the motives of your refusal are reasonable and sufficient."

XXXVIII. "My son," replied Crœsus, "I do not in any respect think unfavourably of your courage, or your conduct. My behaviour towards you is influenced by a vision, which has lately warned me that your life will be short, and that you must perish from the wound of an iron spear. This has first of all induced me to accelerate your nuptials, and also to refuse your presence in the proposed expedition, wishing, by my caution, to preserve you at least as long as I shall live. I esteem you as my only son; for your brother, on account of his infirmity, is in a manner lost to me."

XXXIX. "Having had such a vision," returned Atys to his father, "I can easily forgive your anxiety concerning me; but as you apparently misconceive the matter, suffer me to explain what seems to have escaped you. The vision, as you affirm, intimated that my death should be occasioned by the point of a spear; but what arms or spear has a wild boar, that you should dread? If, indeed, it had been told you that I was to perish by a tusk, or something of a similar nature, your conduct would have been strictly proper; but, as a spear's point is the object of your alarm, and we are not going to contend with men, I hope for your permission to join this party."

XL. "Son," answered Crœsus, "your reasoning concerning my dream has induced me to alter my opinion, and I accede to your wishes."

XLI. The king then sent for Adrastus the Phrygian; whom, on his appearing, he thus addressed: "I do not mean to remind you of your former calamities; but you must have in memory that I relieved you[5] in your distress, took you into my family, and supplied all your necessities. I have now, therefore, to solicit that return of kindness which my conduct claims. In this proposed hunting excursion, you must be the guardian of my son: preserve him on the way from any secret treachery which may threaten your common security. It is consistent that you should go where bravery may be distinguished, and reputation gained: valour has been the distinction of your family, and with personal vigour has descended to yourself."

XLII. "At your request, O king!" replied Adrastus, "I shall comply with what I should otherwise have refused. It becomes not a man like myself, oppressed by so great a calamity, to appear among my more fortunate equals: I have never wished, and I have frequently avoided it. My gratitude, in the present instance, impels me to obey your commands. I will therefore engage to accompany and guard your son, and promise, as far as my care can avail, to restore him to you safe."

XLIII. Immediately a band of youths were selected, the dogs of chase prepared, and the train departed. Arrived in the vicinity of Olympus, they sought the beast; and having found his haunt, they surrounded it in a body, and attacked him with their spears. It so happened, that the stranger Adrastus, who had been purified for murder, directed a blow at the boar, missed his aim, and killed the son of Crœsus. Thus he was destroyed by the point of a spear, and the vision proved to be prophetic. A messenger immediately hastened to Sardis, informing Crœsus of the event which occasioned the death of his son.

XLIV. Crœsus, much as he was afflicted with his domestic loss, bore it the less patiently, because it was inflicted by him whom he had himself purified and protected. He broke into violent complaints at his misfortune, and invoked Jupiter, the deity of expiation, in attestation of the injury he had received. He invoked him also as the guardian of hospitality and friendship;[6] of hospitality, because, in re-

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4 *Satisfied the Mysians.*]—Valla, Henry, Stephens, and Gronovius, in their versions of this passage, had, quum non essent contenti. Wesseling has taken away the negative particle.

5 *I relieved you.*]—If translated literally, it should have been, "I purified you," &c.

6 *Guardian of hospitality and friendship.*]—Jupiter was adored under different titles, according to the place and circumstance of his different worshippers.—*Larcher.*

The sky was the department of Jupiter: hence he was

ceiving a stranger, he had received the murderer of his son; of friendship, because the man whose aid he might have expected, had proved his bitterest enemy.

XLV. Whilst his thoughts were thus occupied, the Lydians appeared with the body of his son;[1] behind followed the homicide. He advanced towards Crœsus, and, with extended hands, implored that he might suffer death upon the body of him whom he had slain. He recited his former calamities, to which was now to be added, that he was the destroyer of the man who had expiated him; he was consequently no longer fit to live. Crœsus listened to him with attention; and, although oppressed by his own paternal grief, he could not refuse his compassion to Adrastus; to whom he spake as follows: "My friend, I am sufficiently revenged by your voluntary condemnation of yourself.[2] You are not guilty of this event,[3] for you did it without design. The offended deity, who warned me of the evil, has accomplished it." Crœsus, therefore, buried his son with the proper ceremonies; but the unfortunate descendant of Midas, who had killed his brother and his friend, retired at the dead of night to the place where Atys was buried, and, confessing himself to be the most miserable of mankind, slew himself on the tomb.

XLVI. The two years which succeeded the death of his son, were passed by Crœsus in extreme affliction. His grief was at length suspended by the increasing greatness of the Persian empire, as well as by that of Cyrus son of Cambyses, who had deprived Astyages son of Cyaxares of his dominions. To restrain the power of Persia, before it should become too great and too extensive, was the object of his solicitude. Listening to these suggestions, he determined to consult the different oracles[4] of Greece, and also that of Libya; and for this purpose sent messengers to Delphi, the Phocian Abas, and to Dodona: he sent also to

deemed the god of tempests. The following titles were given him: Pluvius, Pluviosus, Fulgurator, Fulgurum, Effector, Descensor, Tonans. Other epithets were given him, relative to the wants of men, for which he was thought to provide. See Bos, Antiquities of Greece. The above observation is confined to the Greeks.—The epithets of the Roman Jupiter were almost without number; and there was hardly, as Spense observes, a town, or even hamlet, in Italy, that had not a Jupiter of its own.—*T.*

1 *Body of his son.*]—This solemn procession of the Lydians, bearing to the presence of the father the dead body of his son, followed mournfully by the person who had killed him, would, it is presumed, afford no mean subject for an historical painting.—*T.*

2 *Condemnation of yourself.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that it was the first intention of Crœsus to have burned Adrastus alive; but his voluntary offer to submit to death deprecated his anger.—*T.*

3 *You are not guilty of this event.*]—See Homer, Iliad 3d, where Priam thus addresses Helen:

> No crime of thine our present sufferings draws:
> Not thou, but Heaven's disposing will, the cause.—*Pope.*

4 *Oracles.*]—On the subject of oracles, it may not be improper, once for all, to inform the English reader, that the Apollo of Delphi was, to use Mr. Bayle's words, the judge without appeal; the greatest of the heathen gods not preserving, in relation to oracles, his advantage or superiority. The oracles of Trophonius, Dodona, and Ammon had not so much credit as that of Delphi, nor did they equal it either in esteem or duration. The oracle at Abas was an oracle of Apollo; but, from the little mention that is made of it by ancient writers, it does not appear to have been held in the extremest veneration. At Dodona, as we describe it from Montfaucon, there were sounding kettles; from whence came the proverb of the Dodonean brass; which, according to Menander, if a man touched but once, would continue ringing the whole day. Others speak of the doves of Dodona, which spoke and delivered the oracles; of two doves, according to Statius, one flew to Libya, to pronounce the oracles of Jupiter; the other stayed at Dodona: of which the more rational explanation is, that two females established religious ceremonies at the same time, at Dodona, and in Libya; for, in the ancient language of the people of Epirus, the same word signifies a dove and an old woman. At the same place also was an oak, or, as some say, a beech tree, hallowed by the prejudices of the people from the remotest antiquity.

The oracle of Trophonius' cave, from its singularity, deserves minuter mention. He, says Pausanius, who desired to consult it, was obliged to undergo various preparatory ceremonies, which continued for several days: he was to purify himself by various methods, to offer sacrifices to many different deities; he was then conducted by night to a neighbouring river, where he was anointed and washed; he afterwards drank of the water of forgetfulness, that his former cares might be buried; and of the water of remembrance, that he might forget nothing of what he was to see. The cave was surrounded by a wall; it resembled an oven, was four cubits wide, and eight deep: it was descended by a ladder; and he who went down, carried with him cakes made of honey; when he was got down, he was made acquainted with futurity. For more particulars concerning this oracle, consult Montfaucon, Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis, in which the different descriptions of antiquity, concerning this and other oracles, are collected and methodized. See also Van Dale. Of the above, a classical and correct description may also be found in Glover's Athenaid.

Amphiaraus was one of the seven warriors who fought against Thebes; he performed, on that occasion, the functions of a priest, and was supposed, on that account, to communicate oracles after his death. They who consulted him were to abstain from wine for three days, and from all nourishment for twenty-four hours. They then sacrificed a ram before his statue, upon the skin of which, spread in the vestibule, they retired themselves to sleep. The deity was supposed to appear to them in a vision, and answer their questions.

The temple of Branchidæ was afterwards, according to Pliny, named the temple of Didymean Apollo. It was burned by Xerxes, but afterwards built with such extraordinary magnificence, that, according to Vitruvius, it was one of the four edifices which rendered the names of their architects immortal. Some account may be found of this temple in Chishull's Asiatic Antiquities.—*T.*

Amphiaraus, Trophonius, and the Milesian Branchidæ. The above-mentioned are the oracles which Crœsus consulted in Greece: he sent also to the Libyan Ammon. His motive in these consultations was to form an idea of the truth of the oracles respectively, meaning afterwards to obtain from them a decisive opinion concerning the propriety of an expedition against the Persians.

XLVII. He took this method of proving the truth of their different communications. He computed with his Lydian messengers, that each should consult the different oracles on the hundredth day of their departure from Sardis, and respectively ask what Crœsus the son of Alyattes was doing: they were to write down, and communicate to Crœsus, the reply of each particular oracle.[5] Of the oracular answers in general we have no account remaining; but the Lydians had no sooner entered the temple of Delphi, and proposed their questions, than the Pythian[6] answered thus, in heroic verse:

> I count the sand, I measure out the sea;
> The silent and the dumb are heard by me:
> E'en now the odours to my sense that rise,
> A tortoise boiling with a lamb supplies,
> Where brass below and brass above it lies.

XLVIII. They wrote down the communication of the Pythian, and returned to Sardis. Of the answers which his other messengers brought with them on their return, Crœsus found none which were satisfactory. But a fervour of gratitude and piety was excited in him, as soon as he was informed of the reply of the Pythian; and he exclaimed, without reserve, that there was no true oracle but at Delphi, for this alone had explained his employment at the stipulated time. It seems, that on the day appointed for his servants to consult the different oracles, determining to do what it would be equally difficult to discover or explain, he had cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered vessel of brass.

XLIX. We have before related what was the answer of the Delphic oracle to Crœsus: what reply the Lydians received from Amphiaraus, after the usual religious ceremonies, I am not able to affirm; of this it is only asserted, that its answer was satisfactory to Crœsus.

L. Crœsus, after these things, determined to conciliate the divinity of Delphi, by a great and magnificent sacrifice. He offered up three thousand chosen victims;[7] he collected a great number of couches decorated with gold and silver,[8] many goblets of gold, and vests of purple; all these he consumed together upon one immense pile, thinking by these means to render the deity more auspicious to his hopes; he persuaded his subjects also to offer up, in like manner, the proper objects of sacrifice they respectively possessed. As, at the conclusion of the above ceremony, a considerable quantity of gold had run together, he formed of it a number of tiles. The larger of these were six palms long, the smaller three, but none of them was less than a palm in thickness, and they were one hundred and seventeen in number: four were of the purest gold, weighing each one talent and a half; the rest were of inferior quality, but of the weight of two talents. He constructed also a lion of pure gold,[9] which weighed ten talents. It was originally placed at the Delphian temple, on the above gold tiles; but when this edifice was burned, it fell from its place, and now stands in the Corinthian treasury: it lost, however, by the fire, three talents and a half of its former weight.

LI. Crœsus, moreover, sent to Delphi two

5 *Reply of each particular oracle.*]—Lucian makes Jupiter complain of the great trouble the deities undergo on account of mankind. "As for Apollo," says he, "he has undertaken a troublesome office: he is obliged to be at Delphi this minute, at Colophon the next, here at Delos, there at Branchidæ, just as his ministers choose to require him: not to mention the tricks which are played to make trial of his sagacity, when people boil together the flesh of a lamb and a tortoise; so that if he had not had a very acute nose, Crœsus would have gone away, and abused him."—*T.*

6 *Pythian.*]—The Pythian Apollo, if we may credit the Greeks themselves, was not always on the best terms with the Muses.—*Lowth on the poetry of the Hebrews.*

Van Dale, in his book de Oraculis, observes, that at Delphi the priestess had priests, prophets, and poets, to take down and explain and mend her gibberish; which served to justify Apollo from the imputation of making bad verses; for, if they were defective, the fault was laid upon the amanuensis.—*Jortin.*

7 *Three thousand chosen victims.*]—This astonishing profusion was perfectly consistent with the genius of a superstitious people. Theodoret reproaches the Greeks with their sacrifices of hundreds and of thousands.—*Larcher.*

8 *Couches decorated with gold and silver.*]—Prodigal as the munificence of Crœsus appears to have been on this occasion, the funeral pile of the emperor Severus, as described by Herodian, was neither less splendid nor less costly. He tells us, that there was not a province, city, or grandee throughout the wide circuit of the Roman empire, which did not contribute to decorate this superb edifice. When the whole was completed, after many days of preparatory ceremonies, the next successor to the empire, with a torch, set fire to the pile, and in a little time every thing was consumed.—*T.*

9 *Lion of pure gold.*]—These tiles, this lion, and the statue of the breadmaker of Crœsus, were, all of them, at a subsequent period, seized by the Phocians, to defray the expenses of the holy war.—*Larcher.*

large cisterns, one of gold, and one of silver: that of gold was placed on the right hand in the vestibule of the temple; the silver one on the left. These also were removed when the temple was consumed by fire; the golden goblet weighed eight talents and a half and twelve minæ, and was afterwards placed in the Clazomenian treasury: that of silver is capable of holding six hundred amphoræ; it is placed at the entrance of the temple, and used by the inhabitants of Delphi in their Theophanian festival: they assert it to have been the work of Theodorus of Samos;[1] to which opinion, as it is evidently the production of no mean artist, I am inclined to accede. The Corinthian treasury also possesses four silver casks, which were sent by Crœsus, in addition to the above, to Delphi. His munificence did not yet cease: he presented also two basins, one of gold, another of silver. An inscription on that of gold, asserts it to have been the gift of the Lacedæmonians; but it is not true, for this also was the gift of Crœsus. To gratify the Lacedæmonians, a certain Delphian wrote this inscription: although I am able, I do not think proper to disclose his name.[2] The boy through whose hand the water flows was given by the Lacedæmonians; the basins undoubtedly were not.—Many other smaller presents accompanied these; among which were some silver dishes, and the figure of a woman in gold, three cubits high, who, according to the Delphians, was the person who made the bread for the family of Crœsus.[3] This prince, besides all that we have enumerated, consecrated at Delphi his wife's necklaces and girdles.

LII. To Amphiaraus, having heard of his valour and misfortunes, he sent a shield of solid gold, with a strong spear made entirely of gold, both shaft and head. These were all, within my memory, preserved at Thebes, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo.

LIII. The Lydians, who were intrusted with the care of these presents, were directed to inquire whether Crœsus might auspiciously undertake an expedition against the Persians, and whether he should procure any confederate assistance. On their arrival at the destined places, they deposited their presents, and made their inquiries of the oracles precisely in the following terms:—"Crœsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, esteems these the only genuine oracles; in return for the sagacity which has marked your declarations, he sends these proofs of his liberality; he finally desires to know whether he may proceed against the Persians, and whether he shall require the assistance of any allies." The answers of the oracles tended to the same purpose; both of them assuring Crœsus, that if he prosecuted a war with Persia, he should overthrow a mighty empire;[4] and both recommending him to form an alliance with those whom he should find to be the most powerful states of Greece.

LIV. The report of these communications transported Crœsus with excess of joy: elated with the idea of becoming the conqueror of Cyrus, he sent again to Delphi, inquired the number of inhabitants there, and presented each with two golden staters. In acknowledgment for this repeated liberality, the Delphians assigned to Crœsus and the Lydians the privilege of first consulting the oracle, in preference to other nations; a distinguished seat in their temple; together with the immutable right, to such of them as pleased to accept it, of being enrolled among the citizens of Delphi.

LV. After the above-mentioned marks of his munificence to the Delphians, Crœsus consulted their oracle a third time. His experience of its veracity increased the ardour of his curiosity: he was now anxious to be informed, whether his power would ever suffer diminu-

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1 *Theodorus of Samos.*]—He was the first statuary on record. The following mention is made of him by Pliny:—Theodorus, who constructed the labyrinth at Samos, made a cast of himself in brass, which, independent of its being a perfect likeness, was an extraordinary effort of genius. He had in his right hand a file; with three fingers of his left he held a carriage drawn by four horses; the carriage, the horses, and the driver, were so minute, that the whole was covered by the wings of a fly.—*T.*

2 *I do not think proper to disclose his name.*]—If Ptolemæus may be credited in Photius, his name was Æthus.—*T.*

3 *Made the bread for the family of Crœsus.*]—Crœsus, says Plutarch, honoured the woman who made his bread, with a statue of gold, from an honest emotion of gratitude. Alyattes, the father of Crœsus, married a second wife, by whom he had other children. This woman wished to remove Crœsus out of the way, and gave the female baker a dose of poison, charging her to put it into the bread which she made for Crœsus. The woman informed Crœsus of this, and gave the poisoned bread to the queen's children. By these means Crœsus succeeded his father; and acknowledged the fidelity of the woman, by thus making the god himself an evidence of his gratitude.—*T.*

4 *Overthrow a mighty empire.*]—It appears that the very words of the oracle must have been here originally: they are preserved by Suidas and others, and are these:

Κροισος 'Αλυν διαβας μεγαλην αρχην καταλυσει:

which Cicero renders—

Crœsus, Halym penetrans, magnam pervertet opum vim.
De Div. xi. 56.

By crossing Halys, Crœsus will destroy a mighty power.—*T.*

tion. The following was the answer of the Pythian:

When o'er the Medes a mule shall sit on high,
O'er pebbly Hermus[4] then, soft Lydian, fly;
Fly with all haste; for safety scorn thy fame,
Nor scruple to deserve a coward's name.

LVI. When the above verses were communicated to Crœsus, he was more delighted than ever; confident that a mule would never be sovereign of the Medes, and that consequently he could have nothing to fear for himself or his posterity. His first object was to discover which were the most powerful of the Grecian states, and to obtain their alliance. The Lacedæmonians of Doric, and the Athenians of Ionian origin, seemed to claim his distinguished preference. These nations, always eminent, were formerly known by the appellation of Pelasgians and Hellenians.[5] The former had never changed their place of residence; the latter often. Under the reign of Deucalion, the Hellenians possessed the region of Phthiotis; but under Dorus the son of Hellenus, they inhabited the country called Istræotis, which borders upon Ossa and Olympus. They were driven from hence by the Cadmæans, and fixed themselves in Macednum, near mount Pindus; migrating from hence to Dryopis, and afterwards to the Peloponnese, they were known by the name of Dorians.

LVII. What language the Pelasgians used I cannot positively affirm: some probable conclusion may perhaps be formed by attending to the dialect of the remnant of the Pelasgians, who now inhabit Crestona[6] beyond the Tyrrhenians, but who formerly dwelt in the country now called Thessaliotis, and were neighbours to those whom we at present name Dorians. Considering these with the above, who founded the cities of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, but once lived near the Athenians, together with the people of other Pelasgian towns, who have since changed their names, we are upon the whole justified in our opinion, that they formerly spoke a barbarous language. The Athenians, therefore, who were also of Pelasgian origin, must necessarily, when they came amongst the Hellenians, have learned their language. It is observable, that the inhabitants of Crestona and Placia speak in the same tongue, but are neither of them understood by the people about them. These circumstances induce us to believe, that their language has experienced no change.

LVIII. I am also of opinion, that the Hellenian tongue is not at all altered. When first they separated themselves from the Pelasgians, they were neither numerous nor powerful. They have since progressively increased; having incorporated many nations, Barbarians and others, with their own. The Pelasgians have always avoided this mode of increasing their importance; which may be one reason, probably, why they never have emerged from their original and barbarous condition.

LIX. Of these nations, Crœsus had received information that Athens suffered much from the oppression of Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates, who at this time possessed there the supreme authority. The father of this man, when he was formerly a private spectator of the Olympic games, beheld a wonderful prodigy: Having sacrificed a victim, the brazen vessels which were filled with the flesh and with water, boiled up and overflowed without the intervention of fire. Chilon the Lacedæmonian, who was an accidental witness of the fact, advised Hippocrates, first of all, not to marry a woman likely to produce him children; secondly, if he was already married, to repudiate his wife; but if he had then a son, by all means to expose him. He who received this counsel was by no means disposed to follow it, and had afterwards this son Pisistratus. A tumult happened betwixt those who dwelt on the sea-coast and those who inhabited the plains: of the former, Megacles the son of Alcmæon was leader; Lycurgus, son of Aristolaides, was at the head of the latter. Pisistratus took this opportunity of accomplishing the views of his ambition. Under pretence of defending those of the mountains he assembled some factious adherents, and put in practice the following stratagem: he not only wounded himself, but his mules,[7] which he drove into

4 *O'er pebbly Hermus, &c.*]—It has been usually translated *fly to Hermus*: but παρ' Ἕρμον certainly means *trans Hermum*; and when said to a Lydian, implies that he should desert his country.—*T.*

5 *Pelasgians and Hellenians.*]—On this passage Mr. Bryant remarks, that the whole is exceedingly confused, and that by it one would imagine Herodotus excluded the Athenians from being Pelasgic. See Bryant's Mythol. vol. iii. 397.—*T.*

6 *Crestona.*]—It appears that Count Caylus has confounded Crestona of Thrace with Crotona of Magna Græcia; but as he has adduced no argument in proof of his opinion, I do not consider it of any importance.—*Larcher.*

7 *Wounded himself, but his mules.*]—Ulysses, Zopyrus, and others, availed themselves of similar artifices for the advantage of their country; but Pisistratus practised his, to depress and enslave his fellow citizens. This occasioned Solon to say to him, "Son of Hippo-

the forum, affecting to have made his escape from the enemy, who had attacked him in a country excursion. He claimed, therefore, the protection of the people, in return for the services which he had performed in his command against the Megarians,[1] by his capture of Nisæa, and by other memorable exploits. The Athenians were deluded by his artifice, and assigned some of their chosen citizens as his guard,[2] armed with clubs instead of spears. These seconded the purpose of Pisistratus, and seized the citadel. He thus obtained the supreme power; but he neither changed the magistrates nor altered the laws; he suffered every thing to be conducted in its ordinary course; and his government was alike honourable to himself[3] and useful to the city. The factions of Megacles and Lycurgus afterwards united, and expelled him from Athens.

LX. By these means Pisistratus became for the first time master of Athens, and obtained an authority which was far from being secure.

The parties, however, which effected his removal, presently disagreed. Megacles, being hard pressed by his opponent, sent proposals to Pisistratus, offering him the supreme power, on condition of his marrying his daughter. Pisistratus acceded to the terms; and a method was concerted to accomplish his return, which to me seems exceedingly preposterous. The Grecians, from the remotest times, were distinguished above the Barbarians by their acuteness; and the Athenians, upon whom this trick was played, were of all the Greeks the most eminent for their sagacity. There was a Pæanian woman, whose name was Phya;[4] she wanted but three digits of being four cubits high, and was, moreover, uncommonly beautiful. She was dressed in a suit of armour, placed in a chariot, and decorated with the greatest imaginable splendour. She was conducted towards the city; heralds were sent before, who, as soon as they arrived within the walls of Athens, were instructed to exclaim aloud, "Athenians, receive Pisistratus again, and with good will; he is the favourite of Minerva, and the goddess herself comes to conduct him to her citadel." The rumour soon spread amongst the multitude, that Minerva was bringing back Pisistratus. Those in the city, being told that this woman was their goddess, prostrated themselves before her, and admitted Pisistratus.[5]

LXI. By these means the son of Hippocrates recoved his authority, and fulfilled the terms of his agreement with Megacles, by marrying his daughter.[6] But as he had already sons grown up, and as the Alcmæonides were stigmatized by some imputed contamination,[7] to avoid having children by this marriage, he refused all natural communication with his wife. This incident, which the woman for a certain time concealed, she afterwards revealed to her mother, in consequence, perhaps, of her inquiries. The father was soon informed of it, who, exasperated by the affront, forgot his ancient resentments, and entered into a league with those whom he had formerly opposed. Pisistratus, seeing the danger which menaced him, hastily left the country, and, retiring to Eretria,[8] there deliberated with his sons con-

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crates, you ill apply the stratagem of Homer's Ulysses: he wounded his body to delude the public enemies; you wound yours to beguile your countrymen."—*Larcher*.

1 *Command against the Megarians.*]—The particulars of this affair are related by Plutarch, in his life of Solon.—*T.*

2 *As his guard.*]—The people being assembled to deliberate on the ambuscade which Pisistratus pretended was concerted against him, assigned him fifty guards for the security of his person. Ariston proposed the decree; but when it was once passed, the people acquiesced in his taking just as many guards as he thought proper. Solon, in a letter to Epemenides, preserved in Diogenes Laertius, but which seems to be spurious, says that Pisistratus required four hundred guards; which, notwithstanding Solon's remonstrances, were granted him. Polyænus says they assigned him three hundred.—*Larcher.*

3 *Honourable to himself.*—Pisistratus, says Plutarch, was not only observant of the laws of Solon himself, but obliged his adherents to be so too. Whilst in the enjoyment of the supreme authority, he was summoned before the Areopagus, to answer for the crime of murder. He appeared with modesty to plead his cause. His accuser did not think proper to appear. The same fact is related by Aristotle.—*Larcher.*

4 *Phya.*]—There is here great appearance of fiction. Phya means air, or personal courage.

Ειδος τε, μεγεθος τε, φυην τ' αγχιστα εωκως.
Il. 24. *T.*

5 *Admitted Pisistratus.*]—The ambitious in all ages have made religion an instrument of their designs; and the people, naturally superstitious and weak, have always been the dupes.—*Larcher.*

6 *By marrying his daughter.*]—Her name was Cœsyra, as appears from the scholiast to the Nubes of Aristophanes.—*Palmerius.*

7 *Imputed contamination.*]—Megacles, who was archon in the time of the conspiracy of Cylon, put the conspirators to death at the foot of the altars where they had taken refuge. All those who had any concern in the perpetration of murder were considered as detestable.—*Larcher.*

8 *Retiring to Eretria.*]—There were two places of this name; one in Thessaly, the other in Eubœa: Pisistratus retired to the latter.

cerning their future conduct. The sentiments of Hippias, which were for attempting the recovery of their dignity, prevailed. They met with no difficulty in procuring assistance from the neighbouring states, amongst whom a prejudice in their favour generally prevailed. Many cities assisted them largely with money; but the Thebans were particularly liberal. Not to protract the narration, every preparation was made to facilitate their return. A band of Argive mercenaries came from the Peloponnese; and an inhabitant of Naxos, named Lygdamis, gave new alacrity to their proceedings, by his unsolicited assistance both with money and with troops.

LXII. After an absence of eleven years, they advanced to Attica from Eretria, and seized on Marathon, in the vicinity of which they encamped. They were soon visited by throngs of factious citizens[9] from Athens, and by all those who preferred tyranny to freedom. Their number was thus soon and considerably increased. Whilst Pisistratus was providing himself with money, and even when he was stationed at Marathon, the Athenians of the city appeared to be under no alarm: but when they heard that he had left his post, and was advancing towards them, they began to assemble their forces, and to think of obstructing his return. Pisistratus continued to approach with his men in one collected body; he halted at the temple of the Pallenian Minerva, opposite to which he fixed his camp. Whilst he remained in this situation, Amphylitus, a priest of Acarnania, approached him, and, as if by divine inspiration,[10] thus addressed him in heroic verse:

The cast is made; the net secures the way;
And night's pale gleams will bring the scaly prey.

LXIII. Pisistratus considered the declaration as prophetic, and prepared his troops accordingly. The Athenians of the city were then engaged at their dinner; after which, they retired to the amusement of dice, or to sleep.[11] The party of Pisistratus, then making the attack, soon compelled them to fly. Pisistratus, in the course of the pursuit, put in execution the following sagacious stratagem, to continue their confusion, and prevent their rallying: he placed his sons on horseback, and directed them to overtake the fugitives; they were commissioned to bid them all remove their apprehensions, and pursue their accustomed employments.

LXIV. The Athenians took him at his word, and Pisistratus thus became a third time master of Athens.[12] He by no means neglected to secure his authority, by retaining many confederate troops, and providing pecuniary resources, partly from Attica itself, and partly from the river Strymon.[13] The children of those citizens, who, instead of retreating from his arms, had opposed his progress, he took as hostages, and sent to the island of Naxos; which

9 *Factious citizens.*]—The whole account given by Herodotus of the conduct of Pisistratus and his party, bears no small resemblance to many circumstances of the Catilinarian conspirators, as described by Cicero and others. Two or three instances are nevertheless recorded, of the moderation of Pisistratus, which well deserve our praise. His daughter assisted at some religious festival: a young man, who violently loved her, embraced her publicly, and afterwards endeavoured to carry her off. His friends excited him to vengeance. "If," says he in reply, "we hate those who love us, what shall we do to those who hate us?"—Some young men, in a drunken frolic, insulted his wife. The next day they came in tears to solicit forgiveness. "You must have been mistaken," said Pisistratus; "my wife did not go abroad yesterday."—*T.*

10 *Divine inspiration.*]—Upon this passage Mr. Bryant has some observations, much too abstruse for our purpose, but well worthy the consideration of the curious. See his Mythology, vol. i. p. 259.—*T.*

11 *To sleep.*]—In all the warmer climates of the globe, the custom of sleeping after dinner is invariably preserved. It appears from modern travellers, that many of the present inhabitants of Athens have their houses flat-roofed, and decorated with arbours, in which they sleep at noon. We are informed, as well by Herodotus, as by Demosthenes, Theophrastus, and Xenophon, that, anciently, the Athenians in general, as well citizens as soldiers, took only two repasts in the day. The meaner sort were satisfied with one, which some took at noon, others at sunset.

The following passage from Horace cannot fail of being interesting; it not only proves the intimacy which prevailed betwixt Mæcenas, Virgil, and Horace, but it satisfies us, that at a much later period, and in the most refined state of the Roman empire, the mode of spending the time after dinner was similar to that here mentioned:

Lusum it Mæcenas, dormitum ego Virgiliusque.
Sermon. lib. i. 5.

12 *Third time master of Athens.*]—Pisistratus, tyrant as he was, loved letters, and favoured those who cultivated them. He it was who first collected Homer's works, and presented the public with the Iliad and Odyssey in their present form.—*Bellanger.*

Cicero, in one of his letters to Atticus, subsequent to the battle of Pharsalia, thus expresses himself: We are not yet certain whether we shall groan under a Phalaris, or enjoy ourselves under a Pisistratus.—*T.*

13 *River Strymon.*]—This river is very celebrated in classical story: there are few of the ancient writers who have not made mention of it; at the present day it is called, at that part where it empties itself into the Ægean, Golfo di Contessa. Upon the banks of this river, Virgil beautifully describes Orpheus to have lamented his Eurydice. Amongst the other rivers memorable in antiquity for their production of gold, were the Pactolus, Hermus, Ganges, Tagus, Iber, Indus, and Arimaspus.—*T.*

place he had before subdued, and given up to Lygdamis. In compliance also with an oracular injunction, he purified Delos:[1] all the dead bodies, which lay within a certain distance of the temple, were, by his orders, dug up, and removed to another part of the island. By the death of some of the Athenians in battle, and by the flight of others with the Alcmæonides, he remained in undisturbed possession of the supreme authority.

LXV. Such was the intelligence which Crœsus received concerning the situation of Athens. With respect to the Lacedæmonians, after suffering many important defeats, they had finally vanquished the Tegeans. Whilst Sparta was under the government of Leon and Hegesicles, the Lacedæmonians, successful in other contests, had been inferior to the Tegeans alone: of all the Grecian states, they had formerly the worst laws: bad with regard to their own internal government, and to strangers intolerable. They obtained good laws, by means of the following circumstance: Lycurgus,[2] a man of distinguished character at Sparta, happened to visit the Delphic oracle. As soon as he had entered the vestibule, the Pythian exclaimed aloud,

Thou comest, Lycurgus, to this honour'd shrine,
Favour'd by Jove, and every power divine,
Or god or mortal! how shall I decide?
Doubtless to heaven most dear and most allied.

It is farther asserted by some, that the priestess dictated to him those institutes which are now observed at Sparta: but the Lacedæmonians themselves affirm, that Lycurgus brought them from Crete while he was guardian to his nephew Leobotas king of Sparta. In consequence of this trust, having obtained the direction of the legislature, he made a total change in the constitution, and took effectual care to secure a strict observance[3] of whatever he introduced: he new-modelled the military code, appointing the Enomotiæ, the Triacades and, the Syssitia; he instituted also the Ephori[4] and the senate.

LXVI. The manners of the people became thus more polished and improved: they, after his death, revered Lycurgus as a divinity, and erected a sacred edifice to his memory.[5] From this period, having a good and populous ter-

1 *Purified Delos.*]—Montfaucon, but without telling us his authority, says, that the whole island of Delos was consecrated by the birth of Apollo and Diana, and that it was not allowable to bury a dead body in any part of it. It should seem from the passage before us, that this must be understood with some restriction.—*T.*

2 *Lycurgus.*]—For an account of the life and character of Lycurgus, we refer the reader, once for all, to Plutarch. His institutes are admirably collected and described by the Abbe Barthelemy, in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol. iv. 110.—*T.*

3 *Strict observance.*]—There were some Lacedæmonians who, deeming the laws of Lycurgus too severe, chose rather to leave their country than submit to them. These passed over to the Sabines in Italy; and when these people were incorporated with the Romans, communicated to them a portion of their Lacedæmonian manners.—*Larcher.*

4 *Ephori*, (*inspectors.*)—Of the Enomotiæ and Triacades we have been able to find no account sufficiently perspicuous to satisfy ourselves, or inform the reader: that of Cragius is perhaps the best. Larcher has a long and elaborate note upon the subject, in which he says, that if any person be able to remove the obscurity in which the subject is involved, it must be the Abbe Barthelemy, to whose study and deliberation it must of necessity occur in his intended work upon Greece. That work has since appeared; but we find in it little mention of the Enomotiæ, &c.

The following account of the Ephori, as collected and compressed from the ancient Greek writers, we give from the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis:

"Aristotle, Plutarch, Cicero, Valerius, Maximus, and Dion Chrysostom, were of opinion, that the Ephori were first instituted by Theopompus, who reigned almost a hundred years after the time of Lycurgus. Herodotus, Plato, and another ancient author named Satyrus, ascribe the institution to Lycurgus. The Ephori were an intermediate body betwixt the kings and the senate. They were called Ephori, or Inspectors, because their attention was extended to every part of the machine of government. They were five in number; and to prevent any abuse of their authority, they were chosen annually by the people, the defenders of whose rights they were. They superintended the education of the youth. Every day they appeared in public, to decide causes, to arbitrate differences, and to prevent the introduction of any thing which might tend to the corruption of youth. They could oblige magistrates to render an account of their administration; they might even suspend them from their functions, and drag them to prison. The kings themselves were compelled to obey the third summons to appear before the Ephori and answer for any imputed fault. The whole executive power was vested in their hands: they received foreign ambassadors, levied troops, and gave the general his orders, whom they could recall at pleasure. So many privileges secured them a veneration, which they justified from the rewards they bestowed on merit, by their attachment to ancient maxims, and by the firmness with which, on several occasions, they broke the force of conspiracies, which menaced the tranquillity of the state."—*T.*

5 *To his memory.*]—The Lacedæmonians having bound themselves by an oath not to abrogate any of the laws of Lycurgus before his return to Sparta, the legislator went to consult the oracle at Sparta. He was told by the Pythian, that Sparta would be happy, as long as his laws were observed. Upon this he resolved to return no more, that he might thus be secure of the observance of these institutions, to which they were so solemnly bound: he went to Crisa, and there slew himself. The Lacedæmonians, hearing of this, in testimony of his former virtue, as well as of that which he discovered in his death, erected to him a temple, with an altar, at which they annually offered sacrifice to his honour, as to a hero. The above fact is mentioned both by Pausanias and Plutarch.—*Larcher.*

ritory, they rapidly rose to prosperity and power. Dissatisfied with the languor and inactivity of peace, and conceiving themselves in all respects superior to the Tegeans, they sent to consult the oracle concerning the entire conquest of Arcadia. The Pythian thus answered them:

Ask ye Arcadia? 'tis a bold demand;
A rough and hardy race defend the land.
Repulsed by them, one only boon you gain,
With frequent foot to dance on Tegea's plain,
And o'er her fields the measuring cord to strain.

No sooner had the Lacedæmonians received this reply, than, leaving the other parts of Arcadia unmolested, they proceeded to attack the Tegeans, carrying a quantity of fetters with them. They relied upon the evasive declaration of the oracle, and imagined that they should infallibly reduce the Tegeans to servitude. They engaged them, and were defeated:[6] as many as were taken captive were loaded with the fetters which themselves had brought, and thus employed in laborious service in the fields of the Tegeans. These chains were preserved, even in my remembrance, in Tegea, hung round the temple of the Alean Minerva.[7]

LXVII. In the origin of their contests with the Tegeans, they were uniformly unsuccessful; but in the time of Crœsus, when Anaxandrides and Ariston had the government of Sparta, they experienced a favourable change of fortune, which is thus to be explained:

Having repeatedly been defeated by the Tegeans, they sent to consult the Delphic oracle what particular deity they had to appease, to become victorious over their adversaries. The Pythian assured them of success, if they brought back the body of Orestes son of Agamemnon. Unable to discover his tomb, they sent a second time, to inquire concerning the place of his interment. The following was the oracular communication:

A plain[8] within th' Arcadian land I know,
Where double winds with forced exertion blow,
Where form to form with mutual strength replies,
And ill by other ills supported lies:
That earth contains the great Atrides' son;
Take him, and conquer: Tegea then is won.

After the above, the search for the body was without intermission continued: it was at length discovered by Lichas,[9] one of those Spartans distinguished by the name of Agathoergoi; which title was usually conferred after a long period of service among the cavalry. Of these citizens, five were every year permitted to retire; but were expected, during the first year of their discharge, to visit different countries, on the business of the public.

LXVIII. Lichas, when in this situation, made the wished-for discovery, partly by good fortune, and partly by his own sagacity. They had at this time a commercial intercourse with the Tegeans; and Lichas, happening to visit a smith at his forge, observed with particular curiosity the process of working the iron. The man took notice of his attention, and desisted from his labour. "Stranger of Sparta," said he, "you seem to admire the art which you contemplate; but how much more would your wonder be excited, if you knew all that I am able to communicate! Near this place, as I was sinking a well, I found a coffin seven cubits long; I never believed that men were formerly of larger dimensions than at present;[10]

6 *Were defeated.*]—This incident happened during the reign of Charillus. The women of Tegea took up arms, and placing themselves in ambuscade at the foot of mount Phylactris, they rushed upon the Lacedæmonians, who were already engaged with the Tegeans, and put them to flight. The above is from Pausanias.—*Larcher.*—Polyænus relates the same fact.

7 *Temple of the Alean Minerva.*]—This custom of suspending in sacred buildings the spoils taken from the enemy, commencing in the most remote and barbarous ages, has been continued to the present period. See Samuel, book ii. chap. 8. "And David took the shields of gold which were on the servants of Hadadezer, and brought them to Jerusalem; which king David did dedicate unto the Lord, with the silver and gold of all nations which he subdued."

These fetters, taken from the Lacedæmonians, were seen also in this temple in the time of Pausanias.—It is usual also with the moderns, to suspend in churches the colours taken from the enemy.—*T.*

8 *A plain, &c.*]—Εντιταρροθος is singularly used here; it means, I presume, "then you may have to defend Tegea, having by victory become proprietor of it."—*T.*

9 *Discovered by Lichas.*]—In honour of this Lichas, the Lacedæmonians struck a medal: on one side was a head of Hercules; on the reverse, a head, with a long beard and a singular ornament.—*Larcher.*

10 *Larger dimensions than at present.*]—Upon this subject of the degeneracy of the human race, whoever wishes to see what the greatest ingenuity can urge, will receive no small entertainment from the works of Lord Monboddo. If, in the time of Herodotus, this seemed matter of complaint, what conclusions must an advocate of this theory draw concerning the stature of his brethren in the progress of an equal number of succeeding centuries!—*T.*

In the perusal of history, traditions are to be found, of a pretended race of giants in every country of the globe, and even among the savages of Canada. Bones of an extraordinary size, found in different regions, have obtained such opinions credit. Some of these, in the time of Augustus, were exhibited at Caprea, formerly the resort of many savage and monstrous animals: these, it was pretended, were the bones of those giants who had fought against the gods. In 1613, they showed through

but, when I opened it,[1] I discovered a body equal in length to the coffin: I correctly measured it, and placed it where I found it." Lichas, after hearing his relation, was induced to believe that this might be the body of Orestes, concerning which the oracle had spoken. He was farther persuaded, when he recollected that the bellows of the smith might intimate the two winds; the anvil and the hammer might express one form opposing another; the iron, also, which was beaten, might signify ill succeeding ill, rightly conceiving that the use of iron operated to the injury of mankind. With these ideas in his mind, he returned to Sparta, and related the matter to his countrymen; who immediately, under pretence of some imputed crime, sent him into banishment. He returned to Tegea, told his misfortune to the smith, and hired of him the ground, which he at first refused positively to part with. He resided there for a certain space of time, when, digging up the body, he collected the bones, and returned with them to Sparta. The Lacedæmonians had previously obtained possession of a great part of the Peloponnese; and, after the above-mentioned event, their contests with the Tegeans were attended with uninterrupted success.

LXIX. Crœsus was duly informed of all these circumstances: he accordingly sent messengers to Sparta, with presents, at the same time directing them to form an offensive alliance with the people. They delivered their message in these terms: "Crœsus, sovereign of Lydia, and of various nations, thus addresses himself to Sparta: I am directed by the oracles to form a Grecian alliance; and, as I know you to be pre-eminent above all the states of Greece, I, without collusion of any kind, desire to become your friend and ally." The Lacedæmonians, having heard of the oracular declaration to Crœsus, were rejoiced at his distinction in their favour, and instantly acceded to his proposed terms of confederacy. It is to be observed, that Crœsus had formerly rendered kindness to the Lacedæmonians: they had sent to Sardis to purchase some gold for the purpose of erecting the statue of Apollo, which is still to be seen at mount Thornax; Crœsus presented them with all they wanted.

LXX. Influenced by this consideration, as well as by his decided partiality to them, they entered into all his views: they declared themselves ready to give such assistance as he wanted; and farther to mark their attachment, they prepared, as a present for the king, a brazen vessel, capable of containing three hundred amphoræ, and ornamented round the brim with the figures of various animals. This, however, never reached Sardis; the occasion of which is thus differently explained. The Lacedæmonians affirm, that their vessel was intercepted near Samos, on its way to Sardis, by the Samians, who had fitted out some ships of war for this particular purpose. The Samians, on the contrary, assert that the Lacedæmonians employed on this business did not arrive in time; but, hearing that Sardis was lost, and Crœsus in captivity, they disposed of their charge to some private individuals of Samos, who presented it to the temple of Juno. They who acted this part might perhaps, on their return to Sparta, declare that the vessel had been violently taken from them by the Samians.

LXXI. Crœsus, in the mean time, deluded by the words of the oracle, prepared to lead his forces into Cappadocia, in full expectation of becoming conqueror of Cyrus and of Persia. Whilst he was employed in providing for his expedition, a certain Lydian named Sardanis, who had always, among his countrymen, the reputation of wisdom, and became still more memorable from this occasion, thus addressed Crœsus: "You meditate, O king! an attack upon men who are clothed with the skins of animals;[2] who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated, live on what they can procure, not on what they wish; strangers to the taste of wine, they drink water only;[3] even figs are a

Europe, the bones of the giant Teutobachus: unluckily, a naturalist proved them to be the bones of an elephant. —*Larcher.*

1 *Opened it.*]—It may be asked how Orestes, who neither reigned nor resided at Tegea, could possibly be buried there?—Strabo, in general terms, informs us that he died in Arcadia, whilst conducting an Æolian colony. Stephen of Byzantium is more precise: he says, that Orestes, being bitten by a viper, died at a place called Orestium. His body was doubtless carried to Tegeum, which is at no great distance, as he was descended, by his grandmother Ærope, from Tegeates the founder of Tegea.—*Larcher.*

2 *Skins of animals.*]—Dresses made of the skins of animals are of the highest antiquity. Not to mention those of Adam and Eve, the Scythians and other northern nations used them as a defence against the cold. Even the inhabitants of warmer climates wore them before they became civilized.—*Bellanger.*

3 *Drink water only.*]—Xenophon, as well as Herodotus, informs us, that the Persians drank only water: nevertheless, our historian, in another place, says that the Persians were addicted to wine. In this there is no contradiction: when these Persians were poor, a little

delicacy with which they are unacquainted, and all our luxuries are entirely unknown to them. If you conquer them, what can you take from them, who have nothing? but if you shall be defeated, it becomes you to think of what you on your part will be deprived. When they shall once have tasted our delicacies, we shall never again be able to get rid of them. I indeed am thankful to the gods for not inspiring the Persians with the wish of invading Lydia." Crœsus disregarded this admonition: it is nevertheless certain, that the Persians, before their conquest of Lydia, were strangers to every species of luxury.

LXXII. The Cappadocians are by the Greeks called Syrians. Before the empire of Persia existed, they were under the dominion of the Medes, though now in subjection to Cyrus. The different empires of the Lydians and the Medes were divided by the river Halys;[4] which, rising in a mountain of Armenia, passes through Cilicia, leaving in its progress the Matienians on its right, and Phrygia on its left: then stretching towards the north, it separates the Cappadocian Syrians from Paphlagonia, which is situated on the left of the stream. Thus the river Halys separates all the lower parts of Asia, from the sea which flows opposite to Cyprus, as far as the Euxine, a space over which an active man[5] could not travel in less than five days.[6]

LXXIII. Crœsus continued to advance towards Cappadocia; he was desirous of adding the country to his dominions, but he was principally influenced by his confidence in the oracle, and his zeal for revenging on Cyrus the cause of Astyages. Astyages was son of Cyaxares king of the Medes, and brother-in-law to Crœsus; he was now vanquished, and detained in captivity by Cyrus, son of Cambyses. The affinity betwixt Crœsus and Astyages was of this nature:—Some tumult having arisen among the Scythian Nomades, a number of them retired clandestinely into the territories of the Medes, where Cyaxares son of Phraortes, and grandson of Deioces, was at that time king. He received the fugitives under his protection, and, after showing them many marks of his favour, he intrusted some boys to their care, to learn their language, and the Scythian management of the bow.[7] These Scythians employed much of their time in hunting, in which they were generally, though not alike successful. Cyaxares, it seems, was of an irritable disposition, and meeting them one day, when they returned without any game, he treated them with much insolence and asperity. They conceived themselves injured, and determined not to acquiesce in the affront. After some consultation among themselves, they determined to kill one of the children intrusted to their care, to dress him as they were accustomed to do their game, and to serve him up to Cyaxares. Having done this, they resolved to fly to Sardis, where Alyattes, son of Sadyattes, was king, They executed their purpose. Cyaxares and his guests partook of the human flesh, and the Scythians immediately sought the protection of Alyattes.

LXXIV. Cyaxares demanded their persons; on refusal of which, a war commenced betwixt the Lydians and the Medes, which continued five years. It was attended with various success: and it is remarkable, that one of their engagements took place in the night.[8] In the

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satisfied them: rendered rich by the conquests of Cyrus and his successors, luxury, and all its concomitant vices, was introduced among them.—*Larcher*.

4 *Halys.*]—The stream of this river was colder than any in Ionia, and celebrated for that quality by the elegiac poets.—*Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor*.

5 *Active man, &c.*]—The Greek is *ευζωνῳ ανδρι*, literally, in English, a well-girt man. The expression is imitated by Horace:

> Hoc iter ignavi divisimus—altius ac nos
> *Præcinctis* unum.—— T.

6 *Five days.*]—Scymnus of Chios, having remarked that the Euxine is a seven days' journey distant from Cilicia, adduces the present passage as a proof of our historian's ignorance. Scymnus probably estimated the day's journey at 150 furlongs, which was sometimes done; whilst Herodotus makes it 200. This makes, between their two accounts, a difference of 50 furlongs; a difference too small to put any one out of temper with our historian.—*Larcher*.

7 *Scythian management of the bow.*]—The Scythians had the reputation of being excellent archers. The scholiast of Theocritus informs us, that, according to Herodotus and Callimachus, Hercules learned the art of the bow from the Scythian Teutarus. Theocritus himself says, that Hercules learned this art from Eurytus, one of the Argonauts. The Athenians had Scythians amongst their troops, as had probably the other Greeks.—*Larcher*.

8 *Took place in the night.*]—Upon this passage I am favoured, by an ingenious friend, with the following note.

"I am inclined to think that one event only is spoken of here by Herodotus; and that by *νυκτομαχιαν τινα* he meant to express a *kind* of *night-engagement*, of which the subsequent sentence contains the particulars. Otherwise it seems strange, that he should mention the *νυκτομαχια* as a remarkable occurrence, and not give any particulars concerning it. The objections to this interpretation are, the connecting the sentence by *δε* instead of *γαρ*, and the following account, that they ceased to fight after the eclipse came on; but neither

sixth year, when neither side could reasonably claim superiority, in the midst of an engagement the day was suddenly involved in darkness. This phenomenon, and the particular period at which it was to happen, had been foretold to the Ionians by Thales[1] the Milesian. Awed by the solemnity of the event, the parties desisted from the engagement, and it farther influenced them both to listen to certain propositions for peace, which were made by Syennesis of Cilicia, and Labynetus[2] of Babylon. To strengthen the treaty, these persons also recommended a matrimonial connexion. They advised that Alyattes should give Aryenis his daughter to Astyages son of Cyaxares, from the just conviction that no political engagements are durable unless strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds.[3] The ceremony of confirming alliances is the same in this nation as in Greece, with this addition, that both parties wound themselves in the arm and mutually lick the blood.[4]

of these are insuperable. The interpretation of τινα is perfectly fair, and not unusual. Astronomers have affirmed, from calculation, that this eclipse must have happened in the seventh year of Astyages, not in the reign of Cyaxares."

1 *Foretold to the Ionians by Thales.*]—Of Thales, the life is given by Diogenes Laertius; many particulars also concerning him are to be found in Plutarch, Pliny, Lactantius, Apuleius, and Cicero. He was the first of the seven wise men, the first also who distinguished himself by his knowledge of astrology; add to which, he was the first who predicted an eclipse. His most memorable saying was, that he was thankful to the gods for three things—That he was born a man, and not a beast; that he was born a man, and not a woman; that he was born a Greek, and not a Barbarian. The darkness in the Iliad, which surprises the Greeks and Trojans in the midst of a severe battle, though represented as preternatural, and the immediate interposition of Jupiter himself, has not the effect of suspending the battle. This might, perhaps, afford matter of discussion, did not the description of the darkness, and the subsequent prayer of Ajax, from their beauty and sublimity, exclude all criticism.—*T.*

2 *Labynetus.*]—The same, says Prideaux, with the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture. He was called, continues the same author, by Berosus, Nabonnedus; by Megasthenes, Nabonnidichus; by Josephus, Naboardelus.—*T.*

3 *Strengthened by the closest of all possible bonds.*]—It is not, perhaps, much to the credit of modern refinement, that political intermarriages betwixt those of royal blood seem anciently to have been considered as more solemn in themselves, and to have operated more effectually to the security of the public peace, than at present.—*T.*

4 *Lick the blood.*]—The Scythians, according to Herodotus, have a custom nearly similar. "If the Siamese wish to vow an eternal friendship, they make an incision in some part of the body, till the blood appears, which they afterwards reciprocally drink. In this manner the ancient Scythians and Babylonians ratified alliances; and almost all the modern nations of the East observe the same custom."—*Civil and Natural History of Siam.*

LXXV. Astyages, therefore, was the grandfather of Cyrus, though at this time vanquished by him, and his captive, the particulars of which event I shall hereafter relate. This was what excited the original enmity of Crœsus, and prompted him to inquire of the oracle whether he should make war upon Persia. The delusive reply which was given him, he interpreted in a manner the most favourable to himself, and proceeded in his concerted expedition. When he arrived at the river Halys, he passed over his forces on bridges, which he there found constructed; although the Greeks in general assert, that this service was rendered him by Thales the Milesian. Whilst Crœsus was hesitating over what part of the river he should attempt a passage, as there was no bridge then constructed; Thales divided it into two branches. He sunk a deep trench,[5] which commencing above the camp, from the river, was in the form of a semi-circle conducted round till it again met the ancient bed. It thus became easily fordable on either side. There are some who say, that the old channel was entirely dried up, to which opinion I can by no means assent, for then their return would have been equally difficult.

LXXVI. Crœsus, having passed over with his army, came into that part of Cappadocia which is called Pteria, the best situated in point of strength of all that district, and near the city of Sinope, on the Euxine. He here fixed his station, and, after wasting the Syrian lands, besieged and took the Pterians' principal city. He destroyed also the neighbouring towns, and almost exterminated the Syrians, from whom he had certainly received no injury. Cyrus at length collected his forces,[6] and, taking with him those nations which lay betwixt himself and the invader, advanced to meet him. Before he began his march, he despatched

5 *Sunk a deep trench.*]—Anciently, when they wanted to construct a bridge, they began by adding another channel to the river, to turn off the waters: when the ancient bed was dry, or at least when there was but little water left, the bridge was erected. Thus it was much less troublesome to Crœsus to turn the river than to construct a bridge.—*Larcher.*

6 *Cyrus at length collected his forces.*]—Cyrus, intimidated by the threats of Crœsus, was inclined to retire into India. His wife Bardane inspired him with new courage, and advised him to consult Daniel, who, on more than one occasion, had predicted future events, both to her and to Darius the Mede. Cyrus, having consulted the prophet, received from him an assurance of victory. To me this seems one of those fables which the Jews and earlier Christians made no scruple of asserting as truths not to be disputed.—*Larcher.*

emissaries to the Ionians, with the view of detaching them from Crœsus. This not succeeding, he moved forwards and attacked Crœsus in his camp; they engaged on the plains of Pteria, with the greatest ardour on both sides. The battle was continued with equal violence and loss till night parted the combatants, leaving neither in possession of victory.

LXXVII. The army of Crœsus being inferior in number, and Cyrus on the morrow discovering no inclination to renew the engagement, the Lydian prince determined to return to Sardis, intending to claim the assistance of the Egyptians, with whose king, Amasis, he had formed an alliance, previous to his treaty with the Lacedæmonians. He had also made an offensive and defensive league with the Babylonians, over whom Labynetus was then king.[7] With these, in addition to the Lacedæmonian aids, who were to be ready at a stipulated period, he resolved, after spending a certain time in winter quarters, to attack the Persians early in the spring. Full of these thoughts, Crœsus returned to Sardis, and immediately sent messengers to his different allies, requiring them to meet at Sardis within the space of five months. The troops which he had led against the Persians, being chiefly mercenaries, he disembodied and dismissed, never supposing that Cyrus, who had certainly no claims of victory to assert, would think of following him to Sardis.

LXXVIII. Whilst the mind of Crœsus was thus occupied, the lands near his capital were filled with a multitude of serpents; and it was observed that, to feed on these, the horses neglected and forsook their pastures.[8] Crœsus, conceiving this to be of mysterious import, which it unquestionably was, sent to make inquiry of the Telmessian priests[9] concerning it. The answer which his messengers received, explaining the prodigy, they had no opportunity of communicating to Crœsus; for, before they could possibly return to Sardis, he was defeated and a captive.

The Telmessians had thus interpreted the incident: that a foreign army was about to attack Crœsus, on whose arrival the natives would be certainly subdued; for, as the serpent was produced from the earth, the horse might be considered both as a foreigner and an enemy. When the ministers of the oracle reported this answer to Crœsus, he was already in captivity; of which, and of the events which accompanied it, they were at that time ignorant.

LXXIX. Cyrus was well informed that it was the intention of Crœsus, after the battle of Pteria, to dismiss his forces; he conceived it therefore advisable to advance, with all imaginable expedition, to Sardis, before the Lydian forces could be again collected. The measure was no sooner concerted than executed; and, conducting his army instantly into Lydia, he was himself the messenger of his arrival. Crœsus, although distressed by an event so contrary to his foresight and expectation, lost no time in preparing the Lydians for battle. At that period, no nation of Asia was more hardy or more valiant than the Lydians. They fought principally on horseback, armed with long spears, and were very expert in the management of the horse.

LXXX. The field of battle was a spacious and open plain in the vicinity of Sardis, intersected by many streams, and by the Hyllus in particular, all of which united with one larger than the rest, called the Hermus. This rising in the mountain, which is sacred to Cybele, finally empties itself into the sea, near the city Phocæa. Here Cyrus found the Lydians prepared for the encounter; and as he greatly feared the impression of their cavalry, by the advice of Harpagus the Mede, he took the following means of obviating the danger. He collected all the camels which followed his camp, carrying the provisions and other baggage: taking from these their burdens, he placed on them men accoutred as horsemen. Thus prepared, he ordered them to advance against the Lydian horse; his infantry were to

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7 *Labynetus was then king.*]—Labynetus was the last king of Babylon. He united himself with Crœsus to repress the too great power of Cyrus. The conduct of Amasis was prompted by a similar motive.—*Larcher.*

8 *Forsook their pastures.*]—There is a collection of prodigies by Julius Obsequens; all of which were understood to be predictive of some momentous event. Amongst these, the example of some mice eating the gold consecrated to the use of a divinity, and deposited in his temple, is not less remarkable than the instance before us. The English reader may, perhaps, construe this as rather expressive of the preceding avarice or poverty of the priests, than as predictive of the destruction of Carthage, to which event this, with other prodigies, was made to refer.—*T.*

9 *Telmessian priests.*]—Telmessus was a son of Apollo, by one of the daughters of Antenor. The god had commerce with her under the form of a little dog; and to make her compensation, endowed her with the faculty of interpreting prodigies. Telmessus, her son, had the same gift. He was interred under the altar of Apollo, in the city of Telmessa, of which he was probably the founder.—*Larcher.*

follow in the rear of the camels, and his own cavalry[1] closed the order of the attack. Having thus arranged his forces, he commanded that no quarter should be granted to the Lydians, but that whoever resisted should be put to death, Crœsus himself excepted, who, whatever opposition he might make, was at all events to be taken alive. He placed his camels in the van, knowing the hatred which a horse has to this animal,[2] being neither able to support the smell nor the sight of it. He was satisfied that the principal dependence of Crœsus was on his cavalry, which he hoped by this stratagem to render ineffective. The engagement had no sooner commenced, than the horses, seeing and smelling the camels, threw their own ranks into disorder, to the total discomfiture of Crœsus. Nevertheless, the Lydians did not immediately surrender the day: they discovered the stratagem, and, quitting their horses, engaged the Persians on foot; a great number of men fell on both sides; but the Lydians were finally compelled to fly, and, retreating within their walls, were there closely besieged.

LXXXI. Crœsus, believing the siege would be considerably protracted, sent other emissaries to his different confederates. The tendency of his former engagements was to require their presence at Sardis within five months. He now entreated the immediate assistance of his other allies, in common with the Lacedæmonians.

LXXXII. At this crisis the Spartans themselves were engaged in dispute with the Argives, concerning the possession of a place called Thyrea;[3] of which, although it really constituted a part of the Argive territories, the Lacedæmonians had taken violent possession. All that tract of country which extends from Argos, westward, to Malea, as well the continent as Cythera, and the other islands, belonged to the Argives. They prepared to defend the part of their territories which had been attacked; but the parties coming to a conference, it was agreed that three hundred men on each side should decide the dispute, and that Thyrea should be the reward of victory. Both the armies, by agreement, were to retire to their respective homes, lest, remaining on the field of battle, either should be induced to render assistance to their party. After their departure, the men who had been selected for the purpose came to an engagement, and fought with so little inequality, that out of six hundred but three remained, when night alone had terminated the contest. Of the Argives, two survived, whose names were Alcenor and Chromius; they hastened to Argos, and claimed the victory. The Lacedæmonian was called Othryades, who, plundering the bodies of the slaughtered Argives, removed their arms to the camp of his countrymen, and then resumed his post in the field. On the second day after the event, the parties met, and both claimed the victory; the Argives, because the greater number of their men survived; the Lacedæmonians, because the Argives who remained had fled, but their single man had continued in the field, and plundered the bodies of his adversaries. Their altercations terminated in a battle,[4] in which, after considerable loss on both sides, the Lacedæmonians were victorious. From this time and incident, the Argives, who formerly suffered their hair to grow in full length, cut it short, binding themselves, by a solemn imprecation, that, till Thyrea should be recovered, no man shall permit his hair to increase, nor Argive woman adorn herself with gold. The Lacedæmonians, on the contrary, issued an edict, that, as they formerly wore their hair short,[5] it should henceforth be permitted to

1 *His own cavalry.*]—Xenophon remarks, book the seventh of the Cyropædia, at the beginning, that the cavalry with which Cyrus proceeded on his march against Crœsus, were covered on their heads and breasts with mails of brass. This may serve, perhaps, as an explanatory comment on Jeremiah, chap. li. verse 27: "Cause the horses to come up as *a rough caterpillar;*" that is, perhaps, with mails of brass on their heads and necks.

Locusts are compared to horses and horsemen, in the book of Joel, chap. ii. verse 4.—"The appearance of them is as the appearance of horses, and like horsemen shall they run."—*T.*

2 *Horse has to this animal.*]—This natural antipathy of the horse for the camel is affirmed by the ancients; but it is disproved by daily experience, and derided by the best judges, the Orientals.—*Gibbon.*

3 *Called Thyrea.*]—Thyrea was, from its situation, a place of infinite importance to the Argives, as they obtained by it a communication with all their other possessions on that side.—*Larcher.*

4 *Terminated in a battle.*]—Plutarch, on the contrary, affirms, that the Amphictyons, coming to the spot, and bearing testimony to the valour of Othryades, adjudged the victory to the Lacedæmonians. He makes no mention of a second battle.—*Larcher.*

5 *Formerly wore their hair short.*]—All the Greeks formerly wore their hair very long, which is evident from the epithet so repeatedly given them by Homer, of long-haired. Xenophon, in contradiction to the passage before us, remarks, that the Lacedæmonian custom of suffering the hair to grow, was amongst the institutions of Lycurgus. Plutarch also denies the fact here introduced.—*Larcher.*

This battle necessarily brings to mind the contest of

grow. It is reported of Othryades, the survivor of his three hundred countrymen, that ashamed to return to Sparta, when all his comrades had so honourably died, he put himself to death at Thyrea.

LXXXIII. Whilst the Spartans were in this situation, the Sardian messenger arrived, relating the extreme danger of Crœsus, and requesting their immediate assistance. This they without hesitation resolved to give. Whilst they were making for this purpose preparations of men and ships, a second messenger brought intelligence, that Sardis was taken, and Crœsus in captivity. Strongly impressed by this wonderful calamity, the Lacedæmonians made no farther efforts.

LXXXIV. Sardis was thus taken:—On the fourteenth day of the siege, Cyrus sent some horsemen round his camp, promising a reward to whoever should first scale the wall. The attempt was made, but without success. After which a certain Mardian, whose name was Hyræades,[6] made a daring effort on a part of the citadel where no sentinel was stationed; it being so strong and so difficult of approach as seemingly to defy all attack. Around this place alone Meles had neglected to carry his son Leon, whom he had by a concubine, the Telmessian priests having declared, that Sardis should never be taken, if Leon were carried round the walls. Leon, it seems, was carried by his father round every part of the citadel which was exposed to attack. He omitted taking him round that which is opposite to mount Tmolus, from the persuasion that its natural strength rendered all modes of defence unnecessary. Here, however, the Mardian had the preceding day observed a Lydian descend to recover his helmet, which had fallen down the precipice. He revolved the incident in his mind. He attempted to scale it; he was seconded by other Persians, and their example followed by greater numbers. In this manner was Sardis stormed,[7] and afterwards given up to plunder.

LXXXV. We have now to speak of the fate of Crœsus. He had a son, as we have before related, who, though accomplished in other respects, was unfortunately dumb. Crœsus, in his former days of good fortune, had made every attempt to obtain a cure for this infirmity. Amongst other things, he sent to inquire of the Delphic oracle. The Pythian returned this answer:—

> Wide, ruling Lydian, in thy wishes wild,
> Ask not to hear the accents of thy child;
> Far better were his silence for thy peace,
> And sad will be the day when that shall cease.

During the storm of the city, a Persian, meeting Crœsus, was, through ignorance of his person, about to kill him. The king, overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to avoid the blow or escape death; but his dumb son, when he saw the violent designs of the Persian, overcome with astonishment and terror, exclaimed aloud, "O man, do not kill Crœsus!"[8] This was the first time he had ever articulated, but he retained the faculty of speech from this event as long as he lived.

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the Horatii and Curiatii, which decided the empire of Rome. The account which Suidas gives of Othryades differs essentially. Othryades, says he, was wounded, and concealed himself amongst the bodies of the slain; and when Alcenor and Chromius, the Argives who survived, were departed, he himself stripped the bodies of the enemy, erected thus a trophy, as it were, of human blood, and immediately died.—*T.*

6 *Hyræades.*]—Of this person Xenophon does not give us the name. According to him, a Persian who had been the slave of a man on military duty in the citadel, served as guide to the troops of Cyrus. In other respects, his account of the capture of Sardis differs but little from that of our historian.—*Larcher.*

By means of this very rock, and by a similar stratagem, Sardis was a long time afterwards taken, under the conduct of Antiochus. The circumstances are described at length by Polybius. An officer had observed, that vultures and birds of prey gathered there about the offals and dead bodies thrown into the hollow by the besieged; and inferred that the wall standing on the edge of the precipice was neglected, as secure from attack. He scaled it with a resolute party, while Antiochus called off the attention both of his own army and of the enemy, by a feint, marching as if he intended to attack the Persian gate. Two thousand soldiers rushed in at the gate opened for them, and took their post at the theatre, when the town was plundered and burned.—*T.*

7 *In this manner was Sardis stormed.*]—Polyænus relates the matter differently. According to him Cyrus availed himself of a truce which he had concluded with Crœsus, to advance his forces, and making his approach by night, took the city by surprise. Crœsus still remaining in possession of the citadel, expected the arrival of his Grecian succours; but Cyrus putting in irons the relations and friends of those who defended the citadel, showed them in that state to the besieged; at the same time he informed them by a herald, that if they would give up the place he would set their friends at liberty; but that if they persevered in their defence, he would put them to death. The besieged chose rather to surrender, than cause their relations to perish.—*T.*

8 "*Do not kill Crœsus!*"]—Mr. Hayley, in his Essay on History, reprobating the irreligious spirit of Mr. Gibbon, happily introduces this incident.

My verse, says the Poet,

> —Breathes an honest sigh of deep concern,
> And pities genius, when his wild career
> Gives faith a wound, and innocence a fear.
> Humility herself, divinely mild,
> Sublime Religion's meek and modest child,
> Like the dumb son of Crœsus, in the strife,
> Where force assail'd his father's sacred life,
> Breaks silence, and with filial duty warm,
> Bids thee revere her parent's hallow'd form.

LXXXVI. The Persians thus obtained possession of Sardis, and made Crœsus captive, when he had reigned fourteen years, and after a siege of fourteen days; a mighty empire, agreeably to the prediction which had deluded him, being then destroyed. The Persians brought him to the presence of Cyrus, who ordered him to be placed in chains upon the summit of a huge wooden pile,[1] and fourteen Lydian youths[2] around him. He did this, either desirous of offering to some deity the first-fruits of his victory, in compliance with some vow which he had made; or, perhaps, anxious to know whether any deity would liberate Crœsus, of whose piety he had heard, from the danger of being consumed by fire. When Crœsus stood erect upon the pile, although in this extremity of misery, he did not forget the saying of Solon, which now appeared of divine inspiration, that no living mortal could be accounted happy. When the memory of this saying occurred to Crœsus, it is said, that rousing himself from the profoundest silence of affliction, he thrice pronounced aloud the name of Solon.[3] Cyrus, hearing this, desired by his interpreters to know who it was that he invoked. They approached and asked him, but he continued silent. At length, being compelled to explain himself, he said, "I named a man with whom I had rather that all kings should converse, than be master of the greatest riches." Not being sufficiently understood, he was solicited to be more explicit; to their repeated and importunate inquiries, he replied to this effect: That Solon, an Athenian, had formerly visited him, a man who, when he had seen all his immense riches, treated them with disdain: whose sayings were at that moment verified in his fate; sayings which he had applied not to him in particular, but to all mankind, and especially to those who were in their own estimation happy. While Crœsus was thus speaking the pile was lighted, and the flame began to ascend. Cyrus, being informed of what had passed, felt compunction for what he had done. His heart reproached him, that being himself a mortal, he had condemned to a cruel death by fire a man formerly not inferior to himself. He feared the anger of the gods, and reflecting that all human affairs are precarious and uncertain, he commanded the fire to be instantly extinguished, and Crœsus to be saved with his companions. The flames, however, repelled the efforts of the ministers of Cyrus.

LXXXVII. In this extremity the Lydians affirm, that Crœsus, informed of the change of the king's sentiments in his favour, by seeing the officious efforts of the multitude to extinguish the flames, which seemed likely to be ineffectual, implored the assistance of Apollo, entreating, that if he had ever made him any acceptable offering,[4] he would now interpose, and deliver him from the impending danger. When Crœsus, with tears, had thus invoked the god, the sky, which before was serene and tranquil, suddenly became dark and gloomy, a violent storm of rain succeeded, and the fire of the pile was extinguished. This event satisfied Cyrus that Crœsus was both a good man in himself, and a favourite of heaven: causing him to be taken down from the pile, "Crœsus," said he, addressing him, "what could induce you to in-

1 *A huge wooden pile.*]—The cruelty of this conduct of Cyrus is aggravated from the consideration that Crœsus was his relation. See chap. 73.—*T.*

2 *Fourteen Lydian youths.*]—Achilles, in the Iliad, sacrifices twelve Trojan youths at the funeral pile of Patroclus:

> And twelve *sad* victims of the Trojan line
> Sacred to vengeance, instant shall expire,
> Their lives effused around thy funeral pyre.

Again,

> Then last of all, and horrible to tell,
> *Sad* sacrifice, twelve Trojan captives fell.

The reader will, doubtless, agree with me, that the word *sad* is in both these places very ill and feebly applied by Mr. Pope in his version. The expression of Homer is αγλαα τεκνα,—illustrious youths or sons. —*T.*

3 *The name of Solon.*]—It seems in this place not improper to introduce from Plutarch the following particulars, with respect to Crœsus and Solon. That Solon, says Plutarch, should converse with Crœsus, seems to some not consistent with chronology; but I cannot for this reason reject a relation so credible in itself, and so well attested. Plutarch, after this remark, proceeds to give an account of the conversation betwixt Crœsus and Solon, nearly in the same words with Herodotus; "The felicity of that man," concludes the philosopher, to the king, "who still lives, is like the glory of a wrestler still within the ring, precarious and uncertain." He was then dismissed, having vexed but not instructed Crœsus. But when Crœsus was conquered by Cyrus, his city taken, and himself a prisoner, he was bound, and about to be burned on a pile; then he remembered the words of Solon, and three times pronounced his name. The explanation, given at the request of Cyrus, preserved the life of Crœsus, and obtained him respect and honour with his conqueror. Thus Solon had the glory, by the same saying, to instruct one prince and preserve another.—*Plutarch's Life of Solon.*

4 *Ever made him any acceptable offering.*]—Larcher is of opinion, that in this passage, Herodotus must have had in his eye the following lines of Homer:

> Thou source of light, whom Tenedos adores,
> And whose bright presence gilds thy Chrysa's shores;
> If e'er with wreaths I hung thy sacred fane,
> Or fed the flames with fat of oxen slain,
> God of the silver bow, &c.—
>
> *Iliad*, book i. v. 56, *of Pope's translation.*

vade my territories, and become my enemy rather than my friend?" "O king," replied Crœsus, "it was the prevalence of your good and of my evil fortune which prompted my attempt. I attacked your dominions, impelled and deluded by the deity of the Greeks. No one can be so infatuated as not to prefer tranquillity to war. In peace, children inter their parents; war violates the order of nature, and causes parents to inter their children. It must have pleased the gods that these things should so happen."

LXXXVIII. Cyrus immediately ordered him to be unbound, placed him near his person, and treated him with great respect; indeed he excited the admiration of all who were present. After an interval of silent meditation, Crœsus observed the Persians engaged in the plunder of the city. "Does it become me, Cyrus," said he, "to continue silent on this occasion, or to speak the sentiments of my heart?" Cyrus entreated him to speak without apprehension or reserve. "About what," he returned, "is that multitude so eagerly employed?" "They are plundering your city," replied Cyrus, "and possessing themselves of your wealth." "No," answered Crœsus, "they do not plunder *my* city, nor possess themselves of *my* wealth; I have no concern with either; it is your property which they are thus destroying."

LXXXIX. These words disturbed Cyrus; desiring, therefore, those who were present to withdraw, he asked Crœsus what measures he would recommend in the present emergence. "The gods," answered Crœsus, "have made me your captive, and you are therefore justly entitled to the benefit of my reflections. Nature has made the Persians haughty, but poor. If you permit them to indulge without restraint this spirit of devastation, by which they may become rich, it is probable that your acquiescence may thus foster a spirit of rebellion against yourself. I would recommend the following mode to be adopted, if agreeable to your wisdom: station some of your guards at each of the gates, let it be their business to stop the plunderers with their booty, and bid them assign as a reason, that one-tenth part must be consecrated to Jupiter. Thus you will not incur their enmity by any seeming violence of conduct; they will even accede without reluctance to your views, under the impression of your being actuated by a sense of duty."

XC. Cyrus was delighted with the advice, and immediately adopted it; he stationed guards in the manner recommended by Crœsus, whom he soon after thus addressed: "Crœsus, your conduct and your words mark a princely character; I desire of you, therefore, to request of me whatever you please, and your wish shall be instantly gratified." "Sir," replied Crœsus, "you will materially oblige me by your permission to send these fetters to the god of Greece,[5] whom, above all others, I have honoured; and to inquire of him, whether it be his rule to delude those who have claims upon his kindness." When Cyrus expressed a wish to know the occasion of this implied reproach, Crœsus ingenuously explained each particular of his conduct, the oracles he had received, and the gifts he had presented; declaring that these induced him to make war upon the Persians. He finished his narrative with again soliciting permission to send and reproach the divinity which had deceived him. Cyrus smiled: "I will not only grant this," said he, "but whatever else you shall require." Crœsus accordingly despatched some Lydians to Delphi, who were commissioned to place his fetters on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the deity were not ashamed at having, by his oracles, induced Crœsus to make war on Persia, with the expectation of overturning the empire of Cyrus; of which war, these chains were the first-fruits: and they were farther to inquire, if the gods of Greece were usually ungrateful.

XCI. The Lydians proceeded on their journey, and executed their commission; they are said to have received the following reply from the Pythian priestess: "That to avoid the determination of destiny[6] was impossible even for

5 *God of Greece.*]—The heathens in general believed that there was but one God, but they believed or rather talked of a multitude of ministers, deputies, or inferior gods, as acting under this supreme. The first may be called the philosophical belief, and the second the vulgar belief of the heathens.—*Spence.*

6 *Determination of destiny.*]—There were two fates, the greater and the less: the determinations of the first were immutable; those of the latter might be set aside. The expression in Virgil, of "Si qua fata aspera rumpas," is certainly equivocal, and must be understood as applying to the less fates. This subject is fully discussed by Bentley, in his notes to Horace, Epist. book 2, who, for "ingentia facta," proposes to read "ingentia fata."—See Spenser, book iv. canto ii. stanza 51:

> For what the fates do once decree,
> Not all the gods can change, nor Jove himself can free.

Several writers suppose, that Herodotus, in these words has declared his own sentiments, and quote them as a saying of the historian. See Jortin's Remarks on Spenser.

It was a common notion among the heathens. See Æsch. Prometh. 516. Ovid. Met. ix. 429.—*T.*

a divinity; that Crœsus, in his person, expiated the crimes of his ancestor, in the fifth descent;[1] who, being a guardsman of the Heraclidæ, was seduced by the artifice of a woman to assassinate his master, and without the remotest pretensions succeeded to his dignities: that Apollo was desirous to have this destruction of Sardis fall on the descendants of Crœsus, but was unable to counteract the decrees of fate; that he had really obviated them as far as was possible; and, to show his partiality to Crœsus,[2] had caused the ruin of Sardis to be deferred for the space of three years: that of this Crœsus might be assured, that if the will of the fates had been punctually fulfilled, he would have been three years sooner a captive: neither ought he to forget, that when in danger of being consumed by fire, Apollo had afforded him his succour: that with respect to the declaration of the oracle, Crœsus was not justified in his complaints; for Apollo had declared, that if he made war against the Persians, a mighty empire would be overthrown; the real purport of which communication, if he had been anxious to understand, it became him to have inquired whether the god alluded to his empire, or the empire of Cyrus; but that, not understanding the reply which had been made, nor condescending to make a second inquiry, he had been himself the cause of his own misfortune: that he had not at all comprehended the last answer of the oracle, which related to the mule; for that this mule was Cyrus, who was born of two parents of two different nations, of whom the mother was as noble as the father was mean: his mother was a Mede, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes; his father was a Persian, and tributary to the Medes, who, although a man of the very meanest rank, had married a princess, who was his mistress."—This answer of the Pythian, the Lydians, on their return, communicated to Crœsus. Crœsus, having heard it, exculpated the deity, and acknowledged himself to be reprehensible. Such, however, was the termination of the empire of Crœsus, and this the recital of the first conquest of Ionia.

XCII. Besides the sacred offerings of Crœsus, which we have before enumerated, many others are extant in Greece. In the Bœotian Thebes there is a golden tripod,[3] consecrated by him to the Ismenian Apollo:[4] there are also at Ephesus[5] some golden heifers, and a number of columns. He gave also to the Pronean Minerva[6] a large golden shield, which is still to be seen at Delphi. All the above remained within my remembrance; many others have been lost. He presented also, as it appears, to the Milesian Branchidæ, gifts equal in weight and value to what he sent to Delphi. The presents which he made to Delphi, as well as those which he sent to Amphiaraus, were given for sacred purposes from his own private or hereditary possessions. His other donations were formerly the property of an adversary, who

1 *In the fifth descent.*]—"Such, you say, is the power of the gods, that if death shall deliver an individual from the punishment due to his crimes, vengeance shall still be satisfied on his children, his grandchildren, or some of his posterity. Wonderful as may be the equity of Providence, will any city suffer a law to be introduced, which shall punish a son or a grandson for the crimes of his father or his grandfather?" *Cicero de Natura Deorum.* Upon the above, Larcher remarks, that Cicero speaks like a wise, Herodotus like a superstitious man. It is true that it is the divinity who speaks; but it is the historian who makes him, and who approves of what he says.

Crœsus was the fifth descendant of Gyges. The genealogy was this: Gyges, Ardys, Saddyates, Alyattes, Crœsus.—*T.*

2 *Partiality to Crœsus.*]—In the remoter ages of ignorance and superstition, the divinities, or their symbols, did not always experience from their worshippers the same uniform veneration. When things succeeded contrary to their wishes or their prayers, they sometimes changed their gods, sometimes beat them, and often reproached them. So that it seems difficult to account for those qualities of the human mind, which, acknowledging the inclination to hear petitions, with the power to grant them, at one time expressed themselves in the most abject and unmanly superstition, at another indulged resentments equally preposterous and unnatural. To a mind but the least enlightened, the very circumstance of a deity's apologizing to a fallen mortal for his predictions and their effects, seems to have but little tendency to excite in future an awe of his power, a reverence for his wisdom, or a confidence in his justice.—*T.*

3 *Tripod.*]—We must not confound the tripods of the ancients with the utensils known by us at present under a similar name, (in French *trepieds*, corresponding with the kitchen utensil called in English *footman.*) The tripod was a vessel standing upon three feet, of which there were two kinds: the one was appropriated to festivals, and contained wine mixed with water; the others were placed upon the fire, in which water was made warm.—*Larcher.*

4 *Ismenian Apollo.*]—Ismenus was a river in Bœotia, not far from Aulis. Ismenius was synonymous with Thebanus, and therefore the Ismenian Apollo is the same with the Theban Apollo.—*T.*

5 *Ephesus.*]—Pococke says, that the place now called Aiesalouk is ancient Ephesus. Chandler says otherwise.

The two cities of Ephesus and Smyrna have been termed the eyes of Asia Minor: they were distant from each other three hundred and twenty stadia, or forty miles in a straight line.—*T.*

6 *Pronean Minerva.*]—This means the Minerva whose shrine or temple was opposite to that of Apollo at Delphi: but Herodotus, in his eighth book, makes mention of the shrine of Minerva Pronoia, or of Minerva the goddess of providence. So that, at Delphi, there were two different shrines or temples consecrated to Minerva, the Pronean, and the Pronoian.—*T.*

had shown himself hostile to Crœsus before he succeeded to the throne, attaching himself to Pantaleon,[7] and favouring his views on the imperial dignity. Pantaleon was also the son of Alyattes, and brother of Crœsus, but not by the same mother: Alyattes had Crœsus by a Carian, and Pantaleon by an Ionian wife. But when, agreeably to the will of his father, Crœsus took possession of the throne, he destroyed, in a fuller's mill,[8] this man who had opposed him: his wealth he distributed in the manner we have before related, in compliance with a vow which he had formerly made. Such is the history of the offerings of Crœsus.

XCIII. If we except the gold dust which descends from mount Tmolus,[9] Lydia can exhibit no curiosity which may vie with those of other countries. It boasts, however, of one monument of art, second to none but those of the Egyptians and Babylonians. It is the sepulchre of Alyattes,[10] father of Crœsus. The groundwork is composed of immense stones; the rest of the structure is a huge mound of earth. The edifice was raised by men of mean and mercenary occupations, assisted by young women who prostituted themselves for hire. On the summit of this monument there remained, within my remembrance, five termini, upon which were inscriptions to ascertain the performance of each, and to intimate that the women accomplished the greater part of the work. All the young women of Lydia prostitute themselves, by which they procure their marriage portion; this, with their persons, they afterwards dispose of as they think proper. The circumference of the tomb is six furlongs and two plethra, the breadth thirteen plethra; it is terminated by a large piece of water, which the Lydians affirm to be inexhaustible, and is called the Gygean lake.[11]

XCIV. The manners and customs of the Lydians do not essentially vary from those of Greece, except in this prostitution of the young women. They are the first people on record who coined gold and silver[12] into money, and traded in retail. They claim also the invention of certain games, which have since been practised among the Grecians, and which, as they say, were first discovered at the time of their sending a colony into Tyrrhenia. The particulars are thus related: In the reign of Atys the son of Menes, all Lydia was reduced to the severest extremity by a scarcity of corn. Against this they contended for a considerable time, by patient and unremitted industry. This not proving effectual, they sought other resources, each one exerting his own genius. Upon this occasion they invented bowls and dice, with many other games: of chess, however, the Lydians do not claim the discovery. These they applied as an alternative against the effects of the famine.[13] One day they gave themselves so totally to their diversions, as to abstain entirely from food: on the next they refrained from their games, and took their necessary repasts. They lived thus for the space of eighteen years. But when their calamity remitted nothing of its violence, but rather

7 *Pantaleon.*]—When Crœsus mounted the Lydian throne, he divided the kingdom with his brother. A Lydian remarked to him, that the sun obtains to mankind all the comforts which the earth produces, and that, deprived of its influence, it would cease to be fruitful. But if there were two suns, it were to be feared that every thing would be scorched, and perish. For this reason, the Lydians have but one king; him they regard as their protector; but they will not allow of two.—*Stobæus.*

8 *A fuller's mill.*]—The expression in the editions of Herodotus which precede Wesseling has been hastily copied. The true reading is not *επι κναφηΐου ἑλκων*, but *επι κναφου ἑλκων*, torturing him so as to tear away his flesh piecemeal upon a fuller's *κναφος*, that is, an instrument set round with sharp points. This reading is supported by the glossary to Herodotus, by Timæus, whose Platonic lexicon is frequently interpolated from Herodotus, and by Suidas. Plutarch, in the treatise which professes to show the malignity of Herodotus, quotes this passage, and reads in the common editions *επι γναφου*: but in Aldus, *επι ναφου*, which only wants a letter of the genuine reading. It is curious to observe M. Larcher's mistake upon this place; he says, that Aldus' edition reads *επι ναφου*, interpreting of Herodotus what Wesseling says of Plutarch; for Aldus' edition, which is now before me, plainly reads *επι κναφηΐου ἑλκων*.

9 *Mount Tmolus.*]—The country about mount Tmolus, which comprehended the plain watered by the Hermus, was always remarkable for its fertility and beauty; and whoever will be at the pains to consult Chandler's Travels, will find that it has lost but little of its ancient claims to admiration.—*T.*

10 *Sepulchre of Alyattes.*]—The remains of this barrow are still conspicuous within five miles of Sardes, now called Sart. The industrious Dr. Chandler informs us, that the mould which has been washed down conceals the basement; but that and a considerable treasure might be discovered if the barrow were opened.—*See Chandler's Travels.*

11 *Gygean lake*]—Still remains.—*T.*

12 *Who coined gold and silver.*]—Who were really the first people that coined gold money, is a question not to be decided. According to some, it was Phidon, king of Argos; according to others, Demodice, the wife of Midas.—*Larcher.*

13 *Against the effects of the famine.*]—That the Lydians may have been the inventors of games is very probable; that, under the pressure of famine, they might detach half their nation to seek their fortune elsewhere, is not unlikely: but that, to soften their miserable situation, and to get rid of the sensations of hunger, they should eat only every other day, and that for the space of eighteen years, appears perfectly absurd.—*Larcher.*

increased, the king divided the whole nation by lot into two parts; one of which was to continue at home, the other to migrate elsewhere. They who stayed behind retained their ancient king; the emigrants placed themselves under the conduct of his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus. These, leaving their country, as had been determined, went to Smyrna, where, building themselves vessels for the purpose of transplanting their property and their goods, they removed in search of another residence. After visiting different nations, they arrived at length in Umbria. Here they constructed cities, and have continued to the present period, changing their ancient appellation of Lydians for that of Tyrrhenians,[1] after the son of their former sovereign.

XCV. We have before related how these Lydians were reduced under the dominion of Persia. It now becomes necessary for us to explain who this Cyrus, the conqueror of Crœsus, was, and by what means the Persians obtained the empire of Asia. I shall follow the authority of those Persians who seem more influenced by a regard to truth, than any partiality to Cyrus; not ignorant, however, that there are three other narratives[2] of this monarch. The Assyrians had been in possession of Upper Asia for a period of five hundred and twenty years. The Medes first of all revolted from their authority, and contended with such obstinate bravery against their masters, that they were ultimately successful, and exchanged servitude for freedom. Other nations soon followed their example, which, after living for a time under the protection of their own laws, were again deprived of their freedom, upon the following occasion.

XCVI. There was a man among the Medes, of the name of Deioces, of great reputation for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised and exercised:—The Medes were divided into different districts, and Deioces was distinguished in his own by his vigilant and impartial distribution of justice. This he practised in opposition to the general depravity and weakness of the government of his country, and not unconscious that the profligate and the just must ever be at war with each other. The Medes who lived nearest him, to signify their approbation of his integrity, made him their judge. In this situation, having one more elevated in view, he conducted himself with the most rigid equity. His behaviour obtained the highest applause of his countrymen; and his fame extending to the neighbouring districts, the people contrasted his just and equitable decisions with the irregularity of their own corrupt rulers, and unanimously resorted to his tribunal, not suffering any one else to determine their litigations.

XCVII. The increasing fame of his integrity and wisdom constantly augmented the number of those who came to consult him. But when Deioces saw the pre-eminence which he was so universally allowed, he appeared no more on his accustomed tribunal, and declared that he should sit as a judge no longer; intimating that it was inconsistent for him to regulate the affairs of others, to the entire neglect and injury of his own. After this, as violence and rapine prevailed more than ever in the different districts of the Medes, they called a public assembly to deliberate on national affairs. As far as I have been able to collect, they who were attached to Deioces delivered sentiments to this effect: "Our present situation is really intolerable; let us, therefore, elect a king, that we may have the advantage of a regular government, and continue our usual occupations, without any fear or danger of molestation." In conformity to these sentiments, the Medes determined to have a king.

XCVIII. After some consultation about what person they should choose, Deioces was proposed and elected with universal praise. Upon his elevation he required a palace to be erected for him suitable to his dignity, and to have guards appointed for the security of his person. The Medes, in compliance with his request, built him a strong and magnificent edifice,[3] in a situation which he himself chose,

1 *Tyrrhenians.*]—It was these Tyrrhenians, or Etruscans, who taught the Romans their games and combats, in which they excelled, especially in racing with chariots. For the same reason, most of the great number of Etruscan monuments found in Italy relate to sport and games; which confirms what authors say of the Lydians, and of the Etruscans who are sprung from them.—*Montfaucon.*

2 *Three other narratives.*]—Ctesias, in the fragments of his Persian history, preserved by Photius, differs from Herodotus in his account of the origin and exploits of Cyrus. What Xenophon relates, in his Cyropædia, is familiar to every one. Æschylus, an author of great antiquity, who fought at Marathon against the troops of Darius, and who was also in the battles of Salamis and Platea, has, in his tragedy, entitled The Persians, followed a different tradition from them all.—*Larcher.*

3 *Magnificent edifice.*]—This palace was at the foot of the citadel, and about seven furlongs in circumference. The wood work was of cedar or cypress wood: the beams, the ceilings, the columns of the porticos, and the peristyles, were plated with either gold or silver; the

and suffered him to appoint his guards from among the whole nation. Deioces, as soon as he possessed the supreme authority, obliged the Medes to build a city, which, with respect to its ornament and strength, was to have a preeminence above all the rest. They obeyed him in this also, and constructed what we now call Ecbatana.[4] Its walls were strong and ample, built in circles one within another, rising each above each by the height of their respective battlements. This mode of building was favoured by the situation of the place, which was a gently rising ground. They did yet more: the city being thus formed of seven circles, within the last stood the king's palace and the royal treasury. The largest of these walls is nearly equal in extent to the circumference of Athens; this is of a white colour, the next to it is black, the next purple, the fourth blue, the fifth orange. thus the battlements of each were distinguished by a different colour. The two innermost walls are differently ornamented, one having its battlements plated with silver, the other with gold.

XCIX. Such were the fortifications and the palace which were erected under the direction of Deioces, who commanded the body of the people to fix their habitations beyond the walls which protected his residence. After which he was the first who instituted that kind of pomp which forbids access to the royal person, and only admits communication with him by intermediate agents, the king himself being never publicly seen. His edict also signified, that to smile or to spit in the king's presence, or in the presence of each other, was an act of indecency.[5] His motive for this conduct was the security of his power; thinking, that if he were seen familiarly by those who were educated with him, born with equal pretensions, and not his inferiors in virtue, it might excite their regret, and provoke them to sedition. On the contrary, by his withdrawing himself from observation, he thought their respect for him would be increased.

C. When Deioces had taken these measures to increase the splendour of his situation and the security of his power, he became extremely rigorous in his administration of justice. They who had causes to determine, sent them to him in writing, by his official servants, which, with the decisions upon each, he regularly returned. This was the form which he observed in judiciary matters. His proceeding with regard to penal offences was thus:—Whenever he heard of any injury being perpetrated, and for this purpose he appointed spies and informers in different parts of his dominions, the offender was first brought to his presence, and then punished according to his offence.

CI. Deioces thus collected the Medes into one nation, over which he ruled: they consisted of the Busæ, the Paretaceni, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, and the Magi.

CII. Deioces reigned fifty-three years, and at his decease his son Phraortes succeeded to the throne. Not satisfied with his hereditary dominions, he singled out the Persians as the objects of his ambitious views, and reduced them first of all under the dominion of the Medes. Supreme of these two great and powerful nations, he overran Asia, alternately subduing the people of whom it was composed. He came at length to the Assyrians, and proceeded to attack that part of them which inhabited Nineveh.[6] These were formerly the first power in Asia: their allies at this period had separated from them; but they were still, with regard to their internal strength, respectable. In the twenty-second year of his reign, Phraortes,[7] in

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roofs were covered with silver tiles. The whole was plundered about the time of Alexander.—*Larcher.*

4 *Ecbatana.*]—Mr. Gibbon, whose geographical knowledge is superior to that of all his contemporaries, thinks that Ecbatana was probably in the same situation with the modern Tauris.

Diodorus Siculus is of opinion, that Ecbatana was built on a plain.

Dutens, in his learned and ingenious inquiry into the origin of the discoveries attributed to the moderns, brings this among other instances to prove, that the ancients, in magnificence, have never been surpassed, and seldom equalled.—*T.*

5 *An act of indecency.*]—The modern manners of the orientals bear in many instances a minute conformity to the most ancient accounts of them which are come down to us. The difficulty of approach to the princes and great men of the east, is a circumstance remarked by all modern travellers. The act of spitting in the east is much more detestable than we have any conception of. The Arabs never spit before their superiors; and Sir John Chardin tells us, that spitting before any one, or spitting upon the ground in speaking of any one's actions, is, through the east, an expression of extreme detestation.—*T.*

Larcher remarks, that the use of tobacco has rendered the orientals less punctilious with respect to the circumstance of spitting. Niebuhr informs us, in his description of Arabia, that he has frequently seen the master of a family sitting with a china spitting-pot near him. He at the same time observes, that they do not often spit, although they continue smoking for many hours at a time.

6 *Nineveh*]—Is supposed to be the modern Mousul.—*Pococke.*

7 *Phraortes.*]—According to Herodotus, the reign of Deioces was 53 years, of Phraortes 22, of Cyaxares 12, of the Scythians 28, of Astyages 35;—total, 150 years.—*T.*

an excursion against this people, perished, with the greater part of his army.

CIII. He was succeeded by his son Cyaxares, grandson of Deioces. He is reported to have been superior to his ancestors in valour, and was the first who regularly trained the Asiatics to military service, dividing them, who had before been promiscuously confounded, into companies of spearmen, cavalry, and archers. He it was who was carrying on war with the Lydians, when the engagement which happened in the day was suddenly interrupted by nocturnal darkness. Having formed an amicable connexion with the different nations of Asia beyond the Halys, he proceeded with all his forces to the attack of Nineveh, being equally desirous of avenging his father, and becoming master of the city. He vanquished the Assyrians in battle; but when he was engaged in the siege of Nineveh, he was surprised by an army of Scythians, commanded by Madyas, son of Protothyas. Having expelled the Cimmerians[1] from Europe, the Scythians had found their way into Asia, and, continuing to pursue the fugitives, had arrived at the territories of the Medes.

CIV. From the lake Mœotis an expeditious traveller may pass to the river Phasis[2] amongst the Colchians, in the space of thirty days: it requires less time to pass from Colchis into Media, which are only separated by the nation of the Saspyrians. The Scythians, however, did not come by this way, but leaving mount Caucasus on their right, passed through the high country by a much longer route. Here they met with the Medes, who, in a fixed battle, lost not only the victory, but the empire of Asia.

CV. The Scythians, having obtained the entire possession of Asia, advanced towards Egypt. Psammitichus, king of Egypt, met them in Palestine of Syria, and by presents and importunity united, prevailed on them to return. The Scythians, on their march homewards, came to Ascalon, a Syrian city: the greater part of their body passed through without molesting it; but some of them, remaining behind, plundered the temple of the celestial Venus. Of all the sacred buildings erected to this goddess, this, according to my authorities, was far the most ancient.[3] The Cyprians themselves acknowledge, that their temple was built after the model of this, and that of Cythera was constructed by certain Phœnicians, who came from this part of Syria. Upon the Scythians who plundered this temple, and indeed upon all their posterity, the deity entailed a fatal punishment: they were afflicted with the female disease.[4] The Scythians themselves confess, that

1 *Cimmerians.*]—The history of the Scythians is remarkably obscure. Justin, speaking of the incursions of this people into Asia, sometimes coincides with Herodotus, at others materially contradicts him. Strabo makes a slight mention of this expedition of Madyas: but I am ignorant by what authority he makes him king of the Cimmerians; I should rather think a mistake has been here made by some copyist.—*Larcher.*

2 *Phasis.*]—This country has been at all times a nursery for slaves: it furnished the Greeks, Romans, and ancient Asia with them. But is it not extraordinary to read in Herodotus, that formerly Colchis, now called Georgia, received black inhabitants from Egypt, and to see the same country at this day make so different a return?—*Volney.*

3 *Far the most ancient.*]—Pausanias says, that the Assyrians were the first who worshipped Venus Urania. He adds, that the inhabitants of Paphos in Cyprus, and the Phœnicians of Palestine, received this worship from them, and afterwards communicated it to the people of Cythera.—*Wesseling.*

4 *Female disease.*]—No passage of Herodotus has been the occasion of more doubt and dispute than this. The president Bouhier (Dissertat. sur l'Histoire d'Herodote, c. 20.) enumerates these six different opinions, and decides in favour of the last.—Some suppose the female disease to be languor, weakness, and impotence; others, a delicate and effeminate way of living; others the hemorrhoids; others, the disease now known by the name of venereal; others, the catamenia, *τα γυναικηϊα*; and others, the vice against nature. Larcher refutes Bouhier, but without seeming to have established any opinion of his own. It is probable that he never saw a dissertation of professor Chr. Gott. Heyne, in the Commentationes Societatis Reg. Gotting. anni M.DCC.L.xx. & T. II. p. 28—44, who proposes another explanation of our author, which has perhaps a fairer chance of success than any of the rest. He takes it for granted, after Mercurialis and Wesseling, that Herodotus and Hippocrates speak of the same thing. He then separates the facts which these authors state, from the superstition of the one, and the ill-founded science or systematic prejudices of the other. From these facts, illustrated by a comparison with the narrations of modern travellers, he draws this conclusion: That the disease called by Herodotus the female disease, was of that kind which proceeds from a melancholic, hysteric, or other nervous affection; in consequence of which a perturbation of the intellect takes place. Among barbarous nations, ignorant of the powers and operations of nature, those disorders whose cause and cure were unknown, it was natural to attribute to divine influence; and the patients, finding themselves suddenly and unaccountably bereft of strength, of vigour, and of spirits, might be easily persuaded, by these symptoms, that the displeasure of a deity had inflicted this punishment, and, for some crime or other, had changed them into women. A similar effect of a distempered mind has been common in all ages. Many persons believe themselves transformed into animals or other substances; and while they are subject to this illusion, talk, reason, and act conformably to such belief. If, therefore, this disease appeared chiefly amongst those Scythians who plundered the temple of Venus, it might be sufficient ground for the Scythians themselves to refer such a calamity to the displeasure of a deity; and the nature of the punishment, as well as the consciousness of their crime, would readily point out Venus for the offended

their countrymen suffer this malady in consequence of the above crime; their condition also may be seen by those who visit Scythia, where they are called Enarees.

CVI. After possessing the dominion of Asia for a space of twenty-eight years, the Scythians lost all they had obtained, by their licentiousness and neglect. The extravagance of their public extortions could only be equalled by the rapacity with which they plundered individuals. At a feast, to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greater part of them were cut off when in a state of intoxication. The Medes thus recovered their possessions, and all their ancient importance; after which they took Nineveh; the particulars of which incident I shall hereafter relate.[5] They moreover subdued the Assyrians, those only excepted which inhabited the Babylonian district. Cyaxares reigned forty years, and then died; but in this period is to be included the time in which the Scythians possessed the empire.

CVII. His son Astyages succeeded to the throne: he had a daughter whom he called Mandane: she, in a dream, appeared to make so great a quantity of urine,[6] that not only his principal city, but all Asia, was overflowed. The purport of this vision, when explained in each particular by the magi, the usual interpreters, terrified him exceedingly. Under this impression, he refused to marry his daughter, when she arrived at a suitable age, to any Mede whose rank justified pretensions to her. He chose rather to give her to Cambyses, a Persian, whom he selected as being of a respectable family, but of a very pacific disposition, though inferior in his estimation to the lowest of the Medes.

CVIII. The first year of the marriage of his daughter, Astyages saw another vision. A vine appeared to spring from the womb of his daughter, which overspread all Asia. Upon this occasion also he consulted his interpreters: the result was, that he sent for his daughter from Persia, when the time of her delivery approached. On her arrival he kept a strict watch over her, intending to destroy her child. The magi had declared the vision to intimate, that the child of his daughter should supplant him on his throne. Astyages, to guard against this, as soon as Cyrus was born, sent for Harpagus, a person whose intimacy he used, upon whose confidence he depended, and who indeed had the management of all his affairs. He addressed him as follows: "Harpagus, I am about to use you in a business, in which if you either abuse my confidence, or employ others to do what I am anxious you should do yourself, you will infallibly lament the consequence. You must take the boy of whom Mandane has been delivered, remove him to your own house, and put him to death: you will afterwards bury him as you shall think proper." "Sir," he replied, "you have hitherto never had occasion to censure my conduct; neither shall my future behaviour give you cause of offence: if the accomplishment of this matter be essential to your peace, it becomes me to be faithful and obedient."

CIX. On this reply of Harpagus the infant was delivered to his arms in rich apparel, and consigned to destruction. Returning home, he sought with tears the presence of his wife, to whom he related his conference with Astyages. When she inquired what it was his intention to do; "By no means," he answered, "the deed which Astyages enjoins. If he become still more infatuated, more mad than he at present appears, I will not comply with his desires, nor be accessary to this murder. The child is my relation: Astyages is old, and has no male offspring: if, at his decease, the sovereign authority shall descend to this daughter, whose child he orders me to destroy, what extreme danger shall I not incur? It is expedient

power. If the disease appeared soon after the plunder of the temple, it might be sufficient ground for an author not quite free from superstition and credulity, to set it down as a judgment from heaven upon the offenders. Whether the expression in Hippocrates, of *τα γυναικηια εργαζονται*, ought to be understood in a good or in a bad sense, may perhaps admit of a doubt; however, either sense will equally suit the foregoing explanation. It is perfectly natural, and indeed almost necessary, that males who fancy themselves women, should take the dress, adopt the language and manners, and perform the offices of the other sex: nor would it be at all inconsistent with their supposed transformation, that they should think it their duty to be the passive instruments of what would to them seem natural desire.—*T.*

5 *Hereafter relate.*]—This is one of the passages cited to prove that Herodotus wrote other works which are not come down to us. The investigation of this matter has greatly perplexed and divided the literary world. It is discussed at considerable length by Bouhier and by Larcher, to whose several works we beg leave to refer those who wish to know more of a question which can involve no great interest to an English reader.—*T.*

6 *Quantity of, &c.*]—Voltaire has started some objections to this passage of Herodotus; to which my answer may be seen in the Supplement to the Philosophy of History, page 79, &c. of the first edition; page 104, &c. of the second.—*Larcher.*

nevertheless, for my security, that the child should die, not however by the hands of any of my family, but by some other of his servants."

CX. He instantly sent for a herdsman belonging to Astyages, who, as he knew, pursued his occupation in a place adapted to the purpose, amongst mountains frequented by savage beasts. His name was Mitridates; his wife and fellow servant was, in the Greek tongue, called Cyno, by the Medes Spaco;[1] and Spaca is the name by which the Medes call a bitch. The place which he frequented with his herds was the foot of those mountains which lie to the north of Ecbatane, near the Euxine. This part of Media, towards the Saspires, is high and mountainous, and abounding with forests; the rest of the country is a spacious plain. As soon as he arrived in his presence, Harpagus thus addressed him: "Astyages commands you to take this infant,[2] and expose him[3] in the most unfrequented part of the mountains, that his death may be speedy and unavoidable. I am further ordered to assure you, that if you evade this injunction, and are by any means accessary to his preservation, you must expect torture and death. I am myself commanded to see the child exposed."

CXI. When the herdsman had received his orders, he took the child, and returned to his cottage. His wife, who had been in labour all the preceding part of the day, was providentially delivered in his absence. Both had been in a state of solitude: the situation of his wife gave alarm to the husband; and the woman, on her part, feared for him, from the unusual circumstance of his being sent for to Harpagus. His return was sudden and unexpected, and his wife discovered much anxiety to know why Harpagus had sent for him in such haste. "As soon," says he, "as I got into the city, I both saw and heard what I could wish had never befallen the families of our masters; I found the house of Harpagus in extreme affliction; entering which with the greatest terror, I saw an infant panting and screaming on the ground, dressed in rich and splendid clothing. Harpagus, the moment he saw me, commanded me to take the child, and without any hesitation, expose it on such a part of our mountains as is most frequented by wild beasts; telling me, moreover, that Astyages himself had assigned this office to me, and threatening the severest punishment in case of disobedience. I took the child, conceiving it to belong to one of the domestics, never supposing who it really was. The richness, however, of its dress excited my astonishment, which was increased by the sorrow that prevailed in the family of Harpagus. But, on my return, the servant who, conducting me out of the city, gave the infant to my hand, explained each particular circumstance. He informed me, that it is the offspring of Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, and of Cambyses, son of Cyrus. This is the infant whose death Astyages commands."

CXII. The herdsman finished, and produced the child to his wife. Struck with his appearance of beauty and strength, she embraced the knees of her husband, and conjured him not to expose the child. He observed, that it was impossible to comply with her request, as Harpagus would send to see that his orders were executed, and had menaced him with a most cruel death if he failed in his obedience. The woman, not succeeding by this, took another method: "Since," she replied, "you are determined in your purpose, and there will be witnesses to see that the child is in reality exposed, attend to what I propose; I have been delivered of a dead child; let this be exposed, and let us preserve and bring up the grandchild of Astyages as our own. You will thus appear faithful to your superiors, without any injury to ourselves; the child which is dead will be honoured with a sumptuous funeral, and that which survives will be preserved."

CXIII. The man approved of the pertinent proposal of his wife, with which he imme-

1 *Spaco.*]—It is not certain whether the dialect of the Medes and Persians was the same. In such remains as we have of the Persian language, Burton and Reland have not been able to discover any term like this. Nevertheless Lefevre assures us, that the Hyrcanians, a people in subjection to the Persians, call, even at the present time, a dog by the word Spac.—*Larcher.*

2 *Take this infant, &c.*]—Various passages in this part of our work will necessarily bring to the mind of our reader the Winter's Tale of Shakspeare. The speech of the king to Antigonus minutely resembles this:

> Take it up straight:
> Within this hour bring me word 'tis done,
> And by good testimony, or I'll seize thy life, &c.—*T.*

3 *And expose him.*]—Virgil has placed in the infernal regions, the souls of infants weeping and wailing:

> Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
> Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo,
> Quos dulcis vitæ exortes et ab ubere raptos
> Abstulit atra dies, et funere mersit acerbo.

It is an ingenious conjecture, proposed in the Divine Legation, that the poet might design to discountenance the cursed practice of exposing and murdering infants. See Jortin's 6th Dissertation. Consult also the letter on the Delicacy of Friendship, republished in the Tracts, by a Warburtonian, page 227.

diately complied. The infant, whom he was to have destroyed, he gave to the care of his wife; his own child, which was dead, he placed in the cradle in which the other had been brought, dressed it in the other's costly clothing, and exposed it on a desert mountain. After three days, he left one of his domestics to guard the body, and went again to the house of Harpagus in the city, signifying himself ready to show that the child was dead. Harpagus sent some, upon whose fidelity he could depend, to examine into the matter: they confirmed the report of the herdsman, and the child was buried. The herdsman's child was thus interred; the other, who was afterwards called Cyrus, was brought up carefully by the wife of the herdsman, and called by some other name.

CXIV. When he arrived at the age of ten years, the following accident discovered who he was:—He was playing in the village, where were the herds of his supposed father, with other boys of the same age with himself. Though reputed to be the son of the herdsman, his playmates chose him for their king. He, in consequence, assigned them their different stations: some were to superintend buildings, others were to be guards; one was to be his principal minister, another his master of ceremonies; and each had his particular office. Among these children happened to be the son of Artembaris, who was a Mede of considerable distinction. He, refusing to obey the commands of Cyrus, was, at his orders, seized by his playfellows, and severely beaten. The pride of the boy was vehemently offended; and the moment he was at liberty, he hastened to the city to inform his father how much he had suffered from the insolence of Cyrus. He did not indeed call him Cyrus, which was not then his name; but he described him as the son of the herdsman of Astyages. Artembaris went immediately in great rage to Astyages, taking his son with him. He complained of the indignity which had been offered, and showed what marks of violence his son had received. "Thus, sir," says he, "have we been insulted by the son of a herdsman, your slave."

CXV. Astyages, on receiving this complaint, which he observed to be justly founded, was anxious to punish the insult which Artembaris had received; he accordingly sent for the herdsman and his reputed child. On their appearance, Astyages, looking at Cyrus, "Do you," said he, "meanly descended as you are, dare to inflict stripes on the son of one of my nobles?" "My lord," says he, in reply, "what I have done I am able to justify: the boys among whom I live, and this with the rest, did, in play, elect me their king, because, as I suppose, I seemed to them the most proper for this situation. Our other playfellows obeyed my commands; this boy refused, and was punished: if on this account you deem me worthy of chastisement, I am here to receive it."[4]

CXVI. As soon as the boy had spoken, Astyages conjectured who he was; every thing concurred to confirm his suspicions; his resemblance of himself, his ingenuous countenance and manners, and the seeming correspondence of his age. Struck by the force of these incidents, Astyages was a long time silent. He recovered himself with difficulty; and wishing to dismiss Artembaris for the purpose of examining the herdsman without witnesses, "Artembaris," said he, "I will take care that neither you nor your son shall have just reason of complaint." When Artembaris retired, Cyrus was conducted by attendants into some inner room; and the herdsman, being left alone with the king, was strictly interrogated whence and from whom he had the child. He replied, that he was his own child, and that his mother was yet alive: Astyages told him, that his indiscretion would only involve him in greater dangers. Saying this, he ordered his guards to seize him. Reduced to this extremity, he explained every particular of the business; and concluded with earnest entreaties for mercy and forgiveness.

CXVII. Astyages, convinced that his herdsman had spoken the truth, felt but little with respect to him; but he was violently incensed against Harpagus, whom he sent for to his presence. As soon as he appeared, "Harpagus," said he, "by what kind of death did you destroy the son of my daughter?" Harpagus saw the herdsman present, and was therefore conscious, that unless he spoke the truth, he should be certainly detected. "Sir," he replied, "as soon as I received the infant, I revolved in my mind the best method of satisfying your wishes, and of preserving myself innocent of the crime of murder, both with respect to your daughter and yourself: I determined, therefore, to send for this herdsman, and delivering to him the child, I informed him that it was your command that he should put him to death. In this I used no falsehood; for such were your commands. I farther enjoined him to expose the infant on a desert mountain, and to be himself

4 None of these particulars of the early life of Cyrus, previous to his being sent to his parents in Persia, are related by Xenophon.—*T.*

the witness of his death, threatening him with the severest punishment in case of disobedience. When he had fulfilled his commission, and the child was dead, I sent some of my confidential eunuchs to witness the fact, and to bury the body. This, sir, is the real truth, and the child was thus destroyed."

CXVIII. Harpagus related the fact without prevarication; but Astyages, dissembling the anger which he really felt, informed him of the confession of the herdsman; and finished his narration in these words, "The child is alive, and all is well; I was much afflicted concerning the fate of the boy; and but ill could bear the reproaches of my daughter. But as the matter has turned out well, you must send your son to our young stranger, and attend me yourself at supper. I have determined, in gratitude for the child's preservation, to celebrate a festival in honour of those deities who interposed to save him."

CXIX. Harpagus, on hearing this, made his obeisance to the king, and returned cheerfully to his house, happy in the reflection that he was not only not punished for his disobedience, but honoured by an invitation to the royal festival. As soon as he arrived at his house, he hastily called for his only son, a boy of about thirteen, ordering him to hasten to the palace of Astyages, and to comply with whatever was commanded him. He then related to his wife, with much exultation, all that had happened. As soon as the boy arrived, Astyages commanded him to be cut in pieces, and some part of his flesh to be roasted, another part boiled, and the whole made ready to be served at table. At the hour of supper, among other guests, Harpagus also attended. Before the rest, as well as before Astyages himself, dishes of mutton were placed; but to Harpagus all the body of his son was served, except the head and the extremities, which were kept apart in a covered basket. After he seemed well satisfied with what he had eaten, Astyages asked him how he liked his fare: Harpagus expressing himself greatly delighted, the attendants brought him the basket which contained the head and extremities of his child, and desired him to help himself to what he thought proper. Harpagus complied, uncovered the vessel, and beheld the remains of his son.[1] He continued, however, master of himself, and discovered no unusual emotions. When Astyages inquired if he knew of what flesh and of what wild beast he had eaten, he acknowledged that he did, and that the king's will was always pleasing to him.[2] Saying this, he took the remnants of the body, and returned to his house, meaning, as I should suppose, to bury them together.

CXX. Astyages thus revenged himself upon Harpagus; but, deliberating about the destiny of Cyrus, he sent for the magi who had before interpreted his dreams. On their appearance, he requested to know their sentiments of the vision he had formerly explained to them. They persevered in their former declaration, that if the boy survived, he would infallibly be king. "The boy is alive and well," returned Astyages; "the children of the village where he lived elected him their king, and he has actually performed all the essential duties of the regal office. He appointed his guards, his messengers, and different attendants, and in all respects exercised kingly authority: concerning this, what do you determine?" "If," answered the magi, "the boy really survives, and has reigned as a monarch, in the accidental manner you describe, rely upon this, and dissipate your fears; depend upon it he will reign no more: things of trifling moment frequently accomplish what we seriously foretell, and dreams in particular will often prove of little or no importance." "I confess," replied Astyages, "that I am of the same opinion; the boy, having been nominally a king, has fulfilled the purport of my dream, and I need alarm myself no more about him. Do not you, however, remit your assiduity, but consult both for my security and your own." "Sir," answered the magi, "it is of particular importance to us that your authority should continue: it might otherwise descend to this boy, who is a Persian; in that case, we, who are Medes, should be reduced to servitude; the Persians would despise us as foreigners; but whilst you, who are our countryman, reign over us, we enjoy some degree of authority ourselves,

1 *The remains of his son.*]—A similar example of revenge occurs in Titus Andronicus.

> *Titus.* Why, there they are, both baked in that pie,
> Whereof their mother daintily hath fed;
> Eating the flesh that she herself hath bred.—*T.*

For other instances of similar barbarity, see H. Stevens' Apology for Herodotus, chap. 19, de la Cruaute de nostre Siecle.—*T.*

2 *Pleasing to him.*]—This reply of Harpagus, worthy of a servile courtier, brings to mind one of an English nobleman no less despicable. Edgar, king of England, having killed Ethelwold, in the forest of Harewood, the son of that nobleman arrived soon afterwards on the spot; the king, showing him the body of his father, asked him how he found the game? The young man replied, with perfect indifference, "That whatever was agreeable to the prince could not possibly displease him." The above anecdote is related by Larcher, from William of Malmsbury.

independent of the honours we receive from you. For these reasons we are particularly bound to consult for your safety, and the permanence of your power. If any thing excited our apprehension of the future, we would certainly disclose it; but as your dream has had this trifling termination, we feel great confidence ourselves, and recommend you to send the child from your presence to his parents in Persia."

CXXI. On hearing this, Astyages was rejoiced; and sending for Cyrus, "My child," said he, "I was formerly induced, by the cruel representation of a dream, to treat you injuriously, but your better genius preserved you. Go, therefore, in peace to Persia, whither I shall send proper persons to conduct you; there you will see your parents, who are of a very different rank from the herdsman Mitridates and his wife."

CXXII. Astyages, having thus spoken, sent Cyrus away: on his being restored to the house of his parents, they, who had long since thought him dead, received him with tenderness and transport. They inquired by what means he had been preserved: he told them, in reply, that he was entirely ignorant of his birth, and had been involved in much perplexity; but that every thing had been explained to him on his journey to them. He had really believed himself the son of the herdsman of Astyages, before his conductors explained to him the particulars of his fortune. He related with what tenderness he had been brought up by the wife of the herdsman, whose name, Cyno, he often repeated with the warmest praise. The circumstance of her name his parents laid hold of to persuade the Persians that Providence had, in a particular manner, interposed to save Cyrus, who, when exposed, had been preserved and nourished by a bitch;[3] which opinion afterwards prevailed.

CXXIII. As Cyrus grew up, he excelled all the young men in strength and gracefulness of person.[4] Harpagus, who was anxious to be revenged on Astyages, was constantly endeavouring to gain an interest with him by making him presents. In his own private situation, he could have but little hope of obtaining the vengeance he desired; but seeing Cyrus a man, and one whose fortunes bore some resemblance to his own, he much attached himself to him. He had, some time before, taken the following measure:—Astyages having treated the Medes with great asperity, Harpagus took care to communicate with the men of the greatest consequence among them, endeavouring, by his insinuations, to promote the elevation of Cyrus, and the deposition of his master. Having thus prepared the way, he contrived the following method of acquainting Cyrus in Persia with his own private sentiments and the state of affairs. The communication betwixt the two countries being strictly guarded, he took a hare, opened its paunch, in which he inserted a letter, containing the information he wished to give, and then dexterously sewed it up again. The hare, with some hunting nets, he intrusted to one of his servants of the chase, upon whom he could depend. The man was sent into Persia, and ordered to deliver the hare to Cyrus himself, who was entreated to open it with his own hands, and without witnesses.

CXXIV. The man executed his commission; Cyrus received the hare, which having opened as directed, he found a letter to the following purport: "Son of Cambyses, heaven evidently favours you, or you never could have risen thus superior to fortune. Astyages meditated your death, and is a just object of your vengeance; he certainly determined that you should perish; the gods, and my humanity, preserved you. With the incidents of your life I believe you are acquainted, as well as with the injuries I have received from Astyages, for delivering you to the herdsman, instead of putting you to death. Listen but to me, and the authority and dominions of Astyages shall be yours: having prevailed on the Persians to revolt, undertake an expedition against the Medes. If I shall be appointed by Astyages the leader of the forces which oppose you, our object will be instantly accomplished, which I may also venture to affirm of each of our first nobility; they are already favourable to your cause, and wait but the opportunity of revolting from Astyages. All things being thus prepared, execute what I advise without delay."

CXXV. Cyrus, on receiving this intelligence, revolved in his mind what would be the most effectual means of prevailing on the Persians to revolt. After much deliberation, he determined on the following stratagem:—He dictated the terms of a public letter, and called an assembly of his countrymen. Here it was produced and read; and it appeared to contain his appointment by Astyages to be general of the Persians.

3 *By a bitch, &c.*]—The story of Romulus, Remus, and the wolf, involves many circumstances similar to these related of Cyrus.—*T.*

4 *Gracefulness of person.*]—The beauty and gracefulness of Cyrus is particularly, and with much energy, represented by Xenophon.—*T.*

"And now, O Persians," he exclaimed, "I must expect each of you to attend me with a hatchet." This command he issued aloud to the Persians, of whom there are various tribes. Of those whom Cyrus assembled, and persuaded to revolt from the Medes, the following are the principal: The Arteatæ, the Persæ, Pasargadæ, Maraphii, and Maspians. Of these the Pasargadæ are the most considerable; the Achæmenidæ are those from whom the Persian monarchs are descended. The Panthialæi, Derusiæi, and Germanians[1] follow laborious employments; the Dai, Mardi, Dropici, and Sargatians are feeders of cattle.

CXXVI. They all assembled in the manner they were commanded, and Cyrus directed them to clear, in the space of a day, a certain woody enclosure, which was eighteen or twenty furlongs in extent. When they had executed their task, they were desired to attend the following day to feast and make merry. For this purpose Cyrus collected and slew all the goats, sheep, and oxen, which were the property of his father; and further to promote the entertainment of the Persians, he added rich wines and abundance of delicacies. The next day, when they were met, he desired them to recline on the grass and enjoy themselves. When they were satisfied, he inquired of them which day's fare delighted them the most. They replied, the contrast betwixt the two was strong indeed, as on the first day they had nothing but what was bad, on the second every thing that was good. On receiving this answer, Cyrus no longer hesitated to explain the purpose which he had in view. "Men of Persia," he exclaimed, "you are the arbiters of your own fortune; if you obey me, you will enjoy these and greater advantages, without any servile toils; if you are hostile to my projects, you must prepare to encounter worse hardships than those of yesterday: my voice is the voice of freedom; Providence appears to have reserved me to be the instrument of your prosperity: you are, doubtless, equal to the Medes in every thing, and most assuredly are as brave: this being the case, decline all future obedience to Astyages."

CXXVII. The Persians, who had long spurned at the yoke imposed on them by the Medes, were glad of such a leader, and ardently obeyed the call of liberty. Astyages was soon informed of the proceedings of Cyrus, and commanded his attendance. He returned for answer, that he should probably anticipate the wish of Astyages to see him. Astyages, upon this, collected his Medes, and, urged by some fatal impulse, appointed Harpagus to command his forces, not remembering the injury he formerly had done him. His army was imbodied; the Medes met and engaged the Persians; they who were not privy to the plot fought with valour, the rest went over to the Persians; the greater part discovered no inclination to continue the combat, and hastily retreated.

CXXVIII. Astyages, hearing of the ignominious defeat of his army, continued to menace Cyrus, and exclaimed, that he should still have no reason to exult. The first thing he did was to crucify the magi,[2] the interpreters of dreams, who had prevailed upon him to send Cyrus away. He then armed all his citizens, young and old, without distinction. He led them against the Persians, and was vanquished;[3] he himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his army destroyed.

CXXIX. In his captivity Harpagus was present to insult and reproach him. Among other things, he asked him what was his opinion of that supper, in which he had compelled a father to feed on the flesh of his child; a supper which had reduced him from a monarch to a slave? In reply, Astyages requested to know if he imputed to himself the success of Cyrus? He confessed that he did, explained the means, and justified his conduct. Astyages told him, that he was then the most foolish and wicked of mankind;—most foolish, in acquiring for another the authority he might have enjoyed himself; most wicked, for reducing his countrymen to servitude, to gratify his private revenge. If he thought a change in the government really necessary, and was still determined not to assume the supreme authority himself, justice should have induced him to have elevated a Mede to that honour, rather than a Persian. The Medes, who were certainly not

1 *Germanians.*]—The Germanians are the same as the Caramanians. Some authors affirm the ancient Germans to have been descended from this people. Cuvier has, with much politeness, explained their mistake. "But," adds M. Wesseling, "there are some individuals of such wayward tempers, who, since the discovery of corn, still prefer the feeding upon acorns."—*Larcher.*

2 *Crucify the magi.*]—It appears from the sacred writings, that when the magi either were not able to interpret dreams, or explain difficulties, to the satisfaction of their tyrant masters, they were with little compunction condemned to die. See, in particular, the book of Daniel. The cruelty of Astyages is spoken of by Diodorus Siculus, in his book de virtutibus et vitiis.—*T.*

3 *Was vanquished.*]—Xenophon represents Cyrus as succeeding of course, and without any hostilities, to the throne of Astyages.—*T.*

accessary to the provocation given, had exchanged situations with their servants; the Persians, who were formerly the servants, were now the masters.

CXXX. After a reign of thirty-five years, Astyages was thus deposed. To his asperity of temper, the Medes owed the loss of their power, after possessing, for the space of one hundred and twenty-eight years, all that part of Asia which lies beyond the Halys, deducting from this period the short interval of the Scythian dominion. In succeeding times, from a disdain of their abased situation, they took up arms against Darius: their attempt proved unsuccessful, and they were a second time reduced to servitude. From this period, the Persians, who, under the conduct of Cyrus, had shaken off the power of the Medes, remained in undisturbed possession of Asia. Cyrus detained Astyages in captivity for the remainder of his life, but in no other instance[4] treated him with severity.—Such is the history of the birth, education, and success of Cyrus. He afterwards, as we have before related, subdued Crœsus, who had attacked him unprovoked: from which time he remained without competition sovereign of Asia.

CXXXI. My attention to the subject has enabled me to make the following observations on the manners and customs of the Persians. They have among them neither statues,[5] temples,[6] nor altars;[7] the use of which they censure as impious, and a gross violation of reason, probably because, in opposition to the Greeks, they do not believe that the gods partake of our human nature.[8] Their custom is, to offer, from the summits of the highest mountains,[9] sacrifices to Jove, distinguishing, by that appellation, all the expanse of the firmament. They also adore the sun,[10] the moon, earth, fire,[11] water, and the winds; which may be termed their original deities. In after times, from the examples of the Assyrians and Arabians, they added Urania[12] to this number. The name of the Assyrian Venus is Mylitta, whom the Arabians call Alitta, and the Persians Mithra.

CXXXII. Their mode of paying their devotions to the above-mentioned deities, confirmed by undeviating custom, is to sacrifice to them, without altars or fire, libations or instrumental music, garlands or consecrated cakes; but every individual, as he wishes to sacrifice to any particular divinity, conducts his victim to a place made clean for the purpose, and makes his invocation or his prayers with a tiara encircled

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4 *But in no other instance, &c.*]—Isocrates, in his funeral oration upon Evagoras, king of Salamis, in Cyprus, says, that Cyrus put Astyages to death. I do not find that this fact has been asserted by any other author.—*Larcher.*

5 *Neither statues.*]—It is proper to remark here, that the more ancient nations were not worshippers of images. Lucian tells us, that the ancient Egyptians had no statues in their temples. According to Eusebius, the Greeks were not worshippers of images before the time of Cecrops, who first of all erected a statue to Minerva. And Plutarch tells us, that Numa forbade the Romans to represent the deity under the form of a man or an animal: and for seventy years this people had not in their temples any statue or painting of the deity.—*Larcher.*

The symbols used by the ancients, of their respective deities, were stones of different shapes. A round stone represented the sun, thence styled Alagabalus Deus rotundos: Bochart and Selden. A little polished stone was the earth; thence Cybele was called Agdites and Agdistes. A square rude stone was Bacchus; the Caaba of the Arabs.

Arnobius says, that Cybele was represented by a small stone of a dark and black colour. See also Prudentius Περι Στεφ.

Lapis nigellus evehendus essedo
Muliebris oris clausus argento sedet, &c.

6 *Temples.*]—I am not of opinion with the Persian magi, at whose instigation Xerxes burned the temples of the Greeks, because they confined their deities by walls, who ought to be free from every kind of restraint, and whose temple and residence was the universe itself.—*Cicero.*

7 *Nor altars.*]—The theology of Zoroaster was darkly comprehended by foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his disciples; but the most careless observers were struck with the philosophic simplicity of the Persian worship.—*Gibbon.*

8 *Human nature.*]—That the gods often appeared in a human shape, is taken for granted by Pausanius, in Arcad. and Plutarch de Musica. The same opinion was firmly maintained by Julian, an orthodox pagan in a later age.—*Gillies.*

9 *Summits of the highest mountains.*]—Van Dale remarks, that the oracular temples were, for the most part, situated in mountainous places. The Scriptures also intimate, that mountains and high places were chosen as the proper theatres for the display of religious enthusiasm. See Deuteronomy, chap. xii. ver. 2, 3. Ye shall utterly destroy the places wherein the nations served their gods, upon the high mountains, and upon the hills, and under every green tree, &c. &c.—*T.*

10 *Sun—fire.*]—The worship of the ancient Persians had unquestionably been very early corrupted. The reverence paid to the sun and to fire, which Zoroaster appears to have considered merely as representatives of omnipotence, the fountain of light, seems to have been an idea too refined for the gross capacities of the vulgar, who, without regard to the great invisible prototype, turned all their thoughts to the adoration of those ostensible deities.—*Richardson.*

11 *Fire.*]—The ancient Persians durst not, by their religion, extinguish fire with water; but endeavoured to smother it with earth, stones, or any thing familiar This method would not soon extinguish a blazing forest. The Parsis of Guzerat are still guided by the same hurtful superstition.—*The same.*

12 *Urania.*]—That is, the Uranian or celestial Venus, not the muse Urania.—*T.*

generally with myrtle. The supplicant is not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone,[1] his whole nation, and particularly his sovereign, have a claim to his prayers, himself being necessarily comprehended with the rest. He proceeds to divide his victim[2] into several minute parts, which, when boiled, he places upon the most delicate verdure he can find, giving the preference to trefoil. When things are thus prepared, one of the magi, without whose presence no sacrifice is deemed lawful, stands up and chants the primeval origin of the gods, which they suppose to have a sacred and mysterious influence. The worshipper, after this, takes with him, for his own use, such parts of the flesh as he thinks proper.

CXXXIII. Among all their festivals, each individual pays particular regard to his birthday, when they indulge themselves with better fare than usual. The more rich among them prepare on this day an ox, a horse, a camel, or an ass, which is roasted whole; the poorer sort are satisfied with a lamb or a sheep. They eat but sparingly of meat, but are fond of the after dishes, which are separately introduced. From hence the Persians take occasion to say, that the Grecians do not leave their tables satisfied, having nothing good to induce them to continue there; if they had, they would eat more. Of wine[3] they drink profusely; they may neither vomit nor make water before any one; which customs they still observe. They are accustomed to deliberate on matters of the highest moment when warm with wine; but whatever they in this situation may determine, is again proposed to them on the morrow, in their cooler moments, by the person in whose house they had before assembled. If at this time also it meet their approbation, it is executed; otherwise, it is rejected. Whatever also they discuss when sober, is always a second time examined after they have been drinking.

CXXXIV. If they meet at any time by accident, the rank of each party is easily discovered; if they are of equal dignity, they salute each other on the mouth; if one is an inferior, they only kiss the cheek; if there be a great difference in situation, the inferior falls prostrate on the ground.[4] They treat with most respect those who live nearest to them; as they become more and more remote, their esteem of each other diminishes; for those who live very distant from them, they entertain not the smallest regard: esteeming themselves the most excellent of mankind, they think that the value of others must diminish in proportion to their distance. During the empire of the Medes, there was a regular gradation of authority; the Medes governed all as well as their neighbours, but these also were superior to those contiguous to them, who again held the next nation in subjection; which example the Persians followed when their dominions became extended, and their authority increased.

CXXXV. The Persians are of all men most inclined to adopt foreign manners: thinking the dress of the Medes more becoming than their own, they wear it in preference. They use also, in their armies, the Egyptian breastplate; they discover an ardour for all pleasures of which they have heard; a passion for boys[5]

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1 *Not permitted to implore blessings on himself alone.*]—This noble sentiment is thus beautifully expressed by Pope:

> God loves from whole to parts; but human soul
> Must rise from individuals to the whole:
> Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
> As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
> The centre moved, a circle straight succeeds,
> Another still, and still another spreads;
> Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace;
> His country next, and next all human race.
> *Pope's Essays.*

2 *Divide his victim.*]—The ceremony of the Persian sacrifice is related at length, but with some trifling variations, by Strabo.—*T.*

3 *Of wine, &c.*]—In every age the Persians have been addicted to intemperance; and the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mahomet.—*Gibbon.*

In contradiction to the above observation, it appears from Xenophon, that the Persians, in the earlier period of their history, were a temperate and sober people. But that, in the time of Herodotus, they drank profusely, is confirmed by Plato.—*T.*

4 *Falls prostrate on the ground.*]—Our countryman Sandys observes, that the modern mode of salutation betwixt equals in the east, is by laying the right hand on the bosom, and gently declining the body; but when a person of great rank is saluted, they bow to the ground, and kiss the hem of his garment. Upon this subject consult also Pococke and Shaw. The Syro-Phœnician woman fell at the feet of Jesus. Quintus Curtius relates of Alexander the Great, that when he returned from the conquest of Asia, he disdained the manners of his country, and suffered those who approached his person to lie prostrate on the ground before him.—*T.*

5 *Passion for boys.*]—How, says Plutarch, in his discourse on the malignity of Herodotus, could the Persians possibly have learned this vice of the Greeks? It is universally acknowledged, that the custom of castrating young men was common amongst the Persians, long before they visited the coasts of Greece.

Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, has been at some pains to prove that, in all probability, the plain upon which the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah stood was somewhere in the south of Persia.

That this vice was of very great antiquity in Greece, appears from a passage of Phanocles, preserved in Stobæus, which informs us, That the Thracian women put

they learned from the Greeks, and each man has many wives, but many more concubines.

CXXXVI. Next to valour in the field, a man is esteemed in proportion to the number of his offspring;[6] to him who has the greater number of children, the king every year sends presents; their national strength depending, as they suppose, on their numbers. From their fifth[7] to their twentieth year, they instruct their children in three things only; the art of the bow, horsemanship,[8] and a strict regard to truth. Till his fifth year, a boy is kept in the female apartments, and not permitted to see his father; the motive of which is, that if the child die before this period, his death may give no uneasiness to the father.

CXXXVII. This custom appears commendable: I cannot but think highly of that custom also, which does not allow even the sovereign to put any one to death for a single offence; neither from any one provocation is a Persian permitted to exercise extreme severity in his family. Severity is there only lawful, when, after careful examination, the offences are found to exceed the merits. They will not believe that any one ever killed his parent: when such accidents have apparently happened, they assert their belief that the child would, on inquiry, be found either to have been the produce of adultery, or spurious; conceiving it altogether impossible, that any real parent can be killed by his own offspring.

CXXXVIII. Whatever they may not act with impunity, they cannot mention without guilt. They hold falsehood in the greatest abhorrence;[9] next to which, they esteem it disgraceful to be in debt, as well for other reasons as for the temptations to falsehood,[10] which they think it necessarily introduces. A leprous[11] Persian must neither enter the city, nor have communication with any of his countrymen: this disease they always think occasioned by some offence committed against the sun.[12] If a foreigner is afflicted with it, he is tumultuously expelled the country. They have also, for the same reason, an aversion to white pigeons. To all rivers[13] they pay extreme veneration; they will neither spit, wash their hands, nor evacuate in any of them; and a violation of this custom may not happen with impunity.

CXXXIX. They have one peculiarity, which, though they are not aware of it themselves, is notorious to us: all those words which are expressive of personal or of any other distinction, terminate in the Doric san, which is the same with the Ionian sigma: and attentive observa-

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Orpheus to death, on account of his unnatural passion for a young man of the name of Calais.

> Ille etiam Thracum populis fuit auctor, amorem
> In teneros transferre mares, citraque juventam
> Ætatis breve ver, et primos carpere flores.
>
> *Ovid. Met.* x. 83.

But the total silence of Homer may perhaps furnish a reasonable presumption against the antiquity of this detestable vice.—*T.*

6 *Number of his offspring.*]—A numerous posterity is, at the present day, the most fervent wish of the female inhabitants of Egypt. Public respect is annexed to fruitfulness. This is even the prayer of the poor, who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow.—*Savary.*

Without any exaggeration, all the women of my acquaintance have twelve or thirteen children; and the old ones boast of having had five-and-twenty or thirty apiece, and are respected according to the number they have produced.—*Letters of Lady M. W. Montague from Constantinople.*

Sterility is a reproach among the orientals; and they still retain for fecundity all the esteem of ancient times.—*Volney.*

The same commendation of fertility seems to be implied in Scripture, Judges xii. 14, by the enumeration of Abdon's sons and grandsons.—*T.*

7 *From their fifth, &c.*]—This account of Persian education differs from that given by Xenophon.

8 *Horsemanship.*]—This, in the time of Cyrus, did not constitute a part of Persian education. The Persians, at that period, inhabiting a country mountainous, and without pasturage, could not breed horses; but as soon as they had conquered a country suitable to this purpose, they learned the art of horsemanship; and Cyrus made it to be considered as a disgraceful thing, that any person, to whom he had presented a horse, should go anywhere on foot, even to the smallest distance.—*Larcher.*

9 *Falsehood in the greatest abhorrence.*]—The Persians were not always so scrupulous about falsehood. See Herodotus, book iii. and lxxii.—*Larcher.*

10 *Temptations to falsehood.*]—Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the contraction of debts, represents this differently. The Persians, says he, esteem falsehood as a secondary crime; the first is running in debt.—*T.*

11 *A leprous, &c.*]—Persons afflicted with leprosy are still kept secluded in many places of the east. See Niebuhr's description of Arabia.

See the Mosaical prohibition concerning lepers, Numbers, chap. v. ver. 4.—*T.*

12 *Against the sun.*]—When Æschines touched at Delos, on his way to Rhodes, the inhabitants of that island were greatly incommoded by a species of leprosy called the white leprosy. They imputed it to the anger of Apollo, because, in contradiction to the custom of the place, they had interred there the body of a man of rank.—*Larcher.*

13 *To all rivers.*]—The ancient Cuthites, and the Persians after them, had a great veneration for fountains and streams, which also prevailed among other nations, so as to have been at one time almost universal. If these rivers were attended with any nitrous or saline quality, or with any fiery eruption, they were adjudged to be still more sacred.—*Bryant.*

> What boots you now Scamander's worshipp'd stream,
> His earthly honours, and immortal name?
> In vain your immolated bulls are slain,
> Your living coursers glut his gulfs in vain.
>
> *Pope, Il.* xxi.

tion will farther discover, that all the names of Persians[1] end, without exception, alike.

CXL. The above remarks are delivered without hesitation, as being the result of my own positive knowledge. They have other customs, concerning which, as they are of a secret nature, I will not pretend to express myself decisively: as to what relates to their dead, I will not affirm it to be true, that these never are interred till some bird or dog has discovered a propensity to prey on them. This, however, is unquestionably certain of the magi, who publicly observe this custom. The Persians first enclose the dead body in wax,[2] and afterwards place it in the ground. Their magi are a distinct body of men, having many peculiarities which distinguish them from others, and from the Egyptian priests in particular. These last think it essential to their sanctity to destroy no animals but the victims of sacrifice. The magi except a man and a dog, but put other animals without compunction to death. They even think it an action highly meritorious to destroy serpents, ants,[3] and the different species of reptiles. After this digression, I return to my former subject.

CXLI. The Ionians and Æolians, after the conquest of Lydia by the Persians, immediately despatched ambassadors to Sardis, requesting Cyrus to receive them under his allegiance, upon the terms which Crœsus formerly had granted them. Cyrus gave them audience, and made the following reply: "A certain piper, observing some fishes sporting in the sea, began to play to them, in hopes that they would voluntarily throw themselves on shore: disappointed in his expectations, he threw his nets, enclosed a great number, and brought them to land; seeing them leap about, 'You may be quiet, now,' says he, 'as you refused to come out to me when I played to you.'"—Cyrus was induced to return this answer to the Ionians and Æolians, because the Ionians had formerly disregarded his solicitations to withdraw their assistance from Crœsus, refusing all submission to Cyrus, till they were compelled by necessity to make it. This reply, therefore, of Cyrus was evidently dictated by resentment; which as soon as the Ionians had received, they fortified their towns, and assembled all of them at Panionium, except the Milesians: Cyrus had received these into his alliance, upon the conditions which they had formerly enjoyed from Crœsus. The general determination of the Ionians was to send ambassadors to Sparta, who were in their common name to supplicate assistance.

CXLII. These Ionians, who are members of the Panionium, enjoy beyond all whom I have known, purity of air[4] and beauty of situation; the country above and below them, as well as those parts which lie to the east and west, being in every respect less agreeable. Some of them are both cold and moist; others parched by the extremity of the heat. Their language possesses four several distinctions. Miletus[5] is their first city towards the south,

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1 *Names of Persians.*]—The language spoken anciently in Persia opens a wild field for unsatisfactory inquiry. Dr. Hyde derives it from that of Media; which is much the same as deducing one jargon of the Saxon heptarchy from another. The union of those people named by Europeans the Medes and Persians is of such high antiquity that it is lost in darkness, and long precedes every glimmering we can discover of the origin of their speech.—*Richardson on Eastern Nations.*

2 *In wax.*]—Bodies thus enclosed continue perfect for ages. Some gentlemen of the society of antiquaries, being desirous to see how far the actual state of Edward the First's body answered to the methods taken to preserve it, by writs issued from time to time, in the reigns of Edward the Third and Henry the Fourth, to the treasury, *to renew the wax about it*, obtained permission to inspect it. It was found entire May 2d, 1774. The body must have been preserved about three centuries and a half, in the state in which it was then found.—*Annual Register*, 1774.

The magi, for a long time, retained the exclusive privilege of having their bodies left as a prey to carnivorous animals. In succeeding times, the Persians abandoned all corpses indiscriminately to birds and beasts of prey.

This custom still in part continues: the place of burial of the Guebres, at the distance of half a league from Ispahan, is a round tower made of freestone; it is thirty-five feet in height, and ninety in diameter, without gate or any kind of entrance; they ascend it by a ladder. In the midst of the tower is a kind of trench, into which the bones are thrown. The bodies are ranged along the wall in their proper clothes, upon a small couch, with bottles of wine, &c. The ravens, which fill the cemetery, devour them.—*Chardin.*

3 *Serpents, ants, &c.*]—This, says Larcher, is a precept of the Sadder. The learned Dr. Hyde considers the Sadder as fragments of the works of Zoroaster, the great Persian legislator. Upon this subject it may not be amiss to introduce the opinion of Mr. Richardson. The Sadder, says he, are the wretched rhymes of a modern Parsi destour, (priest,) who lived about three centuries ago. From this work, therefore, we cannot have even the glimpse of an original tongue, nor any thing authentic of the genius of the lawgiver.

Chardin informs us, that the Guebres, or ancient fire-worshippers of Persia, deem it meritorious to put insects of all kinds to death.—*T.*

4 *Purity of air.*]—These advantages of situation and of climate, which the Ionians enjoyed, are enumerated by many ancient writers. This people, unable to defend themselves (says the Abbé Barthelemy) against the Persians, consoled themselves for the loss of their liberties in the bosom of voluptuousness and the cultivation of the arts.—*T.*

5 *Miletus, &c.*]—For a particular account of the mo-

next to which are Myus and Priene; all these are situate in Caria, and use the same language. In Lydia are the cities of Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenæ, Phocæa, which have a dialect peculiar to themselves. There are three other cities properly called Ionian: two of these, Samos and Chios, are situated in islands; the other, Erythræ, is on the continent. The Chians and Erythræans speak alike; the Samian tongue is materially different. These are the four discriminations of language to which we alluded.

CXLIII. Of these Ionians, the Milesians were induced to court the friendship of Cyrus, from apprehensions of his power. The islanders had but little cause of fear; for the Persians had not yet subdued the Phœnicians, and were themselves ignorant of maritime affairs. The general imbecility of Greece, and the small importance of the Ionians in particular, was their motive for separating themselves from the body of that nation of which they constituted a part; Athens, of all the Grecian cities, being the only one of any distinction. The appellation of Ionians was for this reason disdained by the Athenians, and some other Ionians; which prejudice does not yet appear to be obliterated. In opposition to this, the above twelve cities are proud of the name, and have in consequence erected a sacred edifice, which they call the Panionium.[6] They determined to admit no other of the Ionian cities to this temple, and the privilege was desired by those of Smyrna alone.

CXLIV. The Dorians, now inhabiting Pentapolis, which was formerly called Hexapolis, instituted a similar exemption; not admitting the neighbouring Dorians, nor indeed some of their own people who had violated a sacred and established custom, to the temple of Triope.[7] The prize of these games, which were celebrated in honour of the Triopean Apollo, was formerly a tripod of brass, which the victor was not expected to carry away,[8] but to leave as a votive offering in the temple of the deity. A man of Halicarnassus,[9] whose name was Agasicles, having obtained the victory, in violation of this custom carried the tripod to his own house, where it was openly suspended. In punishment of this offence, Halicarnassus was excluded from the participation of their religious ceremonies, by the five cities of Lindus, Jalyssus, Camirus, Cos,[10] and Cnidus.[11]

CXLV. It appears to me, that the Ionians divided themselves into twelve states, and were unwilling to connect themselves with more, simply because, in Peloponnesus they were originally so circumstanced as are the Achæans at present, by whom the Ionians were expelled. The first of these is Pellene, near Sicyen; then Ægira and Ægæ, through which the Crathis flows with a never-failing stream, giving its name to a well-known river of Italy. Next to these is Bura, then Helice; to which place the

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dern names and circumstances of these Ionian cities, consult Chandler and Pococke.

Miletus was the birthplace of Thales, Clazomenæ of Anaxagoras, Ephesus of Parrhasius, Colophon of Xenophanes, Teos of Anacreon.—*T.*

6 *Panionium.*]—About sixteen miles to the south of Scala Nuova there is a Christian village called Changlee. It is supposed to be the ancient Panionium, where the meeting of the twelve cities of Ionia was held, and a solemn sacrifice performed to Neptune Heleconius, in which the people of Priene presided.—*Pococke.*

The victim sacrificed in this temple was a bull; and it was deemed an auspicious omen if he lowed whilst they were conducting him to the place of sacrifice.

This is alluded to in Homer:

Not louder roars,
At Neptune's shrine on Helice's high shores,
The victim bull.—*Iliad.* xx. *T.*

7 *Temple of Triope.*]—Triopium was a city of Caria, founded by Triopas, son of Erysicthon. Hence the Triopean promontory took its name, where was a temple known under the name of the Triopean temple, consecrated to Apollo. The Dorians here celebrated games in honour of that god, but without joining with him Neptune and the nymphs.

In this temple was held a general assembly of the Dorians of Asia, upon the model of that of Thermopylæ. —*Larcher.*

8 *Was not expected to carry away.*]—In the games in honour of Apollo and Bacchus, the victor was not permitted to carry the prize away with him. It remained in the temple of the deity, with an inscription signifying the names of the persons at whose cost the games were celebrated, with that of the victorious tribe.—*Larcher.*

9 *Halicarnassus.*]—The sincerity of Herodotus is eminently conspicuous from the faithful manner in which he relates circumstances but little honourable either for Halicarnassus, his country, or even for the Athenians, who had expressed themselves anxious to receive him into the number of their citizens, and before whom he had publicly recited his history. See also chap. clxvi. of this book; as also different passages in the 3d, 5th, and 7th books.—*Bouhier.*

10 *Cos.*]—Cos was the birthplace of Hippocrates.—*T.*

11 *Cnidus.*]—Cnidus was celebrated for being the birthplace of the historian Ctesias, and of the astronomer Eudoxus, and no less so from being possessed of the beautiful Venus of Praxiteles.—*T.*

The medals struck at Cnidus in the times of the Roman emperors, represent, as may be presumed, the Venus of Praxiteles. The goddess, with her right hand conceals her sex; with her left she holds some linen over a vessel of perfumes.—*Voyage du jeune Anacharsis.*

It is perhaps not unworthy of remark, that the celebrated Venus de Medicis conceals with her left hand the distinction of her sex, whilst her right is elevated to her bosom.—*T.*

Ionians fled after being vanquished in battle by the Achæans. Next follow Ægium,[1] Rhypæ, Patræ, Pharæ, and Olenus, which is watered by Pirus, a considerable river. The last are Dyme and Tritæa, the only inland city.

CXLVI. These are the twelve states of the Achæans, to which the Ionians formerly belonged, who, for this reason, constructed an equal number of cities in the country which they afterwards inhabited. That these are more properly Ionians than the rest, it would be absurd to assert or to imagine. It is certain that the Abantes[2] of Eubœa, who have neither name nor any thing else in common with Ionia, form a considerable part of them. They are, moreover, mixed with the Minyan-Orchomenians, the Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocidians, Molossians, the Pelasgians of Arcadia, the Dorians of Epidaurus, and various other nations. Even those who, migrating from the Prytaneum[3] of Athens, esteem themselves the most noble of all the Ionians, on their first settling in the country, brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women, whose parents they put to death. In consequence of this violence, the women made a compact amongst themselves, which they delivered to their daughters, never to sit at meals with their husbands, nor to call them by their appropriate names; which resolution was provoked by the murder of their parents, their husbands, and their children, and by their being afterwards compelled to marry the assassins.—The above happened at Miletus.

CXLVII. Of those chosen by these Ionians for their kings, some were Lydians, descended of Glaucus,[4] the son of Hippolochus, and others, Caucon-Pylians, of the race of Codrus, son of Melanthus. Of their Ionian name, these were more tenacious than the rest of their countrymen; they are without question true and genuine Ionians; but this name may, in fact, be applied to all those of Athenian origin, who celebrate the Apaturian festival,[5] from which it is to be observed that the Ephesians and Colophonians are alone excluded, who had been guilty of the crime of murder.

CXLVIII. Panionium is a sacred place[6] on Mycale, situate towards the north, which, by the universal consent of the Ionians, is consecrated to the Heliconian Neptune.[7] Mycale is

1 *Ægium.*]—The inhabitants of this place having vanquished the Ætolians in a naval fight, and taken from them a vessel of fifty oars, they made an offering of the tenth part to the temple of Delphi, at the same time they demanded of the god, who were the bravest of the Greeks? The Pythian answered thus: "The best cavalry are those of Thessaly; the loveliest women are those of Sparta; they who drink the water of the fair fountain of Arethusa are valiant; but the Argives, who inhabit betwixt Tcrinthus and Arcadia, abounding in flocks, are more so.—As for you, O Ægians! you are neither the third, nor the fourth, nor even the twelfth; you inspire no respect, nor are of the smallest importance."—*Larcher.*

2 *Abantes.*]—This people cut off their hair before, and suffered it to grow behind: being a valiant race, they did this to prevent the enemy, whom they always boldly fronted, seizing them by the hair. For the same reason, Alexander the Great ordered his general to make the troops cut off their hair.—*Larcher.*

3 *Prytaneum.*]—The Prytaneum was the senate-house of Athens. After the senators were elected, presiding officers were appointed, who were called Prytanes. There were fifty of these, and they resided constantly in the Prytaneum, that they might be ready, says Potter, to give audience to whoever had any thing to propose concerning the commonwealth. In the same place also resided other citizens who had rendered important services to their country. The Prytaneum was sacred to Vesta; it was not appropriate to Athens: mention is made of the Prytaneum of Siphros, of Cyzicum, of Syracuse, and of many other places.—*T.*

4 *Glaucus.*]—This is the Glaucus who relates his genealogy to Diomed, in the sixth book of the Iliad.

> Hippolochus survived; from him I came,
> The honour'd author of my birth and name:
> By his decree I sought the Trojan town, &c.—*Pope.*

Invidious as it may appear, we cannot help remarking, that the whole version of this episode is comparatively defective in spirit and in melody.—*T.*

5 *Apaturian festival.*]—This was first instituted at Athens, and thence derived to the rest of the Ionians, Colophon and Ephesus alone excepted. It continued three days; the first was called Dorpia from Dorpos, a supper: on the evening of this day each tribe had a separate meeting, at which a sumptuous entertainment was prepared. The second day was named Anarrusis. Victims were offered to Jupiter and to Minerva, in whose sacrifices, as in all that were offered to the celestial gods, it was usual to turn the head of the victims upwards towards heaven. The third day was called Koureotis, from Kouros, a youth, or Koura, shaving. The young men who presented themselves to be enrolled amongst the citizens had their hair cut off. At this time their fathers were obliged to swear, that both themselves and the mothers of the young men were freeborn Athenians. For farther particulars on this subject, consult Archbishop Potter's Antiquities of Greece.—*T.*

6 *Sacred place.*]—Ampelus and Omphalus were the same term originally, however varied afterwards, and differently appropriated. They are each a compound from Omphe, and relate to the oracular deity. Ampelus, at Mycale, in Ionia, was confessedly so denominated, from its being a sacred place, and abounding with waters, by which people who drank them were supposed to be inspired.—*Bryant.*

7 *Heliconian Neptune.*]—The Ionians had a great veneration for Neptune; they had erected to him a temple at Helice, a city of Achaia, when that country belonged to them. From this place the deity took his name of Heliconius. Homer calls him Heliconian king. The Ionians, giving place to the Achaians, carried with them to Athens, where they took refuge, the worship of Neptune: afterwards fixing in Asia, they constructed, in honour of this divinity, a temple on the model of that

a promontory, projecting itself westward towards Samos. Upon this mountain the Ionians assemble from their different cities, to celebrate the Panionia. Not only the proper names of these religious ceremonies, but those of all the other Greeks, terminate, like the Persian proper names, in the same letter.

CXLIX. The above are the cities of Ionia. Those of Æolia are Cyme, sometimes called Phryconis, Larissæ, Neontichus, Temnos, Cilla. Notium, Ægiroessa, Pitane, Ægæa, Myrina, and Grynia; these were original cities of Æolia. They were formerly twelve in number on the continent; but Smyrna, which was one of them, the Ionians divided from them. The country possessed by the Æolians is in itself more excellent than Ionia, though much inferior in the temperature of the air.

CL. The loss of Smyrna was occasioned by the following incident:—Some inhabitants of Colophon, who had raised a sedition, and had been driven from their country, were received into Smyrna. They watched their opportunity, and whilst the citizens were engaged in celebrating the rites of Bacchus without the town, they secured the gates, and took possession of the place. All the Æolians assembled for its relief: they afterwards came to terms, and it was agreed that the Ionians should retain the city, restoring to the former inhabitants their household goods. The Smyrneans were in consequence divided among the other cities, with enjoyment of the different privileges annexed to each.

CLI. The above are the Æolian cities[8] on the continent, among which we have not enumerated those of mount Ida, which can hardly be said to make a part of their body. They have also in Lesbos[9] five towns; there is a sixth named Arisba, but this was subdued by the Methymnæans, although allied to them by blood. They moreover possess a city in Tenedos,[10] and another in the Hundred Islands. The inhabitants of Lesbos and Tenedos, as well as those of the Ionian islands, were, from their situation, secure from danger; the others indiscriminately agreed to follow the direction and example of the Ionians.

CLII. The Ionians and Æolians made no delay in despatching ambassadors to Sparta, who, when there, selected for their common orator a man of Phocæa, whose name was Pythermus. Habited in purple,[11] as a means of getting a greater number of Spartans together, he stood forth in the midst of them, and exerted all his powers to prevail on them to communicate their assistance. The Lacedæmonians paid no attention to him, and publicly resolved not to assist the Ionians. On the departure of the ambassadors, they nevertheless despatched a vessel of fifty oars, to watch the proceedings of Cyrus, as well as of the Ionians. Arriving at Phocæa, they sent forward to Sardis one Lacrines, the principal man of the party, who was commissioned to inform Cyrus that the Lacedæmonians would resent whatever injury might be offered to any of the Grecian cities.

CLIII. Cyrus gave audience to Lacrines; after which he inquired of the Grecians around him, who these Lacedæmonians were, and what effective power they possessed, to justify this lofty language? When he was satisfied in these particulars, he told the Spartan, "That men who had a large void space in their city, where they assembled for the purpose of defrauding each other, could never be to him objects of terror. He further observed, that if he continued but in health, he would take care that their concern for the Ionian troubles should be superseded by the greatness of their own." Cyrus made this reflection upon the Greeks, from the circumstance of their having large

at Helice. This temple was in the territories of Priene, to which place he who presided at the sacrifices was obliged to belong, its inhabitants giving out that they came from Helice.—*Larcher*.

8 *Æolian cities*.]—The Æolians of Lesbos affirmed, that they were present at the siege of Troy, under the command of Pylæus, whom Homer makes the general of the Pelasgi. A plain confession that they were then called Pelasgi, as well as others.

9 *Lesbos*.]—The names of Arion and Terpander, of Pittacus, of Alcæus, and of Sappho, and, in after times, of Theophanes the historian, concur in making the island of Lesbos a just object of classical curiosity. Arion and Terpander excelled all their contemporaries in the science and practice of music; Pittacus was eminent for his wisdom; and of Alcæus and Sappho little more need be said, than that they have ever been considered as the founders of lyric poetry. A proper opportunity seems here to present itself, of informing the English reader, that what has been said of the dissolute manners of Sappho, is only to be found in the works of those who lived a long time after her. The wines of Lesbos were esteemed the finest in Greece: it is now called Mitylene, which was the name of the ancient capital of the island.—*T.*

10 *Tenedos*.]—The Grecian fleet which proceeded against Troy lay here. It retains its name, is inhabited by Greeks and Turks, and, according to Pococke, exports good wine and brandy.—*T.*

11 *Habited in purple*.]—This dress was the most likely to make him conspicuous, as being particularly affected by women.—*Larcher*.

public squares[1] for the convenience of trade; the Persians have nothing of the kind. The care of Sardis Cyrus afterwards intrusted to Tabalus, a Persian; the disposition of the Lydian treasures he intrusted to Pactyas, a Lydian: Cyrus himself proceeded to Ecbatane, taking Crœsus with him. The Ionians he held in trifling estimation, compared with what he expected in his views upon Babylon and the Bactrians. He was prepared also for more serious resistance from the Sacians and Egyptians. He therefore resolved to take the command in these expeditions himself, and to intrust one of his officers with the conduct of the Ionian war.

CLIV. As soon as Cyrus had left Sardis, Pactyas excited the Lydians to revolt. He proceeded towards the sea; and having all the wealth of Sardis at command, he procured a band of mercenaries, and prevailed on the inhabitants of the coast to enlist under his banners: he then encamped before Sardis, and besieged Tabulus in the citadel.

CLV. Intelligence of this was brought to Cyrus on his march; who thus addressed Crœsus on the subject: "What will, in your opinion, Crœsus, be the event of these disturbances? The Lydians seem inclined to provide sufficient employment for me, and trouble for themselves; I am in doubt whether it will not be better to reduce them altogether to servitude; I appear to myself in the situation of a man, who, destroying the parent, has spared the child: you, who were in every sense the parent of the Lydians, remain in captivity; and yet I am surprised that they, to whom I have restored their city, rebel against my power." Crœsus, on hearing these sentiments of Cyrus, was alarmed for the safety of Sardis. "Sir," he replied, "your remarks are certainly reasonable; but do not, in your anger, destroy an ancient city, which cannot justly be accused of the former or present commotions. Of its preceding troubles, I was the occasion; the penalty of which I suffer in my own person: Pactyas, who has abused your confidence, is the author of the present: let him, therefore, be the object of your resentment; but let the Lydians be forgiven, who may easily be prevented from giving you trouble or alarm hereafter. Let their arms be taken from them; let them be commanded to wear tunics under their cloaks, and buskins about their legs; suffer them to instruct their children in dancing, music, and other feminine accomplishm.nts; you will soon see them lose the dignity of manhood,[2] and be effectually delivered from all future apprehensions of their revolt."

CLVI. These suggestions Crœsus was induced to make, because he thought that even this situation would be better for his country than a state of actual servitude. He was well assured, that unless what he had urged was forcible, Cyrus would not be prevailed on to alter his determination. He reflected also on the probability of the Lydians revolting in future, if they escaped the present danger, and their consequent and unavoidable destruction. Cyrus took in good part the remonstrance of Crœsus, with which, forgetting his resentment, he promised to comply. He, in consequence, despatched Mazares the Mede, who was commissioned to enforce these observances among the Lydians, which Crœsus had recommended. He farther ordered all those to be sold as slaves who had been active in the Lydian revolt, excepting Pactyas, whom he desired to be brought a prisoner to his presence.

CLVII. These commands he issued in his progress, and he marched without delay to Persia. As soon as Pactyas was informed that an army was advancing to oppose him, he fled in affright to Cyme. Mazares proceeded instantly to Sardis, with a small division of the army of Cyrus. When he heard of the flight of Pactyas, his first step was to compel the Lydians to the observance of what Cyrus had commanded. This proved so effectual that it produced a total change in the manners of the Lydians. Mazares then despatched messengers to Cyme, demanding the person of Pactyas: with this the Cymeans hesitated to comply, and first of all sent persons to consult the oracle of Branchidæ, for directions how to act.

1 *Large public squares.*]—I have my doubts whether Herodotus was not misinformed in this particular. Xenophon properly distinguishes the public square which was occupied by the houses of the magistrates, and those appropriated to the education of youth, from those places in which provisions and merchandise were sold.—*Larcher.*

2 *Lose the dignity of manhood.*]—These people became so effeminate, that the word *ludizein* signified to dance: the Romans also called dances and pantomimes *ludiones* and *ludii*, which words are derived, not from *ludus*, but from the Lydians; for the Latins used Ludus, Surus, Suri, for Lydus, Syrus, and Syria.

Xerxes compelled the Babylonians, who had revolted from him, to adopt a similar conduct. He forbade their carrying arms, and obliged them to learn the practice of music, to have in their cities places of debauch, and to wear long tunics.—*Larcher.*

This oracle was of the greatest antiquity, and consulted both by the Ionians and Æolians: it is in the territories of Miletus, beyond the port of Panormus.[3]

CLVIII. Their messengers were directed to inquire what conduct, with respect to Pactyas, would be most conformable to the will of the gods. They were in answer commanded to deliver him up to the Persians; which step, on their return, was about to be followed. In contradiction to the general inclination, Aristodicus, son of Heraclides, a man exceedingly popular, distrusted the interpretation of the oracle, and the fidelity of the messengers. He proposed, therefore, that a second message of inquiry should be sent to the oracle; and he himself was among the persons appointed for this purpose.

CLIX. On their arrival at Branchidæ, Aristodicus was the person who addressed the oracle, which he did thus: "To avoid a cruel death from the Persians, Pactyas, a Lydian, fled to us for refuge; the Persians required us to deliver him into their hands: much as we are afraid of their power, we fear still more to withdraw our protection from a suppliant; till we know your immutable opinion of such conduct." He nevertheless received the same answer; and they were ordered to deliver up Pactyas. To give greater force to what he had said, Aristodicus made a circle round the temple, and from such nests as were built on the outside he took the young. In consequence of his doing this, a voice is said to have exclaimed from the innermost recesses of the temple, "Impious man! how darest thou to injure those who have sought my protection?" In answer to this, Aristodicus replied, with perfect composure, "Are you attentive to those who have sought your protection, and do you command us to abandon those who have sought ours?" "Yes," returned the oracle, "I do command it, that such impious men as you[4] may perish the sooner, and that you may never more trouble me about delivering up suppliants."

CLX. The Cymeans, deliberating on this answer, resolved to take a middle step, that they might neither offend heaven, by abandoning one who had sought their protection, nor expose themselves to the indignation of Cyrus, by refusing his request. Pactyas, therefore, was privately despatched to Mitylene. From hence also Mazares demanded him; and for a certain compensation the inhabitants of Mitylene agreed to deliver him. This, however, as the matter was never brought to an issue, I pretend not positively to assert. The Cymeans, hearing the danger of Pactyas, sent a vessel to Lesbos, in which he was conveyed to Chios. He here took refuge in the temple of Minerva.[5] The Chians were prevailed on by the offer of Aterneus, a place in Mysia opposite to Lesbos, to take him forcibly from hence, and surrender him[6] to his enemies. The Persians thus obtained the means of complying with the wish of Cyrus, to have Pactyas delivered alive into his hands. Long, however, after this event, the Chians refused to use any part of the produce of Aterneus in any of their sacred ceremonies; they appeared to hold it in particular detestation, and it was not in any form introduced in their temples.

CLXI. After Pactyas had been given up by the Chians, Mazares proceeded to reduce those to obedience who had opposed Tabalus. The Prienians were subdued and sold for slaves; the plains of the Meander, and the city of Magnesia, were given up for plunder to the soldiers. After these events, Mazares fell a victim to a sudden disease.

CLXII. Harpagus the Mede was appointed to succeed him: this was the man whom Astyages had entertained with so unnatural a feast, and who had assisted Cyrus in obtaining the kingdom; him Cyrus appointed to the com-

3 *Port of Panormus.*]—It will be proper to remember here, that there were two places of this name; and that this must not be confounded with the port of Panormus, in the vicinity of Ephesus.—*T.*

4 *Such impious men as you.*]—Dr. Jortin remarks, that justice, charity, piety, and faith, were not with those of the middle ages, who cultivated logical or philosophical divinity, what our Saviour and his apostles meant by these virtues. Those doctors called that man pious and holy, who stripped himself to enrich the priests; who built churches and monasteries; who neither rejected nor neglected any thing which the pope required to be believed and performed. The remark applies, with peculiar force and truth, to the times and circumstances discussed in the chapter before us.—*T.*

5 *Minerva.*]—Minerva Poliouchos, the protectress of the citadel. All citadels were supposed to be under the protection of this goddess, where also she had usually a temple.

> Soon as to Ilion's topmost tower they come,
> And awful reach the high Palladian dome.
>
> *Pope, Il. vi.*

6 *Surrender him.*]—Charon the Lampsacenian, says Plutarch, a more ancient writer than Herodotus, relating this matter concerning Pactyas, charges neither the Mitylenians nor Chians with any such action. These are his words: "Pactyas, on hearing of the approach of the Persian army, fled first to Mitylene, then to Chios, and fell into the hands of Cyrus."—*Plutarch on the malignity of Herodotus.*

mand of his army. On his arrival in Ionia, he blockaded the different towns, by throwing up intrenchments before them. Phocæa was the first city of Ionia which thus fell into his hands.

CLXIII. The Phocæans were the first of the Greeks who made long voyages. The Adriatic and the Tyrrhene seas, Iberia and Tartessus, were first of all explored by them. Their vessels were not round, but of fifty oars. On their touching at Tartessus,[1] they conciliated the favour of Arganthonius,[2] sovereign of the place; he had then governed the Tartessians for the space of eighty years, and he lived to the age of one hundred and twenty. Upon that occasion he formed such a regard for the Phocæans, that, soliciting them to leave Ionia, he gave them permission to choose within his territories whatever situation they might prefer. On their refusal of his offer, and when he heard from them that the power of the Mede was continually increasing, he supplied them with money to build walls to their city. The extent of the walls, which were of many furlongs, the size of the stones, with the skill of the workmanship, sufficiently attest the donor's liberality.

CLXIV. The Phocæans being thus provided with walls, Harpagus advanced and attacked their city. He offered them terms, and engaged to leave them unmolested, if they would suffer one of their towers to be demolished, and give up some one edifice[3] for a sacred purpose. From their aversion to servitude, the inhabitants requested a day to deliberate on his proposal; desiring him, in that interval, to withdraw his forces. Harpagus avowed himself conscious of their intentions, but granted their request. Immediately on his retiring from their walls, the Phocæans prepared their fifty-oared galleys, in which they placed their families and effects. They collected also the statues and votive offerings from their temples, leaving only paintings and such works of iron or of stone as could not easily be removed. With these they embarked, and directed their course to Chios. Thus deserted by its inhabitants, the Persians took possession of Phocæa.

CLXV. On their arrival at Chios, they made propositions for the purchase of the Ænussæ islands; not succeeding in their object, as the Chians were afraid of being by these means injured in their commerce, the Phocæans proceeded to Cyrnus.[4] In this place, twenty years before, they had, under some oracular direction, built a town, to which they gave the name of Alalia. Arganthonius, in the mean while, had died, and the Phocæans, in their way to Cyrnus, touched at Phocæ, where they put to death every one of the garrison, which had been left by Harpagus for the defence of the place. After this, they bound themselves under solemn curses never to desert each other. They farther agreed by an oath never to return to Phocæa, till a red-hot ball, which they threw into the sea, should rise again. Notwithstanding these engagements, the greater part of them were, during the voyage, seized with so tender and such affectionate regret for their ancient residence, that they returned to Phocæa. Such of them as adhered to their former solemn resolutions, proceeded in their course from Ænussæ to Cyrnus.

CLXVI. Here they settled, lived in peace with the ancient inhabitants for the space of five years, and erected some temples. In consequence, however, of their committing depredations on all their neighbours, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians collected a fleet of sixty vessels to oppose them. The Phocæans, on their part, were not inactive; they also fitted out sixty vessels, and advanced to meet their adversaries on the Sardinian sea. The fleets

1 *Tartessus.*]—Tartessus stood between the two branches of the river Bætis, which it formed in its passage through the lake Libystinus, and most commodious, in consequence, it was for the purposes of navigation and trade. This people gave their name not only to the island and river on which their city was built, but also to the whole country, which was called Tartessus. Bochart informs us, that Gades and Carteia were anciently called Tartessus, and thinks that the former was built by the Tarshish of Scripture, immediately after the dispersion; and the two latter, long afterwards, by the Phœnicians.

2 *Arganthonius.*]—That Herodotus may not, in this instance, be accused of falsehood, be it known that, in these our times, an Englishman, of the name of Thomas Parr, lived to the age of one hundred and fifty-three. He was invited from his residence in the country to London, by king Charles, as a miracle of longevity, where he died, the change of air and of diet not agreeing with him. In all probability, if he had stayed at home, he might have lived longer. What is more remarkable, at the age of one hundred he was tried for his life; ob vim illatam virgini.—*Palmerius.*

3 *Some one edifice.*]—This passage is involved in some obscurity. The commentators understand a temple, M. Reiske wishes to make an addition of the word mithre. But the Persians did not confine the deity within walls. Perhaps, says Wesseling, Harpagus was satisfied with their consecrating one single building, in token of subjection For my own part, I think that the king, having a palace in every large town of his dominions, the building which Harpagus demanded was probably intended for his residence, whenever he might happen to visit Phocæa; or it might perhaps be intended for the governor, his representative.—*Larcher.*

4 This is Corsica.—*T.*

engaged, the Phocæans conquered, but obtained what might be termed a Cadmean victory.[5] They lost forty of their vessels, and the twenty which remained were unfit for all service. Returning, therefore, to Alalia, they got together their families and effects, loaded their ships with all that they could carry, and, abandoning Cyrnus, directed their course to Rhegium.

CLXVII. On board the vessels which were taken by the enemy were a number of prisoners; most of whom were carried on shore, and stoned to death: after which enormity, it happened, that all the men, cattle, and different animals belonging to Agylla,[6] which approached this spot, were seized with convulsions, and deformity of one kind or other. This circumstance, and a wish to atone for their crime, induced the people of Agylla to consult the Delphic oracle. The Pythian directed them to perform what is still observed as a custom among them; they instituted magnificent funeral rites in honour of those who had been slain, and they introduced in their honour gymnastic and equestrian exercises. Such was the fate of this portion of the Phocæans. They who retired to Rhegium took possession of a part of Ænotria, and built a city called Hyela. To this they were persuaded by a man of Posidonia, who instructed them, that the oracle really intended them to build a mausoleum to the hero Cyrnus, and not a city in the island of that name.—Such is a history of the Phocæans of Ionia.

CLXVIII. The fortune of the Teians was nearly similar: Harpagus having taken their city by blockade, they embarked, and passed over into Thrace; here they built Abdera,[7] the foundations of which were originally laid by Timesius[8] of Clazomenæ. He enjoyed no advantage from his labours, but was banished by the Thracians, though now venerated by the Teians of Abdera as a hero.

CLXIX. These Ionians alone, through a warm attachment to liberty, thus abandoned their native country. The rest of these people, excepting the Milesians, met Harpagus in the field, and, like their friends who had sought another residence, fought like men and patriots. Upon being conquered, they continued in their several cities, and submitted to the wills of their new masters. The Milesians, who, as I have before mentioned, had formed a league of amity with Cyrus, lived in undisturbed tranquillity. Thus was Ionia reduced a second time to servitude. Awed by the fate of their countrymen on the continent, the Ionians of the islands, without any resistance, submitted themselves to Harpagus and Cyrus.

CLXX. The Ionians, though thus depressed, did not omit assembling at Panionium, where, as I have been informed, Bias of Priene gave them advice so full of wisdom, that their compliance with it would have rendered them the happiest of the Greeks. He recommended them to form one general fleet, to proceed with this to Sardinia, and there erect one city capable of receiving all the Ionians. Thus they might have lived in enjoyment of their liberties, and, possessing the greatest of all the islands, might have been secure of the dependence of the rest. On the contrary, their continuance in Ionia rendered every expectation of their recovering their independence altogether impossible. This, in their fallen condition, was the advice of Bias: but before their calamities, Thales the Milesian, who was in fact of Phœnician origin, had wisely counselled them to have one general representation of the Ionians at Teos, this being a central situation; of which the other cities, still using their own customs and laws, might be considered as so many different tribes. Such were the different suggestions of these two persons.

5 *Cadmean victory.*]—The origin of this proverb is variously related. Suidas says, amongst other things, that it became a proverb, because Cadmus, having destroyed the dragon which guarded a fountain sacred to Mars, lived afterwards for the space of eight years in servitude to Mars. It was applied universally to those whose ostensible superiority was accompanied with real disadvantage.—*T.*

6 This was Cære in Etruria.

7 *Abdera.*]—Of this place many singularities are related by Lucian and Pliny. The grass of the country was so strong, that such horses as eat of it ran mad. The inhabitants were afflicted with a fever, which so disturbed their imaginations, that they fancied themselves actors, and were, during the delirium, eternally repeating some verses from the Andromeda of Euripides. It produced, however, many famous men. It was the birthplace of Democritus, of Protagoras, Anaxarchus, Hecatæus, and others.—*T.*

8 *Timesius.*]—Larcher, on the authority of Plutarch and Ælian, reads Timesias. The reading, in all the manuscripts and editions of Herodotus, is Timesius. Timesias was governor of Clazomenæ, and a man of great integrity. Envy, which always persecutes such characters, ultimately effected his disgrace. He was for a time regardless of its consequences: but it at length banished him from his country. He was passing by a school, before which the boys, dismissed by their master, were playing. Two of them were quarrelling about a piece of string. "I wish," says one of them, "I might so dash out the brains of Timesias." Hearing this, he concluded that if he was thus hated by boys, as well as men, the dislike of his person must be universal indeed: he therefore voluntarily banished himself.—*Ælian.*

CLXXI. On the reduction of Ionia, Harpagus incorporated the Ionians and Æolians with his forces, and proceeded against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians. The Carians formerly were islanders, in subjection to Minos, and called Leleges.[1] But I do not, after the strictest examination, find that they ever paid tribute. They supplied Minos, as often as he requested, with a number of vessels; and at the period of his great prosperity and various victories, were distinguished above their neighbours by their ingenuity. Three improvements now in use among the Greeks are imputed to them. The Carians were the first who added crests to their helmets, and ornaments to their shields. They were also the first who gave the shield its handle.[2] Before their time, such as bore shields had no other means of using them but by a piece of leather suspended from the neck over the left shoulder. At a long interval of time, the Dorians and Ionians expelled the Carians, who, thus driven from the islands, settled on the continent. The above information concerning the Carians, we receive from Crete; they themselves contradict it altogether, and affirm that they are original natives of the continent, and had never but one name. In confirmation of this, they show, at Mylassa,[3] a very ancient structure, built in honour of the Carian Jove, to the privileges of which the Lydians and Mysians are also admitted, as being of the same origin. According to their account, Lydus, Misus, and Cares were brothers; the use of the above temple is therefore granted to their descendants, but to no other nation, though distinguished by the use of the same language.

CLXXII. The Caunians are in my opinion the aborigines of the country, notwithstanding they assert themselves to have come from Crete. I am not able to speak with decision on the subject; but it is certain, that either they adopted the Carian language, or the Carians accommodated themselves to theirs. Their laws and customs differ essentially from those of other nations, and no less so from the Carians. Among them it is esteemed highly meritorious to make drinking parties, to which they resort in crowds, both men, women, and children, according to their different ages and attachments. In earlier times they adopted the religious ceremonies of foreign nations; but determining afterwards to have no deities but those of their own country, they assembled of all ages in arms, and rushing forwards, brandishing their spears as in the act of pursuit, they stopped not until they came to the mountains of Calynda, crying aloud that they were expelling their foreign gods.[4]

CLXXIII. The Lycians certainly derive their origin from Crete.[5] The whole of this island was formerly possessed by Barbarians; but a contest for the supreme power arising between Sarpedon and Minos, the sons of Europa,[6] Minos prevailed, and expelled Sarpedon and his adherents. These, in leaving their country, came to that part of Asia which is called Milyas. The country of the Lycians was for-

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1 *Called Leleges.*]—They are distinguished from the Leleges by Homer, who makes them two distinct people. See book 10th of the Iliad:

> The Carians, Caucons, the Pelasgian host,
> And Leleges, encamp along the coast.

And here again I must censure Mr. Pope. Homer calls the Pelasgi, δῖοι, which strong epithet is totally omitted in the translation. Strabo, in his 12th book, calls the Leleges πλανητας, wanderers.

2 *Its handle.*]—It appears from Homer, that in the time of the Trojan war, the buckler had two handles of wood: one through which the arm was passed; the other was grasped by the hand, to regulate its movement. See Iliad 8, 193. This particularity is omitted by Mr. Pope, who contents himself with saying, shield of gold. The original is, the shield is entirely of gold, handles and all.—*κανονας τε και αυτην.*—*T.*

Sophocles, therefore, has been guilty of an anachronism, in giving the shield of Ajax a handle of leather.—*Larcher.*

3 *Mylassa.*]—Now called Melasso. Besides the temple here mentioned, there was another of great antiquity, in honour of Jupiter Osogus. In after times, a beautiful temple was constructed here, sacred to Augustus and to Rome. It is at the present day remarkable for producing the best tobacco in Turkey.—*T.*

4 *Foreign gods.*]—The gods of all polytheists, observes Mr. Hume, are no better than the elves or fairies of our ancestors. These pretended religionists acknowledge no being which corresponds to our idea of a deity. The Chinese, when their prayers are not answered, beat their idols. The deities of the Laplanders are any large stone which they meet with of an extraordinary shape. The Egyptian mythologists, in order to account for animal worship, said, that the gods, pursued by the violence of earth-born men, who were their enemies, had formerly been obliged to disguise themselves under the semblance of beasts. Not even the immortal gods, said some German nations to Cæsar, are a match for the Suevi.—*Essay on the Natural History of Religion.*

5 *Crete.*]—Now called Candia. For an account of its precise circumstances, consult Pococke.—*T.*

6 *Europa.*]—The popular story of Jupiter and Europa is too well known to require or to justify any elaborate discussion. This name, however, may be introduced amongst a thousand others, to prove how little it becomes any person to speak peremptorily, and with decision, upon any of these more ancient personages. According to Lucian, Europa and Astarte were the same, and worshipped with divine honours in Syria. She is also esteemed the same with Rhea, the mother of the gods.—*T.*

merly called Milyas, and the Milyans were anciently known by the name of Solymi. Here Sarpedon governed; his subjects retained the names they brought; and indeed they are now, by their neighbours, called Termilians.[7] Lycus, the son of Pandion, being also driven from Athens by his brother Ægeus, went to Sarpedon, at Termilæ: in process of time, the nation was, after him, called Lycians. Their laws are partly Cretan,[8] and partly Carian. They have one distinction from which they never deviate, which is peculiar to themselves; they take their names from their mothers,[9] and not from their fathers. If any one is asked concerning his family, he proceeds immediately to give an account of his descent, mentioning the female branches only. If any free woman marries a slave, the children of such marriage are reputed free; but if a man who is a citizen, and of authority among them, marry a concubine, or a foreigner, his children can never attain any dignity in the state.

CLXXIV. Upon this occasion, the Carians made no remarkable exertions, but afforded an easy victory to Harpagus. The Carians, indeed, were not less pusillanimous than all the Greeks inhabiting this district; among whom are the Cnidians, a Lacedæmonian colony, whose territories, called Triopium, extended to the sea. The whole of this country, except the Bybassian peninsula, is surrounded with water; on the north by the bay of Ceramus, and on the west by that sea which flows near Syme and Rhodes. Through this peninsula, which was only five furlongs in extent, the Cnidians endeavoured to make a passage, whilst the forces of Harpagus were employed against Ionia. The whole of this country lying beyond the isthmus being their own, they meant thus to reduce it into the form of an island. Whilst they were engaged in this employment, the labourers were wounded in different parts of the body, and particularly in the eyes, by small pieces of flint, which seemed to fly about in so wonderful a manner as to justify their apprehensions that some supernatural power had interfered. They sent, therefore, to make inquiries at Delphi, what power it was which thus opposed their efforts? The Pythian,[10] according to their own tradition, answered them thus:

> Nor build nor dig; for wiser Heaven
> Had, were it best, an island given.

Upon this, the Cnidians desisted from their purpose, and, on the approach of the enemy, surrendered themselves, without resistance, to Harpagus.

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7 *Termilians.*]—They are sometimes called Telmissi. I believe they both mean the same thing, both names relating to the kind of armour in use among them: the first denoting the short sword, or poniard; the last, the quiver and arrows, for which the Cretans were famous, and both which Herodotus appropriates to the Lycians, in book the seventh.

8 *Partly Cretan.*]—The following singular circumstance is related by Ælian. "The Cretans," says he, "are skilful archers. With their darts they wound the wild goats which feed upon the mountains. The goats, on perceiving themselves struck, immediately eat the herb dictamus: as soon as they have tasted it, the darts fall from the wound."—*T.*

9 *From their mothers.*]—They also called themselves sons of Thetis: this probably they did in consequence of the strange custom here mentioned, and to confront the like ridiculous fictions of other nations.

Moreover, over the different companies (τα συσσιτια, or ανδρεια) into which the Cretans were divided, a woman presided, had the care and management of the whole family, provided for them, and at table distributed the choicest pieces to those who had distinguished themselves, either at home or abroad. This female government arose from the foregoing plea, their pretended descent from Thetis; but the youth under seventeen were under the care of a master, who was called their father. See Meursius, c. 16, 17. Creta.

Bellerophon slew a wild boar, which destroyed all the cattle and fruits of the Xanthians; but for his services he received no compensation. He therefore prayed to Neptune, and obtained from him that all the fields of the Xanthians should exhale a salt dew, and be universally corrupted. This continued till, regarding the supplications of the women, he prayed a second time to Neptune, to remove this effect of his indignation from them. Hence a law was instituted amongst the Xanthians, that they should derive their names from their mothers, and not from their fathers.—*Plutarch on the Virtues of Women.*

The country of the Xanthians was in Lycia. If this custom commenced with the Xanthians, the Lycians doubtless adopted it. Amongst these people the inheritance descended to the daughters; the sons were excluded.—*Larcher.*

No less singular is the custom which prevails in some parts of this kingdom, called Borough English, which ordains that the youngest son shall inherit the estate, in preference to all his elder brothers.—*T.*

10 *The Pythian.*]—This answer of the oracle brings to mind an historical anecdote, which we may properly introduce here:—The Dutch offered Charles the Second of Spain to make the Tagus navigable, as far as Lisbon, at their own expense, provided he would suffer them to exact, for a certain number of years, a stipulated duty on merchandise which should pass that way. It was their intention to make the Mansanazer navigable from Madrid to the place where it joins the Tagus. After a sage deliberation, the council of Castile returned this remarkable answer: "If it had pleased God to make these rivers navigable, the intervention of human industry would not have been necessary: as they are not so already, it does not appear that Providence intended them to be so. Such an undertaking would be seemingly to violate the decrees of Heaven, and to attempt the amendment of these apparent imperfections visible in its works."—Translated by Larcher, from *Clarke's Letters on the Spanish Nation.*

CLXXV. The inland country beyond Halicarnassus was inhabited by the Pedasians. Of them it is affirmed, that whenever they or their neighbours are menaced by any calamity, a prodigious beard grows from the chin of the priestess of Minerva.[1] This, they say, has happened three several times. They, having fortified mount Lida, were the only people of Caria who discovered any resolution in opposing Harpagus. After many exertions of bravery, they were at length subdued.

CLXXVI. When Harpagus led his army towards Xanthus, the Lycians boldly advanced to meet him, and, though inferior in number, behaved with the greatest bravery. Being defeated, and pursued into their city, they collected their wives, children, and valuable effects into the citadel, and there consumed the whole in one immense fire.[2] They afterwards, uniting themselves under the most solemn curses, made a private sally upon the enemy, and were every man put to death. Of those who now inhabit Lycia, calling themselves Xanthians, the whole are foreigners, eighty families excepted: these survived the calamity of their country, being at that time absent on some foreign expedition. Thus Xanthus fell into the hands of Harpagus; as also did Caunus, whose people imitated, almost in every respect, the example of the Lycians.

CLXXVII. Whilst Harpagus was thus engaged in the conquest of the Lower Asia, Cyrus himself conducted an army against the upper regions, of every part of which he became master. The particulars of his victories I shall omit; expatiating only upon those which are more memorable in themselves, and which Cyrus found the most difficult to accomplish. When he had reduced the whole of the continent, he commenced his march against the Assyrians.

CLXXVIII. The Assyrians are masters of many capital towns; but their place of greatest strength and fame is Babylon,[3] where, after the destruction of Nineveh, was the royal residence. It is situated on a large plain, and is a perfect square, each side, by every approach, is in length one hundred and twenty furlongs; the space, therefore, occupied by the whole is four hundred and eighty furlongs. So extensive is the ground which Babylon occupies; its internal beauty and magnificence exceed whatever has come within my knowledge. It is surrounded by a trench very wide, deep, and full of water: the wall beyond this is two hundred royal cubits[4] high, and fifty wide: the royal exceeds the common cubit by three digits.

CLXXIX. It will not be foreign to my purpose to describe the use to which the earth dug out of the trench was converted, as well as the particular manner in which they constructed the wall. The earth of the trench was first of all laid in heaps, and, when a sufficient quantity was obtained, made into square bricks, and baked in a furnace. They used as cement a composition of heated bitumen, which, mixed with the tops of reeds, was placed betwixt every thirtieth course of bricks. Having thus lined the sides of the trench, they proceeded to build the wall in the same manner; on the summit of which, and fronting each other, they erected small watch-towers of one story, leaving a space betwixt them through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at different distances, were an

1 *The priestess of Minerva.*]—We express ourselves surprised at the blind credulity of the ancients: posterity, in its turn, will be astonished at ours, without being on this account perhaps at all more wise.—*Larcher.*

The liquefying of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, which by the majority of the people there it would at this day be thought impiety to doubt, is recited in a very lively and entertaining manner by Dr. Moore, and is an instance of credulity no less striking than the one recorded by Herodotus, of the Carian priestesses.—*T.*

2 *One immense fire.*]—The following anecdote from Plutarch describes a similar emotion of despair:—The Xanthians made a sally in the night, and seizing many of the enemy's battering engines, set them on fire. Being soon perceived by the Romans, they were beaten back. A violent wind forced the flames against the battlements of the city with such violence that the adjoining houses took fire. Brutus, on this, commanded his soldiers to assist the citizens in quenching the fire; but they were seized with so sudden a frenzy and despair, that women and children, bond and free, all ages and conditions, strove to repel those who came to their assistance, and gathering whatever combustible matter they could, spread the fire over the whole city. Not only men and women, but even boys and little children, leaped into the fire; others threw themselves from the walls; others fell upon their parents' swords, opening their breasts, and desiring to be slain.—*T.*

3 *Babylon.*]—The greatest cities of Europe give but a faint idea of that grandeur which all historians unanimously ascribe to the famous city of Babylon.—*Dutens.*

Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency.—*Isaiah.*

4 *Cubits.*]—It must be confessed, indeed, that in the comparison of ancient and modern measures, nothing certain has been concluded. According to vulgar computation, a cubit is a foot and a half: and thus the ancients also reckoned it; but then we are not certainly agreed about the length of their foot.—*Montfaucon.*

The doubt expressed by Montfaucon appears unnecessary: these measures, being taken from the proportions of the human body, are more permanent than any other. The foot of a moderate-sized man, and the cubit, that is the space from the end of the fingers to the elbow, have always been near twelve and eighteen inches respectively.—*T.*

hundred massy gates of brass,[5] whose hinges and frames were of the same metal. Within an eight days' journey from Babylon is a city called Is; near which flows a river of the same name, which empties itself into the Euphrates. With the current of this river particles of bitumen descend towards Babylon, by the means of which its walls were constructed.

CLXXX. The great river Euphrates, which, with its deep and rapid streams, rises in the Armenian mountains, and pours itself into the Red Sea,[6] divides Babylon into two parts. The walls meet and form an angle with the river at each extremity of the town, where a breast-work of burnt bricks begins, and is continued along each bank. The city, which abounds in houses from three to four stories in height, is regularly divided into streets. Through these, which are parallel, there are transverse avenues to the river, opened through the wall and breast-work, and secured by an equal number of little gates of brass.

CLXXXI. The first wall is regularly fortified; the interior one, though less in substance, is of almost equal strength. Besides these, in the centre of each division of the city, there is a circular space surrounded by a wall. In one of these stands the royal palace, which fills a large and strongly defended space. The temple of Jupiter Belus[7] occupies the other, whose huge gates of brass may still be seen. It is a square building, each side of which is of the length of two furlongs. In the midst a tower rises, of the solid depth and height of one furlong; upon which, resting as a base, seven other turrets are built in regular succession. The ascent is on the outside, which, winding from the ground, is continued to the highest tower; and in the middle of the whole structure there is a convenient resting place. In the last tower is a large chapel, in which is placed a couch magnificently adorned, and near it a table of solid gold; but there is no statue in the place. No man is suffered to sleep here; but the apartment is occupied by a female, whom the Chaldæan priests[8] affirm that their deity selects from the whole nation as the object of his pleasures.

CLXXXII. They themselves have a tradition, which cannot easily obtain credit, that their deity enters this temple, and reposes by night on this couch. A similar assertion is also made by the Egyptians of Thebes; for, in the interior part of the temple of the Thebean Jupiter, a woman in like manner sleeps. Of these two women, it is presumed that neither of them have any communication with the other sex. In which predicament the priestess of the temple of Pataræ in Lycia is also placed. Here is no regular oracle;[9] but whenever a divine communication is expected, the priestess is obliged to pass the preceding night in the temple.

CLXXXIII. In this temple there is also a small chapel, lower in the building, which contains a figure of Jupiter in a sitting posture, with a large table before him; these, with the base of the table, and the seat of the throne, are all of the purest gold, and are estimated by the Chaldæans to be worth eight hundred talents. On the outside of this chapel there are two altars; one is of gold, the other is of immense size, and appropriated to the sacrifice of full-grown animals: those only which have not left their dams may be offered on the altar of gold. Upon the larger altar, at the time of the anniversary festival in honour of their god, the Chaldæans regularly consume incense to the amount of a thousand talents. There was formerly in this temple a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high; this, however, I mention from the information of the Chaldæans, and not from my own knowledge. Darius the son of Hystaspes[10] endeavoured, by sinister means,

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5 *Gates of brass.*]—Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus: I will go before thee; I will break in pieces the gates of brass.—*Isaiah.*

6 *Red Sea.*]—The original Erythrean or Red Sea was that part of the Indian ocean which forms the peninsula of Arabia; the Persian and Arabian gulfs being only branches of it.—*T.*

7 *Temple of Jupiter Belus.*]—It is necessary to have in mind that the temples of the ancients were essentially different from our churches. A large space was inclosed by walls, in which were courts, a grove, pieces of water, apartments sometimes for the priests; and, lastly, the temple, properly so called, and where most frequently it was permitted the priests alone to enter. The whole inclosure was named *το ἱερον*: the temple, properly so called, or the residence of the deity, was called *ναος*, (naos,) or the cell. It is obvious that this last is the place particularly alluded to.—*Larcher.*

Bell or Belus was a title bestowed upon many persons. It was particularly given to Nimrod, who built the city of Babel or Babylon.—*Bryant.*

8 *Chaldæan priests.*]—Belus came originally from Egypt. He went, accompanied by other Egyptians, to Babylon: there he established priests: these are the personages called by the Babylonians Chaldæans. The Chaldæans carried to Babylon the science of astrology, which they learned from the Egyptian priests.—*Larcher.*

9 *Regular oracle.*]—According to Servius, Apollo communicated his oracles at Pataræ during the six winter months, at Delos in the six months of summer.—*Larcher.*

10 *Darius the son of Hystaspes.*]—The only Babylonish and Persian princes found in the Bible, are Nebuchadnezzar, Evil Merodach, Belshazzar, Ahasuerus, Darius

to get possession of this, not daring openly to take it; but his son Xerxes afterwards seized it, putting the priest to death who attempted to prevent its removal. The temple, besides those ornaments which I have described, contains many offerings of individuals.

CLXXXIV. Among the various sovereigns of Babylon, who contributed to the strength of its walls, and the decoration of its temples, and of whom I shall make mention when I treat of the Assyrians, there were two females; the former of these was named Semiramis,[1] who preceded the other by an interval of five generations. This queen raised certain mounds, which are indeed admirable works: till then the whole plain was subject to violent inundations from the river.

CLXXXV. The other queen was called Nitocris; she being a woman of superior understanding, not only left many permanent works, which I shall hereafter describe, but also having observed the increasing power and the restless spirit of the Medes, and that Nineveh, with other cities, had fallen a prey to their ambition, put her dominions in the strongest posture of defence. To effect this, she sunk a number of canals above Babylon, which by their disposition rendered the Euphrates, which before flowed to the sea in an almost even line, so complicated by its windings, that in its passage to Babylon it arrives three times at Ardericca, an Assyrian village: and to this hour they who wish to go from the sea up the Euphrates to Babylon, are compelled to touch at Ardericca three times on three different days. The banks also, which she raised to restrain the river on each side, are really wonderful, from their enormous height and substance. At a considerable distance above Babylon, turning aside a little from the stream, she ordered an immense lake to be dug, sinking it till they came to the water: its circumference was no less than four hundred and twenty furlongs. The earth of this was applied to the embankments of the river; and the sides of the trench or lake were strengthened and lined with stones, brought thither for that purpose. She had in view by these works, first of all to break the violence of the current by the number of circumflexions, and also to render the navigation to Babylon as difficult and tedious as possible. These things were done in that part of her dominions which was most accessible to the Medes; and with the farther view of keeping them in ignorance of her affairs, by giving them no commercial encouragement.

CLXXXVI. Having rendered both of these works strong and secure, she proceeded to execute the following project. The city, being divided by the river into two distinct parts, whoever wanted to go from one side to the other was obliged, in the time of the former kings, to pass the water in a boat. For this, which was a matter of general inconvenience, she provided this remedy, and the immense lake, which she had before sunk, became the farther means of extending her fame:—Having procured a number of large stones, she changed the course of the river, directing it into the canal prepared for its reception. When this was full, the natural bed of the river became dry, and the embankments on each side, near those smaller gates which led to the water, were lined with bricks hardened by fire, similar to those which had been used in the construction of the wall. She afterwards, nearly in the centre of the city, with the stones above mentioned, strongly compacted with iron and with lead, erected a bridge;[2] over this the inhabitants

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the Mede, Coresh, and Darius the Persian; Artaxerxes also is mentioned in Nehemiah. Ahasuerus has been the subject of much etymological investigation. Sir Isaac Newton, by inadvertency, makes him in one place to be Cyaxares; in another, Xerxes. Archbishop Usher supposes him to be Darius Hystaspes; Scaliger, Xerxes; Josephus, the Septuagint; and Dr. Hyde, Artaxerxes Longimanus.—*Richardson.*

1 *Semiramis.*]—It may be worth while to observe the different opinions of authors about the time when Semiramis is supposed to have lived.

	Years.
According to Syncellus, she lived before Christ	2177
Petavius makes the term	2060
Helvicus	2248
Eusebius	1984
Mr. Jackson	1964
Archbishop Usher	1215
Philo Biblius, from Sanchoniathon, about	1200
Herodotus about	713

What credit can be given to the history of a person, the time of whose life cannot be ascertained within 1535 years?—*Bryant.*

2 *A bridge.*]—Diodorus Siculus represents this bridge as five furlongs in length; but as Strabo assures us that the Euphrates was no more than one furlong wide, Rollin is of opinion that the bridge could not be so long as Diodorus describes it. Although the Euphrates was, generally speaking, no more than one furlong in breadth, at the time of a flood it was probably more; and, doubtless, the length of the bridge was proportioned to the extremest possible width of the river. This circumstance M. Rollin does not seem to have considered. The Mansanares, which washes one of the extremities of Madrid, is but a small stream; but as, in the time of a flood, it spreads itself over the neighbouring fields, Philip the Second built a bridge eleven hundred feet long. The bridge of Semiramis, its length alone excepted, must have been very inferior to these of ours. It consisted only of large masses of stone, piled upon each other at regular distances, without arches; they were made to communicate by pieces of wood thrown over each pile.—*Larcher.*

passed in the daytime by a square platform, which was removed in the evening to prevent acts of mutual depredation. When the above canal was thoroughly filled with water, and the bridge completely finished and adorned, the Euphrates was suffered to return to its original bed; thus both the canal and the bridge were confessedly of the greatest utility to the public.

CLXXXVII. The above queen was also celebrated for another instance of ingenuity: she caused her tomb[3] to be erected over one of the principal gates of the city, and so situated as to be obvious to universal inspection: it was thus inscribed: "If any of the sovereigns, my successors, shall be in extreme want of money, let him open my tomb, and take what money he may think proper; if his necessity be not great, let him forbear; the experiment will perhaps be dangerous." The tomb remained without injury till the time and reign of Darius. He was equally offended at the gate's being rendered useless, and that the invitation thus held out to become affluent should have been so long neglected. The gate, it is to be observed, was of no use, from the general aversion to pass through a place over which a dead body was laid. Darius opened the tomb; but instead of finding riches, he saw only the dead body, with a label of this import: "If your avarice had not been equally base and insatiable, you would not have intruded on the repose of the dead."—Such are the traditions concerning this queen.

CLXXXVIII. Against her son Labynitus, who, with the name of his father, enjoyed the empire of Assyria, Cyrus conducted his army. The great king,[4] in his warlike expeditions, is provided from home with cattle, and all other necessaries for his table. There is also carried with him water of the river Choaspes,[5] which flows near Susa; for the king drinks of no other; wherever he goes, he is attended by a number of four wheeled carriages, drawn by mules, in which the water of Choaspes, being first boiled, is disposed in vessels of silver.

CLXXXIX. Cyrus, in his march to Babylon, arrived at the river Gyndes, which, rising in the mountains of Matiene, and passing through the country of the Dameans, loses itself in the Tigris; and this, after flowing by Opis, is finally discharged into the Red Sea. Whilst Cyrus was endeavouring to pass this river, which could not be performed without boats, one of the white consecrated horses, boldly entering the stream, in his attempts to cross it, was borne away by the rapidity of the current, and totally lost. Cyrus, exasperated[6] by the

3 *Her tomb.*]—Nitocris, in this instance, deviated from the customs of her country. The Assyrians, to preserve the bodies of their dead the longer from putrefaction, covered them with honey: the Romans did the same. As to their funeral rites, the Assyrians in all respects imitated the Egyptians.—*T.*

It appears from Plutarch, that the tomb of Cyrus, and of many of the princes of the east, were within the precincts of their cities.—*Bryant.*

4 *Great king.*]—This was the title by which the Greeks always distinguished the monarchs of Persia. The emperor of Constantinople is at the present day called the grand signior.—*Larcher.*

Lofty titles have always been, and still continue to be, conferred upon the oriental princes:—Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth.—*Ezra* i. 2.

For I never hurt any that was willing to serve Nabuchodonosor, king of all the earth.—*Judith* xi. 1.

5 *Choaspes.*]—

There Susa, by Choaspes' amber stream,
The drink of none but kings.

Milton's Paradise Regained, b. ii.

Upon the above passage of Milton, Jortin remarks, "If we examine the assertion of Milton, as an historical problem, whether the kings of Persia alone drank of Choaspes, we shall find great reason to determine in the negative. Herodotus, Strabo, Tibullus, Ausonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch, Pliny the elder, Athenæus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius, have mentioned Choaspes, or Eulæus, as the drink of the kings of Persia, or Parthia, and have called it *βασιλικον ὑδωρ*, regia lympha; but none have said they alone drank of it. I say Choaspes, or Eulæus, because some make them the same, others make them different rivers."

Ælian relates that Xerxes, during his march, came to a desert place, and was exceedingly thirsty; his attendants with his baggage were at some distance; proclamation was made, that whoever had any of the water of Choaspes should produce it for the use of the king. One person was found who possessed a small quantity, but it was quite putrid: Xerxes, however, drank it, and considered the person who supplied it as his friend and benefactor, as he must otherwise have perished with thirst.—*T.*

Mention is made, continues Jortin, by Agathocles, of a certain water which none but Persian kings might drink; and if any other writers mention it, they take it from Agathocles. We find, in Athenæus, Agathocles says, that there is in Persia a water called Golden; that it consists of seventy streams; that none drink of it except the king and his eldest son; and that if any other person does, death is the punishment.

It appears not that the golden water, and the water of Choaspes, were the same. It may be granted, and it is not at all improbable, that the king alone drank of that water of Choaspes which was boiled and barrelled up for his use in his military expeditions.

Jortin concludes by saying, that Milton, by his calling it Amber Stream, seems to have had in view the golden water of Agathocles. To me this does not seem likely. I think Milton would not have scrupled to have called it at once Golden Stream, if he had thought of the passage from Athenæus, before quoted.

6 *Cyrus, exasperated.*]—This portrait of Cyrus seems to me a little overcharged. The hatred which the Greeks bore the Persians is sufficiently known. The motive with Cyrus for thus treating the Gyndes could not be

accident, made a vow that he would render this stream so very insignificant, that women should hereafter be able to cross it without so much as wetting their knees. He accordingly suspended his designs upon Babylon, and divided his forces into two parts: he then marked out with a line, on each side the river, one hundred and eighty trenches; these were dug according to his orders, and so great a number of men were employed that he accomplished his purpose, but he thus wasted the whole of that summer.

CXC. Cyrus, having thus satisfied his resentment with respect to the Gyndes, on the approach of spring prepared to march towards Babylon. The Babylonians awaited him in arms. As he advanced, they met him, and gave him battle; but were defeated, and chased into the town. The inhabitants were well acquainted with the restless and ambitious temper of Cyrus, and had guarded against this event, by collecting provisions and other necessaries sufficient for many years' support, which induced them to regard a siege as a matter of but small importance; and Cyrus, after much time lost, without having made the smallest progress, was reduced to great perplexity.

CXCI. Whilst in this state of anxiety, he adopted the following expedient, either from the suggestions of others, or from the deliberation of his own judgment:—He placed one detachment of his forces where the river first enters the city, and another where it leaves it, directing them to enter the channel and attack the town whenever a passage could be effected. After this disposition of his men, he withdrew with the less effective of his troops to the marshy ground which we have before described. Here he pursued in every respect the example of the Babylonian princess; he pierced the bank, and introduced the river into the lake, by which means the bed of the Euphrates became sufficiently shallow for the object in view. The Persians, in their stations, watched the proper opportunity; and when the stream had so far retired as not to be higher than their thighs, they entered Babylon without difficulty. If the besieged had either been aware of the designs of Cyrus, or had discovered the project before its actual accomplishment, they might have effected the total destruction of these troops. They had only to secure the little gates which led to the river, and to have manned the embankments on either side, and they might have enclosed the Persians in a net from which they could never have escaped: as it happened, they were taken by surprise; and such is the extent of the city, that, as the inhabitants themselves affirm, they who lived in the extremities were made prisoners, before any alarm was communicated[1] to the centre of the place. It was a day of festivity among them, and whilst the citizens were engaged in dance and merriment, Babylon was, for the first time, thus taken.

CXCII. The following exists, amongst many other proofs which I shall hereafter produce, of the power and greatness of Babylon. Independent of those subsidies which are paid monthly to the Persian monarch, the whole of his dominions are obliged, throughout the year, to provide subsistence for him and for his army. Babylon alone raises a supply for four months, eight being proportioned to all the rest of Asia; so that the resources of this region are considered as adequate to a third part of Asia. The government also of this country, which the Persians call a satrapy, is deemed by much the noblest in the empire.[2] When Tritantæchmes, son of Artabazus, was appointed to this principality by the king, he received every day an artaby of silver. The artaby is a Persian measure, which exceeds the Attic medimnus by about three chœnices. Besides his horses for military service, this province maintained for the sovereign's use a stud of eight hundred stallions and sixteen thousand mares, one horse being allotted to twenty mares. He had, moreover, so immense a number of Indian dogs,[3]

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such as is here described. That which happened to the sacred horse might make him apprehend a similar fate for the rest of his army, and compel him to divert the river into a great number of canals to render it fordable. A similar example occurs in a preceding chapter.—*Larcher.*

1 *Any alarm was communicated.*]—They who were in the citadel did not know of the capture of the place till the break of day; which is not at all improbable: but it exceeds belief, what Aristotle affirms, that even on the third day it was not known, in some quarters of the town, that Babylon was taken.—*Larcher.*

2 The description of Assyria, says Mr. Gibbon, is furnished by Herodotus, who sometimes writes for children and sometimes for philosophers. It is given also by Strabo and Ammianus. The most useful of the modern travellers are Tavernier, Otter, and Niebuhr; yet I must regret, adds the historian, that the Trak Arabi of Abulfeda has never been translated.

3 *Indian dogs.*]—These were very celebrated. The ancients, in general, believed them to be produced from a bitch and a tiger. The Indians pretend, says Pliny, that the bitches are lined by tigers; and for this reason, when they are at heat, they confine them in some part of the forests. The first and second race they deem to be remarkably fierce; they bring up also the third.—*Larcher.*

that four great towns in the vicinity of Babylon were exempted from all other tax but that of maintaining them.

CXCIII. The Assyrians have but little rain; the lands, however, are fertilized, and the fruits of the earth nourished by means of the river. This does not,[4] like the Egyptian Nile, enrich the country by overflowing its banks, but is dispersed by manual labour or by hydraulic engines. The Babylonian district, like Egypt, is intersected by a number of canals,[5] the largest of which, continued with a south-east course from the Euphrates to that part of the Tigris where Nineveh stands, is capable of receiving vessels of burden. Of all countries which have come within my observation, this is far the most fruitful in corn. Fruit trees, such as the vine, the olive, and the fig, they do not even attempt to cultivate; but the soil is so particularly well adapted for corn, that it never produces less than two hundred fold: in seasons which are remarkably favourable, it will sometimes rise to three hundred. The ear of their wheat as well as barley is four digits in size. The immense height to which millet and sesamum[6] will grow, although I have witnessed it myself, I know not how to mention. I am well aware that they who have not visited this country will deem whatever I may say on the subject a violation of probability. They have no oil but what they extract from the sesamum. The palm[7] is a very common plant in this country, and generally fruitful: this they cultivate like fig-trees, and it produces them bread, wine, and honey. The process[8] observed is this: they fasten the fruit of that which the Greeks term the male tree, to the one which produces the date; by this means, the worm which is contained in the former, entering the fruit, ripens, and prevents it from dropping immaturely. The male palms bear insects in their fruit, in the same manner as the wild fig-trees.

CXCIV. Of all that I saw in this country, next to Babylon itself, what to me appeared the greatest curiosity, were the boats. These, which are used by those who come to the city, are of a circular form, and made of skins.[9] They are constructed in Armenia, in the parts above Assyria, where the sides of the vessels, being formed of willow,[10] are covered externally with skins, and having no distinction of head or stern, are modelled into the shape of a shield. Lining the bottoms of these boats with reeds, they take on board their merchandise, and thus commit themselves to the stream. The principal article of their commerce is palm wine, which they carry in casks. The boats have two oars, one man to each; one pulls to him,

4 *This does not, &c.*]—The Euphrates occasionally overflows its banks; but its inundations do not, like those of the Nile, communicate fertility. The streams of the Euphrates and the Tigris do not, says Pliny, leave behind them the mud which the Nile does in Egypt.—*Larcher.*

5 *Number of canals.*]—The uses of these artificial canals were various and important: they served to discharge the superfluous waters from one river into the other, at the season of their respective inundations; subdividing themselves into smaller and smaller branches, they refreshed the dry lands, and supplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourse of peace and commerce: and, as the dams could be speedily broken down, they armed the despair of the Assyrians with the means of opposing a sudden deluge to the progress of an invading army.—*Gibbon.*

6 *Sesamum.*]—Of this plant there are three species; the Orientale, the Indicum, and the Trifelictum: it is the first which is here meant. It is an annual herbaceous plant; its flowers are of a dirty white, and not unlike the foxglove; it is cultivated in the Levant as a pulse, and indeed in all the eastern countries: it has of late years been introduced into Carolina, and with success; an oil is expressed from its seed: it is the seed which is eaten; they are first parched over the fire, and then stewed, with other ingredients, in water.—*T.*

7 *The palm.*]—The learned Kæmpfer, as a botanist, an antiquary, and a traveller, has exhausted the whole subject of palm-trees. The diligent natives, adds Mr. Gibbon, celebrated, either in verse or prose, the three hundred and sixty uses to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit were skilfully applied.

8 *The process.*]—Upon this subject the learned and industrious Larcher has exhausted no less than ten pages. The ancients whom he cites are Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Pliny: the moderns are Pontedera, and Tournefort, which last he quotes at considerable length. The Amœnitates Exoticæ of Kæmpfer, to which I have before alluded, will fully satisfy whoever wishes to be more minutely informed on one of the most curious and interesting subjects which the science of natural history involves.—*T.*

9 *The boats—made of skins.*]—See the scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, book ii. verse 168, where we are told that anciently all the inhabitants of the sea coasts, made their rafts and boats of passage from the skins of beasts.

10 *Formed of willow, &c.*]—

The bending willow into barks they twine,
Then line the work with skins of slaughter'd kine;
Such are the floats Venetian fishers know,
Where in dull marshes stands the settling Po.
On such to neighbouring Gaul, allured by gain,
The nobler Britons cross the swelling main.
Like these, when fruitful Egypt lies afloat,
The Memphian artist builds his reedy boat.

Rowe's Lucan.

The navigation of the Euphrates never ascended above Babylon.—*Gibbon.*

I have been informed, that a kind of canoe, made in a similar form, and precisely of the same materials, is now in use in Monmouthshire and other parts of Wales, and called a corricle.—*T.*

the other pushes from him. These boats are of very different dimensions; some of them are so large as to bear freights to the value of five thousand talents: the smaller of them has one ass on board; the larger, several. On their arrival at Babylon, they dispose of all their cargo, selling the ribs of their boats, the matting, and every thing but the skins which cover them; these they lay upon their asses, and with them return to Armenia. The rapidity of the stream is too great to render their return by water practicable. This is perhaps the reason which induces them to make their boats of skin, rather than of wood. On their return with their asses to Armenia, they make other vessels in the manner we have before described.

CXCV. Their clothing is of this kind: they have two vests, one of linen, which falls to the feet, another over this, which is made of wool; a white sash covers the whole. The fashion of their shoes[1] is peculiar to themselves, though somewhat resembling those worn by the Thebans. Their hair[2] they wear long, and covered with a turban, and are lavish in their use of perfumes.[3] Each person has a seal ring and a cane, or walking stick, upon the top of which is carved an apple,[4] a rose, a lily, an eagle, or some figure or other; for to have a stick without a device is unlawful.

CXCVI. In my description of their laws, I have to mention one, the wisdom of which I must admire; and which, if I am not misinformed, the Eneti,[5] who are of Illyrian origin, use also. In each of their several districts this custom was every year observed: such of their virgins as were marriageable were, at an appointed time and place, assembled together. Here the men also came, and some public officer sold by auction[6] the young women one

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1 *Fashion of their shoes.*]—The Bœotian shoes were made of wood, and came up part of the leg. The dresses for the feet and legs, amongst the Greeks and Romans, were nearly the same: they had both shoes and sandals; the former covered the whole foot, the last consisted of one or more soles, and were fastened with thongs above the foot. In the simplicity of primitive manners, the feet were only protected by raw hides. It is said in Dion Cassius, that Julius Cæsar gave offence at Rome, by wearing high-heeled shoes of a red colour. The shoes of the Roman senators were distinguished by a crescent. A particular form of shoe or sandal was appropriated to the army; and a description of thirty different kinds, as used by the Romans and such nations as they deemed barbarous, may be found in Montfaucon.—*T.*

2 *Their hair.*]—It cannot be a matter of the smallest importance, to know whether the Babylonians wore their hair short, or suffered it to grow. But it is a little singular, that in this instance Strabo formally contradicts Herodotus, although in others he barely copies him.—*Larcher.*

3 *Perfumes.*]—The use of aromatics in the east may be dated from the remotest antiquity; they are at the present period introduced, not only upon every religious and festive occasion, but as one essential instrument of private hospitality and friendship. "Ointment and perfume," says Solomon, "rejoice the heart." At the present day, to sprinkle their guests with rose-water, and to perfume them with aloes wood, is an indispensable ceremony at the close of every visit in eastern countries. At the beginning of the present century, they were considered as a proof of great extravagance and unusual luxury: they have of late years been continually becoming more and more familiar, till they have at length ceased to be any distinction of elegance, of fortune, or of rank.—*T.*

4 *An apple.*]—What, in common with Littlebury and Larcher, I have translated apple, Mr. Bryant understands to be a pomegranate, which, he says, was worn by the ancient Persians on their walking-sticks and sceptres, on account of its being a sacred emblem.—*T.*

5 *Eneti.*]—This people, from whom perhaps the Venetians of Italy are descended, Homer mentions as famous for their breed of mules:

> The Paphlagonians Pylæmenes rules,
> Where rich Henetia breeds her savage mules.

Before I proceed, I must point out a singular error of Mr. Pope: any reader would imagine that Pylæmenes, as it stands in his translation, had the penultimate long; on the contrary, it is short. There is nothing like rich Henetia in Homer; he simply says, εξ Ενετων. Upon the above lines of Homer, I have somewhere seen it remarked, that probably the poet here intended to inform us, that the Eneti were the first people who pursued and cultivated the breed of mules. They were certainly so famous for this heterogeneous mixture, that Ενετις and Ενετος denote that particular foal of the horse and the mule which the Eneti bred.—See *Hesychius.*

A remarkable verse occurs in Genesis—see chapter xxxvi. verse 24:—"These are the children of Zibeon; both Ajah and Anah: this was that Anah who *found the mules* in the wilderness, as he fed the asses of Zibeon his father." Does not this mean that Anah was the first author and contriver of this unnatural breed?

This mixture was forbidden by the Levitical law.—See Leviticus, ch. xix. ver. 19:—"Thou shalt not let thy cattle gender with a diverse kind."

Is it impossible that from Anah the Eneti might take their name? Strabo informs us, that the Eneti of Asia were called afterwards Cappadocians, which means breakers of horses; and he adds, that they who marched to the assistance of Troy were esteemed a part of the *Leuco-Syri.*

6 *Sold by auction.*]—Herodotus here omits one circumstance of consequence, in my opinion, to prove that this ceremony was conducted with decency. It passed under the inspection of the magistrates; and the tribunal whose office it was to take cognizance of the crime of adultery, superintended the marriage of the young women. Three men, respectable for their virtue, and who were at the head of their several tribes, conducted the young women that were marriageable to the place of assembly, and there sold them by the voice of the public crier.—*Larcher.*

If the custom of disposing of the young women to the best bidder was peculiar to the Babylonians, that of purchasing the person intended for a wife, and of giving the father a sum to obtain her, was much more general. It was practised amongst the Greeks, the Trojans,

by one, beginning with the most beautiful. When she was disposed of, and, as may be supposed, for a considerable sum, he proceeded to sell the one who was next in beauty, taking it for granted that each man married the maid he purchased. The more affluent of the Babylonian youths contended with much ardour and emulation to obtain the most beautiful; those of the common people who were desirous of marrying, as if they had but little occasion for personal accomplishments, were content to receive the more homely maidens, with a portion annexed to them. For the crier, when he had sold the fairest, selected also the most ugly, or one that was deformed; she also was put up to sale, and assigned to whoever would take her with the least money. This money was what the sale of the beautiful maidens produced, who were thus obliged to portion out those who were deformed, or less lovely than themselves. No man was permitted to provide a match for his daughter, nor could any one take away the woman whom he had purchased, without first giving security to make her his wife. To this if he did not assent, his money was returned him. There were no restrictions with respect to residence; those of another village might also become purchasers. This, although the most wise of all their institutions, has not been preserved to our time. One of their later ordinances was made to punish violence offered to women, and to prevent their being carried away to other parts; for after the city had been taken, and the inhabitants plundered, the lower people were reduced to such extremities, that they prostituted their daughters for hire.

CXCVII. They have also another institution, the good tendency of which claims our applause. Such as are diseased[7] among them they carry into some public square; they have no professors of medicine, but the passengers in general interrogate the sick person concerning his malady; that if any person has either been afflicted with a similar disease himself, or seen its operation upon another, he may communicate the process by which his own recovery was effected, or by which, in any other instance, he knew the disease to be removed. No one may pass by the afflicted person in silence, or without inquiry into the nature of his complaint.

CXCVIII. Previous to their interment, their dead are anointed with honey; and, like the Egyptians, they are fond of funeral lamentations.[8] Whenever a man has had communication with his wife,[9] he sits over a consecrated vessel containing burning perfumes: the woman does the same. In the morning, both of them go into the bath; till after which, they will neither of them touch any domestic utensil. This custom is also observed in Arabia.

CXCIX. The Babylonians have one custom in the highest degree abominable. Every woman who is a native of the country is obliged once in her life to attend at the temple of Venus, and prostitute[10] herself to a stranger.

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and their allies, and even amongst the deities.—*Bellanger.*

> Three daughters in my court are bred,
> And each well worthy of a royal bed:
> Laodice, and Iphigenia fair,
> And bright Chrysothemis with golden hair.
> Her let him choose, whom most his eyes approve;
> I ask no presents, no reward for love.—*Pope's Iliad.*

7 *Diseased.*]—We may from hence observe the first rude commencement of the science of medicine. Syrianus is of opinion that this science originated in Egypt, from those persons who had been disordered in any part of their bodies writing down the remedies from which they received benefit.—*Larcher.*

8 *Funeral lamentations.*]—The custom of hiring people to lament at funerals is of very great antiquity. Many passages in the Old Testament seem to allude to this.—Jeremiah xvi. 6. Baruch vi. 32: "They roar and cry before their gods, as men do at the feast when one is dead."

A similar custom prevails to this day in Ireland, where, as I have been informed, old women are hired to roar and cry at funerals.

9 *Communication with his wife.*]—I much approve of the reply of Theano, wife of Pythagoras. A person inquired of her, what time was required for a woman to become pure, after having had communication with a man. "She is pure immediately," answered Theano, "if the man be her husband; but if he be not her husband, no time will make her so."—*Larcher, from Diogenes Laertius.*

10 *Prostitute herself.*]—This, as an historical fact, is questioned by some, and by Voltaire in particular; but it is mentioned by Jeremiah, who lived almost two centuries before Herodotus, and by Strabo, who lived long after him. See Baruch vi. 42.

"The women also, with cords about them, sitting in the ways, burn bran for perfume. But if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her cord broken."

Upon the above, Mr. Bryant remarks, that instead of women, it should probably be read virgins; and that this custom was universally kept up wherever the Persian religion prevailed. Strabo is more particular: "Not only," says he, "the men and maid-servants prostitute themselves, but people of the first fashion devote in the same manner their own daughters. Nor is any body at all scrupulous about cohabiting with a woman who has been thus abused."

Upon the custom itself no comment can be required; Herodotus calls it, what it must appear to every delicate mind, in the highest degree base.

The prostitution of women, considered as a religious institution, was not only practised at Babylon, but at Heliopolis; at Aphace, a place betwixt Heliopolis and Biblius; at Sicca Veneria, in Africa, and also in the isle of Cyprus. It was at Aphace that Venus was supposed,

Such women as are of superior rank do not omit even this opportunity of separating themselves from their inferiors; these go to the temple in splendid chariots, accompanied by a numerous train of domestics, and place themselves near the entrance. This is the practice with many; whilst the greater part, crowned with garlands, seat themselves in the vestibule; and there are always numbers coming and going. The seats have all a rope or string annexed to them, by which the stranger may determine his choice. A woman having once taken this situation, is not allowed to return home, till some stranger throws her a piece of money, and, leading her to a distance from the temple, enjoys her person. It is usual for the man, when he gives the money, to say, "May the goddess Mylitta be auspicious to thee!" Mylitta being the Assyrian name of Venus. The money given is applied to sacred uses, and must not be refused, however small it may be. The woman, not suffered to make any distinction, is obliged to accompany whoever offers her money. She afterwards makes some conciliatory oblations to the goddess, and returns to her house, never afterwards to be obtained on similar or on any terms. Such as are eminent for their elegance and beauty do not continue long, but those who are of less engaging appearance have sometimes been known to remain from three to four years, unable to accomplish the terms of the law. It is to be remarked, that the inhabitants of Cyprus have a similar observance.

CC. In addition to the foregoing account of Babylonian manners, we may observe, that there are three tribes of this people whose only food is fish. They prepare it thus: having dried it in the sun, they beat it very small in a mortar, and afterwards sift it through a piece of fine cloth; they then form it into cakes, or bake it as bread.

CCI. After his conquest of this people, Cyrus extended his ambitious views to the Massagetæ, a great and powerful nation, whose territories extend beyond the river Araxes,[1] to the extreme parts of the east. They are opposite to the Issedonians, and are by some esteemed a Scythian nation.

CCII. Concerning the magnitude of the Araxes there are various representations; some pronouncing it less, others greater than the Danube. There are many islands scattered up and down in it, some of which are nearly equal to Lesbos in extent. The people who inhabit these subsist during the summer on such roots as they dig out of the earth, preserving for their winter's provision the ripe produce of their fruit-trees. They have amongst them a tree whose fruit has a most singular property. Assembled round a fire, which they make for this purpose, they throw into the midst of it the above fruit, and the same inebriation is communicated to them from the smell, as the Greeks experience from excess of wine. As they become more exhilarated, they throw on a greater quantity of fruit, and are at length so far transported as to leap up, dance, and sing. This is what I have heard of the customs of this people. The Araxes, like the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into three hundred and sixty rivulets, rises among the Matienian hills. It separates itself into forty mouths,[2] all of which, except one, lose themselves in bogs and marshes, among which a people are said to dwell, who feed upon raw fish, and clothe themselves with the skins of sea-calves. The larger stream of the Araxes continues its even course to the Caspian.

CCIII. The Caspian is an ocean by itself, and communicates with no other. The sea frequented by the Greeks, the Red Sea, and that beyond the Pillars, called the Atlantic, are all one ocean. The Caspian forms one unconnected sea; a swift-oared boat would in fifteen days measure its length, its extreme breadth in eight. It is bounded on the west by mount Caucasus, the largest and perhaps the highest mountain in the world. Caucasus is inhabited by various nations,[3] many of whom are said to

according to the author of the Etymologicum Magnum, to have first received the embraces of Adonis.—*T.*

1 *Araxes.*]—See Spenser's Fairy Queen, book iv. canto 11, stanza 21:

Oraxes feared for great Cyrus' sake.

Instead of Oraxes, it ought to be Araxes.—See *Jortin.*

Virgil alludes to the tempestuous violence of this river, Æn. viii. 728:

Pontem indignatus Araxes.

See also Chardin, tom. i. p. 181.

"On a bati diverses fois des ponts dessus l'Araxe, mais quelques forts et massifs qu'ils fussent, comme il paroit a des arches qui sont encore entiers, ils n'ont pu tenir contre l'effort du fleuve. Il est si furieux lorsque le degel le grossit des neiges fondues des monts voisins, qu'il n'y a ni digue ni autre batiment qu'il n'emporte."

2 *Forty mouths.*]—What Herodotus says of the Araxes, is in a great measure true of the Volga, which empties itself into the Caspian by a number of channels, in which many considerable islands are scattered. But this river does not, nor indeed can it come from the Matienian mountains.—*Larcher.*

3 *Various nations.*]—Of these the principal were the Colchians; of the excellent produce and circumstances of whose country a minute and entertaining account is given by Strabo.—*T.*

subsist on what the soil spontaneously produces. They have trees whose leaves possess a most singular property; they beat them to powder, and then steep them in water: this forms a dye,[4] with which they paint on their garments figures of animals. The impression is so very strong that it cannot be washed out; it appears to be interwoven in the cloth, and wears as long as the garment. The sexes communicate promiscuously, and in public, like the brutes.

CCIV. Caucasus terminates that part of the Caspian which extends to the west; it is bounded on the east by a plain of prodigious extent, a considerable part of which forms the country of Massagetæ, against whom Cyrus meditated an attack. He was invited and urged by many strong incentives. When he considered the peculiar circumstances of his birth, he believed himself more than human. He reflected also on the prosperity of his arms, and that wherever he had extended his incursions, he had been followed by success and victory.

CCV. The Massagetæ were then governed by a queen; she was a widow, and her name Tomyris. Cyrus sent ambassadors to her with overtures of marriage; the queen, concluding that his real object was the possession, not of her person, but her kingdom, forbade his approach. Cyrus, on finding these measures ineffectual, advanced to the Araxes, openly discovering his hostile designs upon the Massagetæ. He accordingly threw a bridge of boats over the river for the passage of his forces, which he also fortified with turrets.

CCVI. Whilst he was engaged in this difficult undertaking, Tomyris sent by her ambassadors this message: "Sovereign of the Medes, uncertain as you must be of the event, we advise you to desist from your present purpose. Be satisfied with the dominion of your own kingdom, and suffer us to retain what is certainly our own. You will not, however, listen to this salutary counsel, loving any thing rather than peace: if, then, you are really impatient to encounter the Massagetæ, give up your present labour of constructing a bridge; we will retire three days' march into our country, and you shall pass over at your leisure; or, if you had rather receive us in your own territories, do you as much for us." On hearing this, Cyrus called a council of his principal officers, and, laying the matter before them, desired their advice how to act. They were unanimously of opinion that he should retire, and expect Tomyris in his own dominions.

CCVII. Crœsus the Lydian, who assisted at the meeting, was of a different sentiment, which he defended in this manner: "I have before remarked, O king! that since Providence has rendered me your captive, it becomes me to exert all my abilities in obviating whatever menaces you with misfortune. I have been instructed in the severe but useful school of adversity. If you were immortal yourself, and commanded an army of immortals, my advice might be justly thought impertinent; but if you confess yourself a human leader of forces that are human, it becomes you to remember that sublunary events have a circular motion, and that their revolution does not permit the same man always to be fortunate. Upon this present subject of debate I dissent from the majority. If you await the enemy in your own dominions, a defeat may chance to lose you all your empire; the victorious Massagetæ, instead of retreating to their own, will make farther inroad into your territories. If you shall conquer, you will still be a loser by that interval of time and place which must be necessarily employed in the pursuit. I will suppose that, after victory, you will instantly advance into the dominions of Tomyris; yet can Cyrus the son of Cambyses, without disgrace and infamy, retire one foot of ground from a female adversary? I would therefore recommend, that having passed over with our army, we proceed on our march till we meet the enemy; then let us contend for victory and honour. I have been informed the Massagetæ lead a life of the meanest poverty, ignorant of Persian fare, of Persian delicacies. Let these, therefore, be left behind in our camp; let there be abundance of food prepared, costly viands, and flowing goblets of wine. With these let us leave the less effective of the troops, and with the rest again retire towards the river. If I err not, the foe will be allured by the sight of our luxurious preparations, and afford us a noble occasion of victory and glory."

CCVIII. The result of the debate was, that Cyrus preferred the sentiments of Crœsus: he therefore returned for answer to Tomyris, that he would advance the space into her dominions which she had proposed. She was faithful to her engagement, and retired accordingly. Cyrus

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4 *Forms a dye.*]—By the discovery of cochineal, we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell, and a dark cast, as deep as bull's blood.—*Gibbon.*

then formally delegated his authority to his son Cambyses;[1] and above all recommended Crœsus to his care, as one whom, if the projected expedition should fail, it would be his interest to distinguish by every possible mark of reverence and honour. He then dismissed them into Persia, and passed the river with his forces.

CCIX. As soon as he had advanced beyond the Araxes into the land of the Massagetæ, he saw in the night this vision: He beheld the eldest son of Hystaspes having wings upon his shoulders, one of which overshadowed Asia, the other, Europe. Hystaspes was the son of Arsamis, of the family of the Achæmenides; the name of his eldest son was Darius, a youth of about twenty, who had been left behind in Persia, as not yet of an age for military service. Cyrus awoke, and revolved the matter in his mind: as it appeared to him of serious importance, he sent for Hystaspes to his presence, and, dismissing his attendants, "Hystaspes," said the king, "I will explain to you my reasons, why I am satisfied, beyond all dispute, that your son is now engaged in seditious designs against me and my authority. The gods, whose favour I enjoy, disclose to me all those events which menace my security. In the night just passed, I beheld your eldest son having wings upon his shoulders; one of which overshadowed Asia, the other, Europe; from which I draw certain conclusions that he is engaged in acts of treachery against me. Do you therefore return instantly to Persia; and take care, that when I return victorious from my present expedition, your son may give me a satisfactory explanation of his conduct."

CCX. The strong apprehension of the treachery of Darius induced Cyrus thus to address the father; but the vision in reality imported that the death of Cyrus was at hand, and that Darius should succeed to his power. "Far be it, O king!" said Hystaspes, in reply, "from any man of Persian origin to form conspiracies against his sovereign. If such there be, let immediate death be his portion. You have raised the Persians from slavery to freedom; from subjects, you have made them masters: if a vision has informed you that my son designs any thing against you, to you and to your disposal I shall deliver him." Hystaspes, after this interview, passed the Araxes on his return to Persia, fully intending to watch over his son, and deliver him to Cyrus.

CCXI. Cyrus, advancing a day's march from the Araxes, followed, in all respects, the counsel of Crœsus; and, leaving behind him the troops upon which he had less dependence, he returned with his choicest men towards the Araxes. A detachment of about the third part of the army of the Massagetæ attacked the Persians whom Cyrus had left, and, after a feeble conflict, put them to the sword. When the slaughter ceased, they observed the luxuries which had artfully been prepared; and, yielding to the allurement, they indulged themselves in feasting and wine, till drunkenness and sleep overcame them. In this situation, the Persians attacked them: several were slain, but the greater part were made prisoners; among whom was Spargapises, their leader, the son of Tomyris.

CCXII. As soon as the queen heard of the defeat of her forces, and the capture of her son, she despatched a messenger to Cyrus, with these words: "Cyrus, insatiable as you are of blood, be not too elate with your recent success. When you yourself are overcome with wine, what follies do you not commit? By entering your bodies, it renders your language more insulting. By this poison you have conquered my son, and neither by your prudence nor your valour. I venture a second time to advise what it will be certainly your interest to follow. Restore my son to liberty, and, satisfied with the disgrace you have put upon a third part of the Massagetæ, depart from these realms unhurt. If you will not do this, I swear by the Sun, the great god of the Massagetæ, that, insatiable as you are of blood, I will give you your fill of it."[2]

CCXIII. These words made but little impression upon Cyrus. The son of Tomyris, when, recovering from his inebriated state, he knew the misfortune which had befallen him, entreated Cyrus to release him from his bonds. He obtained his liberty, and immediately destroyed himself.

CCXIV. On the refusal of Cyrus to listen to her counsel, Tomyris collected all her forces:

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1 *His son Cambyses.*]—When the Persian kings went on any expedition, it was customary with them to name their successor, in order to prevent the confusion unavoidably arising from their dying without having done this.—*Larcher.*

2 *Fill of blood.*]—With this story of Cyrus, that of the Roman Crassus nearly corresponds. The wealth of Crassus was only to be equalled by his avarice. He was taken prisoner in an expedition against the Parthians, who poured liquefied gold down his throat, in order, as they said, that he whose thirst of gold could never be satisfied when he was alive, might be filled with it when dead.—*T.*

a battle ensued; and of all the conflicts which ever took place amongst the barbarians, this was, I believe, by far the most obstinately disputed. According to such particulars as I have been able to collect, the engagement began by a shower of arrows poured on both sides, from an interval of some distance; when these were all spent, they fought with their swords and spears; and for a long time neither party gained the smallest advantage: the Massagetæ were at length victorious, the greater part of the Persians were slain; Cyrus himself also fell, and thus terminated a reign of twenty-nine years. When, after diligent search, his body was found, Tomyris directed his head to be thrown into a vessel filled with human blood; and, having insulted and mutilated the dead body, exclaimed, "Survivor and conqueror as I am, thou hast ruined my peace by thy successful stratagem against my son; but I will give thee now, as I threatened, thy fill of blood."—This account of the end of Cyrus seems to me most consistent with probability, although there are many other and different relations.[3]

CCXV. The Massagetæ in their clothes and food resemble the Scythians; they fight on horseback and on foot, and are both ways formidable. They have spears, arrows, and battle-axes. They make much use both of gold and brass. Their spears, the points of their arrows, and their battle-axes are made of brass; their helmets, their belts, and their breastplates are decorated with gold. They bind also a plate of brass on the chests of their horses, whose reins, bits, and other harness are plated with gold. They use neither iron nor silver, which indeed their country does not produce, though it abounds with gold and brass.

CCXVI. Concerning their manners, we have to observe, that though each man marries but one wife, she is considered as common property: for what the Greeks assert in general of the Scythians, is true only of the Massagetæ. When a man of this country desires to have communication with a woman, he hangs up his quiver before his wagon, and enjoys her without fear of interruption. To speak of the number of years to which they live is impossible. As soon as any one becomes infirm through age, his assembled relations put him to death,[4] boiling along with the body the flesh of sheep and other animals, upon which they feast; esteeming universally this mode of death the happiest. Of those who die from any disease, they never eat; they bury them in the earth, and esteem their fate a matter to be lamented, because they have not lived to be sacrificed. They sow no grain, but entirely subsist upon cattle, and upon the fish which the river Araxes abundantly supplies; milk also constitutes a part of their diet. They sacrifice horses[5] to the sun, their only deity, thinking it right to offer the swiftest of mortal animals to the swiftest of immortal beings.

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3 *Different relations.*]—Xenophon makes Cyrus die peaceably in his bed; Strabo inclines to this opinion; Lucian makes him live beyond the age of a hundred.—*Larcher.*

The Massagetæ are by some authors confounded with the Scythians. Diodorus Siculus calls Tomyris queen of the Scythians.—*Larcher.*

4 *Put him to death.*]—Hollanicus, speaking of the Hyperboreans, who live beyond the Rhipean mountains, observes, that they learn justice, that they do not eat meat, but live entirely on fruit. Those of sixty years they carry out of the town, and put to death. Timæus says, that in Sardinia, when a man has passed the age of seventy years, his sons, in honour of Saturn, and with seeming satisfaction, beat his brains out with clubs, and throw him from some frightful precipice. The inhabitants of Iulis, in the isle of Ceos, oblige those who are past the age of sixty years to drink hemlock, &c.

This custom, so contrary to our manners, will doubtless appear fabulous to those who are no friends to antiquity, and whose judgments are regulated entirely by modern manners. It is practised nevertheless at the present day in the kingdom of Aracan: the inhabitants of this country accelerate the death of their friends and relations, when they see them afflicted by a painful old age, or incurable disease: it is with them an act of piety. —*Larcher.*

5 *Sacrifice horses.*]—This was a very ancient custom: it was practised in Persia, in the time of Cyrus, and was probably anterior to that prince. Horses were also sacrificed to Neptune and the deities of the rivers, being precipitated into the sea or into rivers.

Sextus Pompeius threw into the sea horses and live oxen, in honour of Neptune, whose son he professed himself to be.—*Larcher.*

Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum
Ne detur celeri victima tarda deo.—*Ovid.*

HERODOTUS.

BOOK II.

EUTERPE.

I. CAMBYSES the son of Cyrus, by Cassandana, daughter of Phanaspe, succeeded his father. The wife of Cyrus had died before him; he had lamented her loss himself with the sincerest grief, and commanded all his subjects to exhibit public marks of sorrow.[1] Cambyses thus descended, considered the Ionians and Æolians as his slaves by right of inheritance. He undertook, therefore, an expedition against Egypt, and assembled an army for this purpose, composed as well of his other subjects as of those Greeks who acknowledged his authority.

II. Before the reign of their king Psammitichus,[2] the Egyptians esteemed themselves the most ancient of the human race; but when this prince came to the throne, he took considerable pains to investigate the truth of this matter. The result was, that they believe the Phrygians[3] more ancient than themselves, and themselves than the rest of mankind. Whilst Psammitichus was engaged in this inquiry, he contrived the following as the most effectual means of removing his perplexity. He procured two children just born, of humble parentage, and gave them to a shepherd to be brought up among his flocks. He was ordered never to speak before them; to place them in a sequestered hut, and at proper intervals to bring them goats, whose milk[4] they might suck whilst he was attending to other employments. His object was to know what word they would first pronounce articulately. The experiment succeeded to his wish; the shepherd complied with each particular of his directions, and at the end of two years, on his one day opening the door of their apartment, both the children extended their arms towards him, as if in supplication, and pronounced the word Becos.[5] It did not at first excite his attention; but on their repeating the same expression whenever he appeared, he related the circumstance to his master, and at his command brought the children to his presence. When Psammitichus had heard them repeat this same word, he endea-

1 *Public marks of sorrow.*]—Admetus pays the same tribute of respect to the memory of his deceased wife Alcestis.

> Πᾶσιν δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσιν, ὧν ἐγὼ κρατῶ,
> Πένθος γυναικὸς τῆσδε κοινοῦσθαι λέγω,
> Κουρᾷ ξυρήκει καὶ πέπλοις μελαγχίμοις.
>
> *Eurip. Alcest.* 425.

Which is thus rendered by Potter:

> Through my realms of Thessaly,
> I give command, that all, in solemn grief
> For this dear woman, shear their locks, and wear
> The solemn garb of mourning.

2 *Before the reign of their king Psammitichus.*]—It is read indifferently Psammetichus, Psammitichus, and Psammietichus.

According to Justin, the Scythians believed themselves to be more ancient than the Egyptians.

3 *Phrygians.*]—The volumes of Greece and Rome abound with records of the Phrygians. Arrian tells us, that the Phrygians were the oldest of mankind, *λεγονται Φρυγες παλαιοτατοι ανθρωπων*, cited by Eustathius in Dian. Their religious madness in the worship of their goddess Cybele renders them very remarkable in classic story. They were remarkable for their effeminacy; and we have their character beautifully drawn by Virgil, in the contrast which he gives us in the ninth Æneid, betwixt them and the ancient Tuscans:

> Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis;
> Desidiæ cordi; juvat indulgere choreis:
> Et tunicæ manicas et habent redimicula mitræ.
> O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges! ite per alta
> Dindyma, ubi assuetis biforem dat tibia cantum.
> Tympana vox buxusque vocat Berecynthia matris
> Idææ, sinite arma viris, et cedite ferro.

This citation from Virgil implies that these were instruments more becoming a woman than a warrior. The proverb, *Phryx plagis emendatur* (see Erasmus Adag.), was contemptuously applied to all this nation.

4 *Whose milk.*]—Claudian has an allusion to this historical fact. See his poem in Eutropium, ii. 250:

> Dat cuncta vetustas
> Principium Phrygibus, nec rex Ægyptius ultra
> Restitit humani postquam puer uberis expers
> In Phrygiam primum laxavit murmura vocem.

5 *Becos.*]—These infants, in all probability, pronounced the word Bec, the cry of the animals which they imitated, as being a termination appropriated to the Greek language.—*Larcher.*

voured to discover among what people it was in use: he found it was the Phrygian name for bread.[1] From seriously revolving this incident, the Egyptians were induced to allow the Phrygians to be of greater antiquity than themselves.

III. That this was really done, I myself heard at Memphis from the priests of Vulcan. The Greeks, among other idle tales, relate, that Psammitichus gave the children to be nursed by women whose tongues were previously cut out. During my residence at Memphis the same priests informed me of many other curious particulars: but to be better satisfied how well the narrative which I have given on their authority was supported, I made it my business to visit Thebes and Heliopolis,[2] the inhabitants of which latter place are deemed the most ingenious of all the Egyptians. Except to specify the names of their divinities, I shall be unwilling to mention their religious customs, unless my subject demand it; this being a matter concerning which men in general are equally well informed.

IV. In all which they related of human affairs, they were uniform and consistent with each other; they agree that the Egyptians first defined the measure of the year, which they divided into twelve parts; in this they affirm the stars to have been their guides. Their mode of computation is in my opinion more sagacious than that of the Greeks, who for the sake of adjusting the seasons accurately, add every third year an intercalary month. The Egyptians divide their year into twelve months, giving to each month thirty days: by adding five days to every year, they have an uniform revolution of time. The people of this country first invented[3] the names of the twelve gods, and from them the Grecians borrowed them.[4] They were the first also who erected altars, shrines, and temples; and none before them ever engraved the figures of animals on stone; the truth of all which they sufficiently authenticate. The name of their first king was Menes,[5] in whose reign the whole of Egypt, except the province of Thebes, was one extended marsh. No part of all that district which is now situate beyond the lake of Mœris, was then to be seen, the distance between which lake and the sea is a journey of seven days.

V. The account which they give of their country appears just and reasonable. It must be obvious to the inspection of any one of common sagacity, even though he knew it not before, that the part of Egypt to which the Greeks now sail formerly constituted a part of the bed of the river;[6] which thing may always be observed of all that tract of country beyond the lake, to pass over which would employ a journey of three days; but this the Egyptians themselves do not assert. Of this fact there exists another proof: if from a vessel bound to Egypt, the lead be thrown at the distance of a day's sailing from the shore,[7] it will come up

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1 *Bread.*]—Hipponax, speaking of the people of Cyprus, uses this word as signifying bread.—*Larcher.*

2 *Heliopolis.*]—This place was not only celebrated for being in a manner the school of Herodotus: Plato here studied philosophy, and Eudoxus astronomy. There were in Egypt two cities of this name.—*T.*

A barbarous Persian has overthrown her temples, a fanatic Arab burned her books, and one solitary obelisk overlooking her ruins, says to passengers, this once was Heliopolis.—*Savary.*

3 *First invented.*]—Larcher in a note vindicates the expression of first invented; but this was already done to his hands by Bentley, in his preface to Dissertation on Phalaris.—*T.*

4 *Grecians borrowed them.*]—At the same time that Plato confesses that the Grecian mythology was of foreign original, he derives Artemis from a Greek word signifying integrity; Poseiden, from ποσι δεσμα, chains for the feet; Pallas, from παλλειν, to vibrate, &c.—*T.*

If the Egyptian year had consisted of three hundred and sixty-five entire days, the seasons would be far from returning regularly at the same period. After some ages, the winter months would be found to return in the spring, and so of the other seasons.—*Larcher.*

5 *Menes.*]—Diodorus Siculus agrees with Herodotus in making Menes reign in Egypt, immediately after the gods and the heroes.—*Larcher.*

6 *Bed of the river.*]—This sentiment was adopted by all the ancients, and a great part of the moderns. If it be true, all the country from Memphis to the sea must have been formerly a gulf of the Mediterranean, parallel to the Arabian gulf. The earth must have been raised up by little and little, from a deposit of the mud which the waters of the Nile carry away with them.—*Larcher.*

7 *Day's sailing from the shore.*]—For seven or eight leagues from the land they know by the sounding plummet if they are near Egypt, as within that distance it brings up the black slimy mud of the Nile, that settles at the bottom of the sea, which is often of great use in navigation, the low land of this country not being seen afar off.—*Pococke.*

I know not whether it has ever before been remarked, but it should seem, from the descriptions of modern travellers, that the approach to Alexandria in Egypt greatly resembles the approach to Madras, in the bay of Bengal.—*T.*

It appears from Norden, that the Nile forms every year new islands in its course, for the possession of which the petty princes inhabiting the banks of the river eagerly contend.—*T.*

The majority of travellers inform us, that upon an average the water usually rises every year to the height of twenty-two cubits. In 1702, it rose to twenty-three cubits four inches; in the year preceding, it rose to twenty-two cubits eighteen inches. According to these travellers, the favourable height is from twenty-two to twenty-three cubits; according to Herodotus, from fifteen to sixteen.—The difference is seven.—*Larcher.*

the depth of eleven fathoms, covered with mud, plainly indicating that it was brought there by the water.[8]

VI. According to our limitation of Egypt, which is from the bay of Plinthene to lake Serbonis, near mount Casius, the whole extent of the coast is sixty schæni.[9] It may not be improper to remark, that they who have smaller portions of land measure them by orgyiæ; they who have larger, by stadia; such as have considerable tracts, by parasanges. The schænus, which is an Egyptian measure, used in the mensuration of more extensive domains, is equivalent to sixty stadia, as the parasange is to thirty. Agreeably to such mode of computation, the coast of Egypt towards the sea is in length three thousand six hundred stadia.

VII. From hence inland to Heliopolis,[10] the country of Egypt is a spacious plain, which, though without water, and on a declivity, is a rich and slimy[11] soil. The distance betwixt Heliopolis and the sea is nearly the same as from the altar of the twelve deities[12] at Athens, to the shrine of Jupiter Olympus at Pisa. Whoever will be at the trouble to ascertain this point, will not find the difference to exceed fifteen stadia: the distance from Pisa to Athens wants precisely fifteen stadia of one thousand five hundred, which is the exact number of stadia betwixt Heliopolis and the sea.

VIII. From Heliopolis to the higher parts of Egypt[13] the country becomes more narrow, and is confined on one part by a long chain of Arabian mountains, which, from the north, stretch south and south-west, in a regular inclination to the Red Sea. The pyramids of Memphis[14] were built with stones drawn from

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No addition seems to have been made, during the space of five hundred years, to the number of cubits taken notice of by Herodotus. This we learn, not only from the sixteen children that attend the statue of the Nile, but from a medal also of Trajan, where we see the figure of the Nile, with a boy standing upon it, who points to the number sixteen. Fifteen cubits are recorded by the emperor Julian, as the height of the Nile's inundation. Three hundred years afterwards, the amount was no more than sixteen or seventeen; and at present, notwithstanding the great accumulation of soil, when the river riseth to sixteen cubits, the Egyptians make great rejoicings, and call out, Wafaa Allah! God has given all they wanted.—*Pococke.*

Twenty-four cubits is the greatest height to which the Nile was ever known to rise. When our countryman Sandys was there, it rose to twenty-three.—*T.*

The following beautiful description of the time of the Nile's inundation is given by Lucan:

> Whene'er the Lion sheds his fires around,
> And Cancer burns Syene's parching ground,
> Then at the prayer of nations comes the Nile,
> And kindly tempers up the mouldering soil;
> Nor from the plains the covering god retreats,
> Till the rude fervour of the skies abates;
> Till Phœbus into milder autumn fades,
> And Meroa projects her length'ning shades:
> Nor let inquiring skeptics ask the cause—
> 'Tis Jove's command, and these are nature's laws.
>
> *Rowe.*

8 *Brought there by the water.*]—This idea is strongly controverted by a modern traveller, (Mr. Bruce.) He tells us that the masters of vessels still pretend to know when they are approaching Egypt by the *black mud* which they find upon their plummet at the end of their sounding line. It seems in his case they were egregiously mistaken; for when the master, from the pretended circumstance of this mud, supposed the vessel within seven leagues of the coast, Mr. Bruce, by an observation, found they were seventeen leagues distant. "Neither," says he, "could the mud of the Nile make the additions to the land of Egypt which Herodotus has supposed." The Etesian winds blowing all the summer upon that coast to the westward of north, and a current setting constantly to the eastward, it is impossible that any part of the mud of the Nile can go so high to the windward of any of the mouths of that river. The action of these winds, and the constancy of that current, has thrown a great quantity of mud, gravel, and sand into all the parts of the coast of Syria.

"This," he continues, "every one knows to be the effect of that easterly current setting upon the coast, which, as it acts perpendicularly to the course of the Nile, when discharging itself at all or any of its mouths into the Mediterranean, must hurry what it is charged with on towards the coast of Syria, and hinder it from settling opposite to, or making those additions to the land of Egypt which Herodotus has vainly supposed."

9 *Sixty schæni.*]—The Greeks, whose territories were not extensive, measured them by stadia; the Persians, whose region was still greater, used parasanges; the Egyptians, whose country was more spacious than Persia, properly so called, applied in their mensuration schæni. Herodotus, when he observes that this last is an Egyptian measure, indirectly informs us that the stadium and parasangis were not there used.—*Larcher.*

10 *Heliopolis.*]—Now called Mantanea. It was probably the On of the Scriptures, and, according to Strabo, celebrated for the worship of the sun. There are but inconsiderable remains of this city.—There were in Egypt two cities of this name.—*T.*

11 *Rich and slimy.*]—The soil of Egypt, except what it has received from the overflowings of the Nile, is naturally sandy. It is full of nitre or salt, which occasions nitrous vapours, making the nights cold and dangerous. It is this, and the rich quality of the earth, which is the sediment of the water of the Nile, which makes Egypt so fertile, that sometimes they are obliged to temper the rich soil by bringing sand to it.—*Pococke.*

12 *Altar of the twelve deities.*]—This was in the Pythic place of Athens. Pisistratus, son of Hippias the tyrant, dedicated it to the twelve gods when he was archon.—*Larcher.*

13 *Egypt.*]—Egypt, in proportion as it recedes from the Mediterranean, is regularly elevated.—*Larcher.*

14 *Memphis.*]—If we give credit to some authors, the city of Memphis was situated in the place where at present stands the village of Gize; and I own that this opinion does not want probability. But if we attend to it carefully, we shall find it necessary to strike off a great deal of the grandeur of that ancient capital of Egypt, or else raise extremely all the plains about it. In effect, Gize does not occupy the half of the space of old Cairo; and the plains that extend all around never fail to be deluged at the time of the overflowing of the waters of the Nile. Is it credible that they should have

these mountains,[1] which from hence have a winding direction towards the places we have before described. I have been informed, that to travel along this range of hills, from east to west, which is the extreme length of the country, will employ a space of two months: they add, that the eastern parts abound in aromatics. On that side of Egypt which lies towards Libya, there is another stony mountain covered with sand, in which certain pyramids have been erected: this extends itself like those Arabian hills which stretch towards the south. Thus the country beyond Heliopolis differs exceedingly from the rest of Egypt, and may be passed in a journey of four days. The intermediate space betwixt these mountains is an open plain, in its narrowest part not more in extent than two hundred stadia, measuring from the Arabian to what is called the Libyan mountain, from whence Egypt becomes again wider.

IX. From Heliopolis to Thebes[2] is a voyage of about nine days, or a space of four thousand eight hundred and sixty stadia, equivalent to eighty-one schœni. I have before observed, that the length of the Egyptian coast is three thousand six hundred stadia; from the coast to Thebes is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia; from Thebes to Elephantine[3] eight hundred and twenty.

X. The greater part of the country described above, as I was informed by the priests (and my own observation induced me to be of the same opinion) has been a gradual acquisition[4] to the inhabitants. The country above Memphis, between the hills before mentioned, seems formerly to have been an arm of the sea, and is not unlike the region about Ilium, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the plains of the Meander, if we may be allowed to compare small things with great. It must certainly be allowed that none of the streams which water the above country may in depth or in magnitude compare with any one of the five arms of the Nile. I could mention other rivers, which, though inferior to the Nile, have produced many wonderful effects; of these, the river Achelous[5] is by no means the least considerable. This flows through Acarnania, and, losing itself in the sea which washes the Echinades,[6] has connected one half of those islands with the continent.

built a city so great and famous in a place subject to be under water the half of the year? Still less can it be imagined that the ancient authors should have forgotten so particular a circumstance.—*Norden.*

The description here given by Herodotus is confirmed by Norden, and by Savary.—*T.*

1 *With stones from these mountains.*]—It has been a constant belief that the stones composing these pyramids have been brought from the Libyan mountains, though any one who will take the pains to remove the sand on the south side will find the solid rock there hewn into steps. And in the roof of the large chamber where the sarcophagos stands, as also in the top of the roof of the gallery, you see large fragments of the rock, affording an unanswerable proof, that these pyramids were once huge rocks standing where they now are; that some of them, the most proper for the form, were chosen for the body of the pyramid, and the others hewn into steps, to serve for the superstructure, and exterior parts of them.—*Mr. Bruce.*

2 *Thebes.*]—According to Norden, ancient Thebes was probably in the place where Luxor and Carnac now stand. A better idea of the magnificence and extent of Thebes cannot perhaps be given than by the following lines translated from Homer:

> Not all proud Thebes' unrivall'd walls contain,
> The world's great empress on the Egyptian plain,
> That spreads her conquests o'er a thousand states,
> And pours her heroes through a hundred gates;
> Two hundred horsemen, and two hundred cars,
> From each wide portal issuing to the wars.—*Pope.*

Diodorus Siculus and Strabo both speak in the most exalted terms of its opulence and power. "Never was there a city," observes the former of these writers, "which received so many offerings in silver, gold, ivory, colossal statues, and obelisks." There were in particular four temples greatly admired. Near this place stood the celebrated vocal statue of Memnon. Its eastern part only was called Diospolis, according to Pococke. This writer, without citing his authority, remarks, that in the opinion of some writers, Thebes was the Sheba of the scriptures; and that the Greeks, having no way of writing this word, altered it to Thebai.—*T.*

3 *Elephantine*]—is now called Ell-Sag. In this place was a temple of Chuphis, and a nilometer.—*T.*

When Herodotus speaks of the length of Egypt, he reckons from the Sebennitic mouth.—*Larcher.*

4 *Acquisition.*]—This remark of Herodotus is confirmed by Arrian and by Pliny.—*T.*

5 *Achelous.*]—This river, from its violence and rapidity, was anciently called Thoas. Homer calls it the king of rivers. Its present name is Aspro Potamo. Hercules, by checking the inundations of this river by mounds, was said to have broken off one of his horns; whence the cornucopia.—*T.*

The sea and the continent may be considered as two great empires, whose places are fixed, but which sometimes dispute the possession of some of the smaller adjacent countries. Sometimes the sea is compelled to contract its limits by the mud and the sands which the rivers force along with them; sometimes these limits are extended by the action of the waters of the ocean.—*Voyage du jeune Anacharsis.*

6 *Echinades.*]—These islands, according to the old Greek historians, are so close upon the coast of Elis, that many of them had been joined to it by means of the Achelous, which still continues to connect them with the continent, by the rubbish which that river deposits at its mouth, as I have had an opportunity of observing. —*Wood on Homer.*

The above note from Wood I have introduced principally with the view of refuting his gross mistake. Achelous is a river of Acarnania, and the Echinades close to that coast, and distant from Elis a considerable space. No descent of earth from Achelous could possibly join them to any thing but the main land; whereas Elis is in the Peloponnese.—*T.*

XI. In Arabia, at no great distance from Egypt, there is a long but narrow bay, diverging from the Red Sea, which I shall more minutely describe. Its extreme length, from the straits where it commences to where it communicates with the main, will employ a bark with oars a voyage of forty days, but its breadth in the widest parts may be sailed over in half a day. In this bay the tide daily ebbs and flows; and I conceive that Egypt itself was a gulf formerly of similar appearance, and that, issuing from the Northern Ocean, it extended itself towards Ethiopia; in the same manner the Arabian one so described, rising in the south, flowed towards Syria; and that the two were only separated from each other by a small neck of land. If the Nile should by any means have an issue into the Arabian gulf, in the course of twenty thousand years it might be totally choked up with earth brought there by the passage of the river. I am of opinion, that this might take place even within ten thousand years: why then might not a gulf still greater than this be choked up with mud in the space of time which has passed before our age, by a stream so great and powerful as the Nile?

XII. All therefore, that I heard from the natives concerning Egypt, was confirmed by my own observations. I remarked also, that this country gains upon the region which it joins; that shells[7] are found upon the mountains; and that an acrid matter[8] exudes from the soil, which has proved injurious even to the pyramids[9]; and that the only mountain in Egypt which produces sand is the one situate above Memphis. Neither does Egypt possess the smallest resemblance to Arabia, on which it borders, nor to Libya and Syria, for the sea-coast of Arabia is possessed by Syrians. It has a black and crumbling soil, composed of such substances as the river in its course brings down from Ethiopia. The soil of Africa we know to be red and sandy; and the earth, both of Arabia and Syria, is strong and mixed with clay.

XIII. The information of the priests confirmed the account which I have already given of this country. In the reign of Mœris as soon as the river rose to eight cubits, all the lands above Memphis were overflowed; since which a period of about nine hundred years has elapsed: but at present, unless the river rises to sixteen,[10] or at least fifteen cubits, its waters do not reach those lands. If the ground should continue to elevate itself as it has hitherto done, by the river's receding from it, the Egyptians below the lake Mœris, and those who inhabit the Delta, will be reduced to the same perplexity which they themselves affirm, menaces the Greeks. For as they understand that Greece is fertilized

7 *Shells.*]—It is very certain that shells are found upon the mountains of Egypt, but this by no means proves the existence of the Egyptian gulf. Shells also are found upon mountains much higher than those of Egypt, in Europe, Asia, and America. This only proves that all those regions have in part been covered by the waters of the sea, some at one time and some at another. I say in part, because it is certain, from the observation of the most skilful naturalists, that the highest mountains have not been covered with water. These, in the times of such general inundations, appeared like so many islands.—*Larcher.*

That the deluge was not universal, but to be understood as confined to the inhabitants of Palestine, was the opinion of many ancient writers, and in particular of Josephus, see his second book against Apion, where he speaks of Berosus. In confirmation of the above opinion of Josephus, I have somewhere seen the following verse from Genesis adduced: "And the dove came in unto him in the evening, and lo, in her mouth was an olive leaf pluckt off." This, it has been urged, could not possibly be a leaf of an olive tree which for so great a length of time had been immersed in water, and probably buried under mud and other substances. It is more reasonable to suppose that it was gathered from some tree in the more elevated parts of Asia, to which the inundation of Noah had not extended. As to the circumstance of shells being frequently found on the summits of mountains, many naturalists are of opinion that this may have been produced by earthquakes, to which cause also the deluge has by some been ascribed. Our countryman, Woodward, considers this fact of shells being found on mountains, as an incontestible proof of a deluge; but this opinion is contradicted by Linnæus, in his System of Nature, who says, that no certain marks of a deluge are any where to be found; his words are, "Cataclysmi universalis certa rudera ego nondum attigi, quousque penetravi." In return, we have recently been informed by Sir William Jones, that in the oldest mythological books of Indostan there is a description of the deluge, nearly corresponding with that of the scriptures. Non nostrum est tantas componere lites.—*T.*

8 *Acrid matter.*]—In every part of Egypt, on digging, a brackish water is found, containing natrum, marine salt, and a little nitre. Even when the gardens are overflowed for the sake of watering them, the surface of the ground, after the evaporation and absorption of the water, appears glazed over with salt.—*Volney.*

9 *Injurious to the pyramids.*]—Mr. Norden informs us, that the stones of the great pyramid on the north side are rotten; but he assigns for this phenomenon no cause.

It appears from experiment, that the water of the Nile leaves a precipitation of nitre; and all travellers, of all ages, make mention of the nitrous quality of the atmosphere. To this cause Pococke and Savary agree in imputing those diseases of the eyes, so common and so fatal in Egypt. Eight thousand blind people, according to this latter author, are decently maintained in the great mosque of Grand Cairo. It may seem a little remarkable, that of this quality and probable effect of the air, Herodotus should make no mention.—*T.*

10 *To sixteen.*]—See remarks on chapter 5th.—*T.*

and refreshed by rain, and not by rivers like their own, they predict that the inhabitants, trusting to their usual supplies, will probably suffer[1] the miseries of famine; meaning, that as they have no resource, and only such water as the clouds supply, they must inevitably perish if disappointed of rain at the proper seasons.

XIV. Such being the not unreasonable prejudice of the Egyptians with respect to Greece, let us inquire how they themselves are circumstanced. If, as I before remarked, the country below Memphis, which is that where the water has receded, should progressively from the same cause continue to extend itself, the Egyptians who inhabit it, might have still juster apprehensions of suffering from famine. For in that case their lands, which are never fertilized by rain,[2] could not receive benefit from the overflowings of the river. The people who possess that district, of all mankind, and even of all the Egyptians, enjoy the fruits of the earth with the smallest labour. They have no occasion for the process nor the instruments of agriculture usual and necessary in other countries. As soon as the river has spread itself over their lands, and returned to its bed, each man scatters the seed over his ground, and waits patiently for the harvest, without any other care than that of turning some swine[3] into the fields to tread down the grain. These are at the proper season again let loose to shake the corn from the ear, which is then gathered.

XV. If we follow the tradition of the Ionians, it will appear that all which may be properly denominated Egypt is limited to the Delta. This region, from the watch-tower erected by Perseus, extends along the coast to the salt pits of Pelusium, to the length of forty schæni. From the coast inland it stretches to the city of Cercasora,[4] where the Nile divides itself into two branches, one of which is termed Pelusium, the other Canopus. Of the rest of Egypt, they affirm that part of it belongs to Libya, and part to Arabia, which if it be true we shall be obliged to conclude that formerly the Egyptians had no country at all. The Delta, as they assert themselves, and as I myself was convinced by observation, is still liable to be overflowed, and was formerly covered with water.[5] Under these circumstances, their

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1 *Probably suffer.*]—It follows, therefore, that the Egyptians had no knowledge of those seven years of famine which afflicted their country during the administration of Joseph. These, however, were the more remarkable, as occasioning an entire change in the constitution of the state. The people at first gave their gold and their silver to the prince in exchange for corn: they afterwards resigned to him their flocks and their herds, and ultimately became his slaves.—*Larcher.*

2 *By rain.*]—In upper Egypt they have sometimes a little rain; and I was told that in eight years it had been known to rain but twice very hard for about half an hour.—*Pococke.*

Maillet quotes Pliny, as affirming there were no rains in Egypt; he however affirms that he had seen it rain there several times. Pitts, an eye witness, confirms Maillet's account of the rain of Egypt, assuring us that when he was at Cairo it rained to that degree, that having no kennels in the streets to carry off the water, it was ancle deep, and in some places half way up the leg. When the sacred writer therefore says (Zech. xiv. 11) that Egypt has no rain, he must be understood in a mollified sense.—*Observations on Passages of Scripture.*

It rains but seldom in Egypt, the natural cause of which in the inland parts, is, I imagine, the dryness of the sands, which do not afford a sufficient moisture for forming clouds, and descending in rains.—*Norden.*

Rain is more frequent in Alexandria and Rosetta, than at Cairo, and at Cairo than at Mineah, and is almost a prodigy at Djirdha.

When rain falls in Egypt, there is a general joy amongst the people. They assemble together in the streets, they sing, are all in motion, and shout, *Ya Allah, Ya Mobarek!*—Oh God, Oh Blessed.—*Volney.*

The earth, burnt up with the violent fervour, never refreshed with rain, which here falls rarely, and then only in the winter.—*Sandys.*

3 *Swine.*]—Plutarch, Eudoxus, and Pliny relate the same fact. Valcnaer does not hesitate to consider it a fable invented by Herodotus; and the sagacious Wesseling appears to be of the same opinion, though he has not rejected the expression. Gale, not thinking swine adapted to tread down the grain, has substituted oxen, because in Hesychius and Phavorinus, the word us seems to signify an ox. They are at present made use of in some of our provinces to find out trouffles, with a kind of muzzle to prevent their devouring them. My own opinion on this matter is, that Herodotus is mistaken only with regard to the time when they were admitted into the fields. It was probably before the corn was sown, that they might eat the roots of the aquatic plants, which might prove of injury to the grain.—*See Diodorus Siculus.*

It has been objected, that the Egyptians considered swine as unclean animals, and that therefore probably they had not a sufficient number of them for the purposes here specified. To this I reply, that as they sacrificed them at the time of every full moon and to Bacchus, they had probably a great abundance of these animals.—*Larcher.*

I dare assert, by what I have seen, that there is scarce a country where the land has greater need of culture, than in Egypt. I must own that in the Delta, which is more frequented and more cultivated, the mechanical contrivances are more plain and simple than what you will find higher up in the country.—*Norden.*

They spread out the corn when reaped, and an ox draws a machine about on it, which, together with the treading of the ox, separates the grain from the straw, and cuts the straw.—*Pococke.*

4 *Cercasora.*]—Concerning the etymology of this place, consult Bryant, vol. i. 357.—*T.*

5 *Covered with water.*]—Diodorus Siculus is also of opinion that Egypt formerly was one extended sea, and that the land was formed by the mud brought down from Ethiopia by the Nile.—*T.*

curiosity to examine whether they were the most ancient of the human race[6] must seem preposterous, and their experiment of the two children to discover what language they should first speak, was absurd and unnecessary. For my own part I am of opinion, that the Egyptians did not commence their origin with the Delta, but from the first existence of the human race. That as their country became more extensive, some remained in their primitive places of residence, whilst others migrated to a lower situation. Hence it was that Thebes, comprising a tract of land which is six thousand one hundred and twenty stadia in circumference, went formerly under the name of Egypt.

XVI. If our opinion concerning Egypt be true, that of the Ionians must certainly be wrong; if on the contrary the Ionians are right in their conjecture, it will not be difficult to prove the Greeks, not excepting the Ionians, mistaken in their account of the earth; of which they affirm that Europe, Asia, and Libya constitute the proper division; but if the Delta belong neither to Asia nor Africa, it makes by itself necessarily a fourth and distinct portion of the globe; for, according to the above mode of reasoning, the Nile cannot completely form the division between Asia and Africa: at the extremity of the Delta it is separated into two branches, and the country lying between, cannot properly belong either to Asia or Africa.

XVII. Avoiding further comment upon the sentiments of the Ionians, I myself am of opinion, that all the tract of country inhabited by Egyptians is properly called Egypt, as the countries inhabited by the Cilicians and Assyrians are respectively denominated Cilicia and Assyria. And I must think that the land of Egypt alone constitutes the natural and proper limits of Asia and Africa. If we adhere to the opinion received amongst the Greeks, we are to consider the whole of Egypt commencing from the cataract, and the city Elephantine as divided into two parts, with distinct appellations, the one belonging to Libya, the other to Asia; the Nile, beginning at the cataract, flows through the centre of Egypt, and empties itself into the sea. As far as the city Cercasora it proceeds in one undivided channel, but it there separates itself into three branches;[7] that which directs itself towards the east is called the Pelusian mouth, the Canopic inclines to the west; the third in one continued line meets the point of the Delta, which dividing in two, it finally pours itself into the sea; this arm is equally celebrated, and not inferior in the depth of its waters, it is called the Sebennitic mouth, and this again divides itself into two branches; one is called the Saitic, and one the Mendesian channel; both empty themselves into the sea. There are two other mouths, the Bolbitinian and the Bucolic; these are not produced by nature, but by art.

XVIII. My opinion concerning the extent of Egypt, receives farther confirmation from the oracle of Ammon, of which however I had no knowledge, till my mind was already satisfied on the subject. The people of Marea and Apis, who inhabit the borders of Libya, thinking themselves to be not Egyptians but Libyans, both of them disliked the religious ceremonies of the country, and that particular restriction which did not permit them to kill heifers for food: they sent therefore with this impression to Ammon, declaring that they had no connec-

6 *Ancient of the human race.*]—Diodorus Siculus informs us, that the Ethiopians consider the Egyptians as one of their colonies, at the head of which was Osiris. He observes also in another place, that the inhabitants of the Thebaid consider themselves as the most ancient of mankind. This historian, doubtless, has a view to the traditions of the two people, without giving us his own opinion.—*Larcher.*

7 *Three branches.*]—This river, whose source has not yet been explored, comes by one single channel from Ethiopia to the point of the Delta; arrived here it separates itself into three principal branches: of these one takes a direction towards the east, and is called the Pelusian channel: a second proceeds northward, and is called the Sebennitic branch: the third flows towards the west, and takes the name of the Canopic branch. The Sebennitic arm is divided into two others, the Saitic and the Mendesian; the Saitic is between the Bolbitine, which is an artificial branch, and the Sebennitic. The Bucolic also is the production of the inhabitants, and flows betwixt the Sebennitic, from which it proceeds, and the Mendesian. Thus the seven branches of the Nile, from east to west, are the Pelusian, the Mendesian, the Bucolic, the Sebennitic, the Saitic, the Bolbitine, and the Canopic.—Such is the account of Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

The different appearances which the Nile exhibits in its course is beautifully described by Lucan, and is thus not unskilfully translated by Rowe:

Who that beholds thee, Nile, thus gently flow,
With scarce a wrinkle on thy glassy brow,
Can guess thy rage when rocks resist thy force,
And hurl thee headlong in thy downward course;
When sporting cataracts thy torrent pour,
And nations tremble at the deaf'ning roar;
When thy proud waves with indignation rise,
And dash their foamy fury to the skies?

The Arabian account of the Nile and its different divisions, may be found in the Bibliotheque Orientale of Herbelot, which the curious reader will do well to compare with the description given by Herodotus, and that of modern travellers, particularly of Pococke, Norden, Volney, and Savary.—*T.*

tion with the Egyptians; for they lived beyond the Delta, had their opinions and prejudices as distinct as possible, and wished to have no restriction in the article of food. The deity signified his disapprobation of their conduct, and intimated that every part of that region which was watered by the Nile, was strictly to be denominated Egypt, and that all who dwelt below Elephantine, and drank of this stream,[1] were Egyptians.

XIX. In its more extensive inundations, the Nile does not overflow the Delta only, but part of that territory which is called Libyan, and sometimes the Arabian frontier, and extends about the space of two days' journey on each side, speaking on an average. Of the nature of this river[2] I could obtain no certain information, from the priests or from others. It was nevertheless my particular desire to know why the Nile, beginning at the summer solstice,[3] continues gradually to rise for the space of a hundred days, after which for the same space it as gradually recedes, remaining throughout the winter, and till the return of the summer solstice, in its former low and quiescent state: but all my inquiries of the inhabitants proved ineffectual, and I was unable to learn why the Nile was thus distinguished in its properties from other streams. I was equally unsuccessful in my wishes to be informed why this river alone, wafted no breeze[4] from its surface.

XX. From a desire of gaining a reputation for sagacity, this subject has employed the attention of many among the Greeks. There have been three different modes[5] of explaining it, two of which merit no farther attention than barely to be mentioned; one of them affirms the increase of the Nile to be owing to the Etesian winds, which by blowing in an opposite direction, impede the river's entrance to the sea. But it has often happened that no winds have blown from this quarter, and the phenomenon of the Nile has still been the same. It may also be remarked, that were this the real cause, the same events would happen to other rivers, whose currents are opposed to the Etesian winds,[6] which, indeed, as having a less body of waters, and a weaker current, would be capable of still less resistance: but there are many streams, both in Syria and Africa, none of which exhibit the same appearances with the Nile.

XXI. The second opinion[7] is still less agreeable to reason, though more calculated to excite wonder. This affirms, that the Nile has these qualities, as flowing from the ocean, which entirely surrounds the earth.

XXII. The third opinion, though more

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1 *Drank of this stream.*]—The ancients, says Strabo, confined the appellation of Egypt to the inhabited country watered by the Nile, from the environs of Syene to the sea.—*T.*

2 *This river.*]—That the Nile was considered by the natives as a tutelar deity, appears from the following passages of Tibullus and of Statius.

> Nile pater, quanam possum te dicere causa
> Aut quibus in terris accubuisse caput?
> Te propter, nullos tellus tua postulat imbres
> Arida nec pluris supplicat herba Jovi,
> Te canit atque suum pubes miratur Osirin
> Barbara, Memphitem plangere docta bovem.
>
> *Tibullus.*

See also Statius, Theb. 4.

> Tu nunc ventis pluvioque rogaris
> Pro Jove. *T.*

3 *Summer solstice.*]—The inundation commences regularly about the month of July, or three weeks after the rains have begun to fall in Ethiopia.—*Larcher.*

The Nile is not the only river which increases its waters in the summer season; it has this property in common with many others, both of Africa and India.—*Larcher.*

4 *No breeze.*]—What I have rendered no breeze, Mr. Bruce translates no fogs. The Greek word is αυρας; and Diodorus Siculus, l. i. c. 38, page 46, says the same thing, adding likewise, that it does not emit fogs. I should rather suppose, therefore, that Mr. Bruce is mistaken in his reference, and intended to quote Diodorus and not Herodotus.

5 *Three different modes.*]—Diodorus Siculus allows only two of these hypotheses to be Grecian; the one by Thales, the other by Anaxagoras; the third, concerning the ocean, he makes of Egyptian extraction amongst the priests.—*Norden.*

6 *Etesian winds.*]—Of these winds the following account is given by Pliny.—In the hottest part of the summer the dog-star rises; this is usually the fifteenth day preceding the calends of August, when the sun enters Leo. About eight days before this star rises, the north-east winds rise, which the Greeks call Prodromi, (forerunners:) about two days afterwards these winds increase in force, and continue for the space of forty days; these are called the Etesian winds.—*T.*

The next satisfactory explanation of the inundation of the Nile is given by Pococke. "It must be supposed," he observes, "that the north winds are the cause of its overflow, which begin to blow about the latter end of May, and drive the clouds formed by the vapours of the Mediterranean southward, as far as the mountains of Ethiopia, which stopping their course, they condense and fall down in violent rains. It is said, that at this time not only men from their reason, but the wild beasts by a sort of instinct, leave the mountains. The wind, which is the cause of the rise of the Nile, driving the clouds against those hills, is also the cause of it in another respect, as it drives in the water from the sea, and keeps back the waters of the river, in such a manner as to raise the waters above." For further particulars on this curious subject, see Pococke.—*T.*

7 *The second opinion.*]—This second was the opinion of Enthymenes of Marseilles. According to Diodorus Siculus it was the prevailing sentiment of the Egyptian priests.—*T.*

plausible in appearance, is still more false in reality. It simply intimates that the body of the Nile is formed from the dissolution of snow, which coming from Libya through the regions of Ethiopia discharges itself upon Egypt. But how can this river descending from a very warm, to a much colder climate, be possibly composed of melted snow? There are many other reasons concurring to satisfy any person of good understanding, that this opinion is contrary to fact. The first and the strongest argument may be drawn from the winds, which are in these regions invariably hot: it may also be observed, that rain and ice are here entirely unknown.[8] Now if in five days[9] after a fall of snow it must necessarily rain, which is indisputably the case, it follows, that if there were snow in those countries, there would certainly be rain. The third proof is taken from the colour of the natives, who from excessive heat are universally black; moreover, the kites and the swallows are never known to migrate[10] from this country: the cranes also, flying from the severity of a Scythian winter, pass that cold season here. If therefore it snowed although but little in those places through which the Nile passes, or in those where it takes its rise, reason demonstrates that none of the above-mentioned circumstances could possibly happen.

XXIII. The argument which attributes to the ocean[11] these phenomena of the Nile, seems rather to partake of fable, than of truth or sense. For my own part, I know no river of the name of Oceanus; and I am inclined to believe that Homer, or some other poet of former times, first invented and afterwards introduced it in his compositions.

XXIV. But as I have mentioned the preceding opinions only to censure and confute them, I may be expected perhaps to give my own sentiments on this intricate subject.—It is my opinion that the Nile overflows[12] in the summer season, because in the winter the sun, driven by the storms from his usual course, ascends into the higher regions of the air above Libya. My reason may be explained without difficulty; for it may be easily supposed, that to whatever region this power more nearly approaches, the rivers and streams of that country will be proportionably dried up and diminished.

XXV. If I were to go more at length into the argument, I should say that the whole is occasioned by the sun's passage through the higher parts of Libya. For as the air is invariably serene, and the heat always tempered

8 *Rain and ice are here entirely unknown.*]—Nonnus reports, in the history of his embassy, that during the period when the Nile inundates Egypt, there are very violent storms in the different parts of Ethiopia. The atmosphere is exceedingly cloudy, and the rains fall in such torrents as to inundate the country.

The Portuguese missionaries inform us, that from June to September there does not pass a day in Abyssinia without rain, and that the Nile receives all the rivers, streams, and torrents, which fall from the mountains.—*Larcher.*

9 *If in five days.*]—Herodotus had probably remarked, that at Halicarnassus or at Thurium, where he lived, snow was in the space of a few days succeeded by rain.—*Wesseling.*

10 *Never known to migrate.*]—The kites and swallows of those regions through which the Nile flows, continue there throughout the year without injury; differing in this respect from those of our climate, it may be reasonably concluded that those regions are of a warm temperature.—*Reiske.*

11 *Ocean.*]—Larcher refers to the circumstance of Homer's mentioning the rising and setting of the sun in the ocean, as a proof of his excelling Herodotus in the science of geography. Wood is of a very different opinion: "Upon farther consideration," says Mr. Wood, "I was induced to think that Homer's account of the ocean, upon which so much of his geographical science is founded, will, if rightly understood, rather convince us of his ignorance on that head, and that the ocean in his time had a very different meaning from that which it now conveys; nor am I surprised that so much later Herodotus should treat this idea of an ocean where the sun rises as a poetical fiction." See Wood farther on this subject, p. 48, 50, &c.—*T.*

12 *Nile overflows.*]—This explanation of the overflowing of the Nile in the summer, which seemed probable to Herodotus, is not only obscure but absurd, not to say false. This is sufficiently proved by Aristides, in his oration on the causes of the increase of the Nile. —*Reiske.*

This hypothesis of Herodotus is completely refuted by Diodorus Siculus, Book ii. 19, 20, 21.—*T.*

The hypothesis of Mr. Bruce to solve this phenomenon of the Nile's inundation is too long to insert in this place. I therefore refer the reader to vol. iii. chap. 16, of his work.

I insert from the same writer, the different names by which the Nile has been, or is now distinguished.

Among the Agow, a barbarous and idolatrous nation, it is called, Gzeir, Geesa, Seir; the first of which words signifies God; it is also called Abba, father. In Gojam, it is called Abay; by the Gongas on the south of the mountains Dyne and Togla, who are Indigenæ, it is called Dahli. To the north of this mountain, its name is Kowass, both which last names signify a watching dog, the latrator anubis, the dog-star. In the plain country betwixt Vazuclo and Senaar, it is called Nil, which signifies blue. The Arabs interpret it by the word Azergue. The next name by which it went was Siris. Pliny says it was called Siris both before and after it came into Beja. The name it obtains in Homer is Egyptus, which Mr. Bruce apprehends was a very ancient name given it in Ethiopia. The Nile is also called Kronides, Jupiter; as also several other names, which are rather epithets of poets, than the permanent appellation of the river. Some of the fathers of the church have called it Geon.—*Bruce*, vol. iii. page 655.

by cooling breezes, the sun acts there as it does in the summer season, when his place is in the centre of the heavens. The solar rays absorb the aqueous particles, which their influence forcibly elevates into the higher regions; here they are received, separated, and dispersed by the winds. And it may be observed that the south and south-west, which are the most common winds in this quarter, are of all others most frequently attended with rain: it does not, however, appear to me, that the sun remits all the water which he every year absorbs from the Nile, some is probably withheld. As winter disappears he returns to the middle place of the heavens, and again by evaporation draws to him the waters of the rivers, all of which are then found considerably increased by the rains, and rising to their extreme heights. But in summer, from the want of rain, and from the attractive power of the sun, they are again reduced: but the Nile is differently circumstanced, it never has the benefit of rains, whilst it is constantly acted upon by the sun; a sufficient reason why it should in the winter season be proportionably lower than in summer. In winter the Nile alone[1] is diminished by the influence of the sun, which in summer attracts the water of the rivers indiscriminately; I impute therefore to the sun the remarkable properties of the Nile.

XXVI. To the same cause is to be ascribed, as I suppose, the state of the air in that country, which from the effect of the sun is always extremely rarified, so that in the higher parts of Africa there prevails an eternal summer. If it were possible to produce a change in the seasons, and to place the regions of the north in those of the south, and those of the south in the north, the sun, driven from his place by the storms of the north, would doubtless affect the higher parts of Europe, as it now does those of Libya. It would also, I imagine, then act upon the waters of the Ister, as it now does on those of the Nile.

XXVII. That no breeze[2] blows from the surface of the river, may I think be thus accounted for: When the air is in a very warm and rarified state, wind can hardly be expected, this generally rising in places which are cold. Upon this subject I shall attempt no further illustration, but leave it in the state in which it has so long remained.

XXVIII. In all my intercourse with Egyptians, Libyans, and Greeks, I have only met with one person who pretended to have any knowledge of the sources of the Nile.[3] This was the priest who had the care of the sacred treasures in the temple of Minerva, at Sais. He assured me, that on this subject he possessed the most unquestionable intelligence, though his assertions never obtained my serious confidence. He informed me, that betwixt Syene, a city of the Thebais, and Elephantine, there were two mountains, respectively terminating in an acute summit: the name of the one was Crophi, of the other Mophi. He affirmed, that the sources of the Nile, which were fountains of unfathomable depth, flowed from the centres of these mountains; that one of these streams divided Egypt, and directed its course to the north; the other in like manner flowed towards the south, through Ethiopia. To confirm his assertion, that those springs were unfathomable, he told me, that Psammitichus, sovereign of the country, had ascertained it by experiment; he let down a rope of the length of several thousand orgyiæ, but could find no bottom. This was the priest's information, on the truth of which[4] I presume not to deter-

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1 *Nile alone.*]—If the sun attracted moisture from the Nile during the winter season, it would do the same with respect to the other rivers of Libya, and in like manner diminish the force of their currents. As this is not the fact, the reasoning of this author falls to the ground. The rivers of Greece are increased during the winter, not on account of their distance from the sun, but from the frequency of the rains.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

2 *No breeze.*]—An immense body of water, from which no breeze is exhaled, naturally excites an idea of pestilence and putridity. The waters of the Nile, on the contrary, are not only wholesome, but extremely delicious Maillet informs us that the Egyptians are so fond of it, that they endeavour to procure an artificial thirst in order to drink the more of it. Of this acknowledged excellence of the waters of the Nile, Mr. Harmer avails himself to explain a passage in Exodus: "The Egyptians shall loathe to drink of the water of the river:"—that is, they shall loathe to drink of the water of which they were formerly so fond. This may to some perhaps appear forced, but it is certainly ingenious.—*T.*

3 *Sources of the Nile.*]—Much as has been written on the subject of the sources of the Nile, it is still involved in obscurity and darkness. The world are taught to expect some illustrations on this head from the promised publication of Mr. Bruce, who penetrated into the interior parts of Abyssinia; and much may be reasonably hoped from the spirit and liberality which has induced some individuals amongst us to patronise an expedition to Africa, of which an investigation of the sources of the Nile is one avowed object.—*T*

4 *On the truth of which.*]—Herodotus could not have told us more explicitly that he disbelieved the whole of this narrative. On this occasion Strabo speaks contemptuously of Herodotus, as a retailer of fables. But the geographer had not always so bad an opinion of him, for he frequently copies him without acknowledging it.—*Larcher.*

mine. If such an experiment was really made, there might perhaps in these springs be certain vortices, occasioned by the reverberation of the water from the mountains, of force sufficient to buoy up the sounding line, and prevent its reaching the bottom.

XXIX. Any other intelligence than the above I was not able to procure, though I so far carried my inquiry, that, with a view of making observation, I proceeded myself to Elephantine: of the parts which lie beyond that city I can only speak from the information of others. Beyond Elephantine this country becomes rugged; in advancing up the stream it will be necessary to hale the vessel on each side by a rope, such as is used for oxen. If this should give way, the impetuosity of the stream forces the vessel violently back again. To this place from Elephantine is a four days' voyage; and here, like the Meander, the Nile becomes winding, and for the space of twelve schœni there is no mode of proceeding but that above-mentioned. Afterwards you come to a wide and spacious plain, and meet an island which stands in the centre of the river, and is called Tachompso. The higher part beyond Elephantine is possessed by the Ethiopians, who also inhabit half of this island, the other half belongs to the Egyptians. In the vicinity of the island is an extensive lake, near which some Ethiopian shepherds reside; passing over this, you again enter into a channel of the Nile, which flows into the above lake. Beyond this[5] it is necessary, for the space of about forty days, to travel on the banks of the river, which is here so impeded with rocks, as to render the passage in a vessel impossible. At the end of these forty days the traveller enters a second vessel, and after a voyage of twelve days will arrive at Meroe,[6] a very considerable town, and as some say the capital of the rest of Ethiopia. The inhabitants pay divine honours to Jupiter and Bacchus[7] only, but these they worship with the extremest veneration. At this place is an oracle of Jupiter, whose declarations, with the most implicit obedience, they permit to regulate all their martial expeditions.

XXX. Leaving this city at about the same distance as from hence to Elephantine, your bark will arrive at the country of the Automoli, who are also known by the name of Asmach. This word translated into our language, signifies those who stand on the left hand of the sovereign. This people, to the amount of two hundred and forty thousand individuals, were formerly Egyptian warriors, and migrated to these parts of Ethiopia on the following occasion: in the reign of Psammitichus they were by his command stationed in different places; some were appointed for the defence of Elephantine against the Ethiopians, some at the Pelusian Daphne, others were detached to prevent the incursions of the Arabians and Assyrians; and to awe Libya there was a garrison also at Marea: at this present period the military stations are regulated by the Persians, as they were under king Psammitichus; for there are Persian garrisons now stationed at Elephantine and Daphne. When these Egyptians had remained for the space of three years in the above situation, without being relieved, they determined by general consent to revolt from Psammitichus[8] to the Ethiopians; on intelligence of which event they were immediately followed by Psammitichus, who, on his coming up with them, solemnly adjured them not to desert the gods of their country, their wives and their children. One of them is said indecently to have produced the mark of his sex, and to have replied, that wherever they

5 *Beyond this, &c.*]—This passage is mentioned by Longinus in terms of admiration.—*T.*

The above is also imitated by Lucian, in his essay on Writing True History. Having passed these islands, you will come to a great continent, &c.—*Larcher.*

6 *Meroe.*]—The Jesuit fathers, who resided long in that country, were of opinion that the kingdom of Gojam in Abyssinia was the ancient Meroe; this is disputed by Ludolf, and positively denied by Vossius. Father Lobo, in discussing this subject, enumerates the different opinions, and concludes with saying, that the ancients knew so very little of that part of Ethiopia, and have spoken so variously and so confusedly about Meroe, that as much may be said in favour of its being the modern kingdom of Gojam, as against it.—*T.*

——Where the shadow both ways falls,
Meroe, Nilotic isle.—*Milton.*

7 *Jupiter and Bacchus.*]—Strabo, in describing the manners of the Ethiopians, makes no mention of either Jupiter or Bacchus. Every thing, therefore, must have been changed from the age of Herodotus to that of Strabo, or these two authors must have received very different impressions with respect to the two countries.—*Larcher.*

8 *Revolt from Psammitichus.*]—Diodorus Siculus assigns a very different reason for the revolt of these Egyptians. "Psammitichus," says that historian, "having meditated an expedition against Syria, gave the place of honour in his army to strangers, and discovered on all occasions a preference to them, to the prejudice of his natural subjects." A predilection of a similar nature was the cause of those repeated and formidable revolts, which so essentially disturbed the repose of Charles the Fifth, on his first accession to the Spanish throne.—*T.*

carried that, they should doubtless obtain both wives and children. On their arrival in Ethiopia, the Automoli[9] devoted themselves to the service of the monarch, who in recompense for their conduct assigned them a certain district of Ethiopia possessed by a people in rebellion against him, whom he ordered them to expel for that purpose. After the establishment of the Egyptians among them, the tincture which they imbibed of Egyptian manners had a very sensible effect in civilizing the Ethiopians.

XXXI. Thus, without computing that part of it which flows through Egypt, the course of the Nile is known to the extent of four months' journey, partly by land and partly by water; for it will be found on experience, that no one can go in a less time from Elephantine to the Automoli. It is certain that the Nile rises in the west, but beyond the Automoli all is uncertainty, this part of the country being, from the excessive heat, a rude and uncultivated desert.

XXXII. It may not be improper to relate an account which I received from certain Cyrenæans: on an expedition which they made to the oracle of Ammon, they said they had an opportunity of conversing with Etearchus, the sovereign of the country: among other topics the Nile was mentioned, and it was observed, that the particulars of its source were hitherto entirely unknown: Etearchus informed them, that some Nassamonians once visited his court; (these are a people in Africa who inhabit the Syrtes, and a tract of land which from thence extends towards the east) on his making inquiry of them concerning the deserts of Africa, they related the following incident: some young men, who were sons of persons of distinction, had on their coming to man's estate signalized themselves by some extravagance of conduct. Among other things, they deputed by lot five of their companions to explore the solitudes of Africa, and to endeavour at extending their discoveries beyond all preceding adventurers. All that part of Libya towards the Northern Ocean, from Egypt to the promontory of Soloeis, which terminates the third division of the globe, is inhabited by the different nations of the Libyans, that district alone excepted in possession of the Greeks and Phœnicians. The remoter parts of Libya beyond the sea-coast, and the people who inhabit its borders, are infested by various beasts of prey; the country yet more distant is a parched and immeasurable desert. The young men left their companions, well provided with water and with food, and first proceeded through the region which was inhabited; they next came to that which was infested by wild beasts, leaving which, they directed their course westward through the desert. After a journey of many days, over a barren and sandy soil, they at length discerned some trees growing in a plain; these they approached, and seeing fruit upon them, they gathered it. Whilst they were thus employed, some men of dwarfish stature[1] came where they were, seized their persons, and carried them away. They were mutually ignorant of each other's language, but the Nassamonians were conducted over many marshy grounds to a city, in which all the inhabitants were of the same diminutive appearance, and of a black colour. The city was washed by a great river, which flowed from west to East, and abounded in crocodiles.

XXXIII. Such was the conversation of Etearchus, as related to me; he added, as the Cyrenæans farther told me, that the Nassamonians returned to their own country, and reported the men whom they had met to be all of them magicians. The river which washed their city, according to the conjecture of Etearchus, which probability confirms, was the Nile. The Nile certainly rises in Libya, which it divides; and if it be allowable to draw conclusions from things which are well known, concerning those which are uncertain and obscure, it takes a similar course with the Ister.[2] This river, commencing at the city of

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9 *Automoli.*]—Automoli is Greek, and means deserters.

1 *Dwarfish stature.*]—The pigmies are as old as Homer. They were not confined to Ethiopia, they were believed to exist also in India. Homer thus mentions them:

> So when inclement winters vex the plain,
> With piercing frosts, or thick descending rain,
> To warmer seas the cranes embodied fly,
> With noise and order through the midway sky:
> To pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
> And all the war descends upon the wing.—*Pope.*

Mention also is made of them by Pliny and Strabo. Pomponius Mela places them in a certain part of Arabia. P. Jovius says they are found in the extremities of the northern regions. The circumstance of their hostilities with the cranes is mentioned by Oppian, in his first book of Halieutics; by Juvenal, sat. 13; by Ovid, Fast. book vi. Mr. Gibbon properly enough treats the whole as a contemptible fable.—*T.*

2 *The Ister.*—A description of this river cannot possibly be given better than in the words of Mr. Gibbon. "The European provinces of Rome were protected by the course of the Rhine and the Danube. The latter of those mighty streams, which rises at the distance of only thirty miles from the former, flows above thirteen hundred miles, for the most part to the south-east, collects

Pyrene,[3] among the Celts, flows through the centre of Europe.[4] These Celts are found beyond the Columns of Hercules;[5] they border on the Cynesians, the most remote of all the nations who inhabit the western parts of Europe. At that point which is possessed by the Istrians, a Milesian colony, the Ister empties itself into the Euxine.

XXXIV. The sources of the Ister, as it passes through countries well inhabited, are sufficiently notorious; but of the fountains of the Nile, washing as it does the rude and uninhabitable deserts of Libya, no one can speak with precision. All the knowledge which I have been able to procure from the most diligent and extensive inquiries, I have before communicated. Through Egypt it directs its course towards the sea. Opposite to Egypt are the mountains of Cicilia, from whence to Sinope, on the Euxine, a good traveller may pass in five days: on the side immediately opposite to Sinope, the Ister is poured into the sea. Thus the Nile, as it traverses Africa, may properly enough be compared to the Ister. But on this subject I have said all that I think necessary.

XXXV. Concerning Egypt itself I shall speak more at large; it claims our admiration beyond all other countries, and the wonderful things[6] which it exhibits demand a very copious description.—The Egyptians, born under a climate to which no other can be compared, possessing a river different in its nature and properties from all the rivers in the world, are themselves distinguished from the rest of mankind by the singularity of their institutions and their manners. In this country the women leave to the men[7] the management of the loom in the retirement of the house, whilst they themselves are engaged abroad in the business of commerce.[8] Other nations in weaving, shoot the woof above, the Egyptians beneath: here the men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders; women stand erect to make water, the men stoop. The offices of nature[9] are performed at home, but they eat their meals publicly in the streets. In vindication of this they assert, that those things which though necessary are unseemly, are best done in private; but whatever has no shame attached to it, should be done openly. The office of the priesthood is in every instance confined to the men; there are no priestesses in Egypt, in the service either of male or female deities; the men are under no obligation[10] to support their parents if unwilling to do so, but the women are.

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the tribute of sixty navigable rivers, and is at length, through six mouths, received into the Euxine, which appears scarcely equal to such an accession of waters."

3 *Pyrene.*]—Many critics have supposed that Herodotus here intended to speak of the Pyrenean mountains; but this opinion cannot possibly be supported by any plausible reasoning.—*T.*

4 *Centre of Europe.*]—This is not quite true. He means the same as when he observes, a little before, that the Nile divides Libya in the midst. But this mistake will not justify our following the example of Bouhier, who accuses Herodotus of confounding the Nile with the Niger.—*Larcher.*

5 *Columns of Hercules.*]—Africa is divided from Spain by a narrow strait of about twelve miles, through which the Atlantic flows into the Mediterranean. The Columns of Hercules, so famous among the ancients, were two mountains which seemed to have been torn asunder by some convulsion of the elements; and at the foot of the European mountain Gibraltar is now situated.—*Gibbon.*

6 *Wonderful things.*]—The Egyptian nation might well abound in prodigies, when even their country and soil itself was a kind of prodigy in nature.—*Lord Shaftesbury.*

7 *The women leave to the men, &c.*]—This custom was contradictory to the manners of Greece.

The employments of the two sexes prove, that in Egypt the women had more authority than their husbands, although Herodotus says nothing of the matter. But Diodorus Siculus is of this opinion; and he thinks that by this peculiarity they wished to perpetuate the gratitude which they felt from the mild government of Isis. "Thus," says he, "in Egypt, the queens are more honoured than the kings, and the influence of the women is greater also in private life. In the contracts of marriage it is stipulated, that the woman shall be mistress of her husband, and that he shall obey her in every particular."—*Larcher.*

Nymphodorus (in the Scholia to the Œd. Col. of Sophocles) remarks, that Sesostris, seeing Egypt become exceedingly populous, and fearing lest the inhabitants should conspire against him, obliged them to employ themselves in feminine occupations, in order to enervate them.—*Larcher.*

The present aspect of Egypt exhibits a scene of very different manners. "Each family," says Savary, "forms a small state, of which the father is king, the members of it, attached to him by the ties of blood, acknowledge and submit to his power. When the master of the family dines, the women stand, and frequently hold the basin for him to wash, and serve him at table, and on all occasions behave to him with the extremest humility and reverence. The women spend their time principally among their slaves, in works of embroidery," &c.—*T.*

See the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles, line 350. I give Franklin's translation of the passage:

> How like the unmanly sons of Egypt's clime,
> Where the men sit inglorious at the loom,
> And to their wives leave each domestic care;
> E'en they, my sons, who should have labour'd for me,
> Like women idly sit at home, &c.

8 *Business of commerce.*]—The same fact is mentioned in the Œdipus Coloneus of Sophocles, verse 352. It occurs also in Pomponius Mela, which, however, is little more than a translation of our author.—*T.*

9 *Offices of nature.*]—For this purpose the Greeks went out of doors.—*T.*

10 *Men are under no obligation.*]—In this barbarous custom I can by no means discern the so much boasted

XXXVI. The priests of the gods,[1] who in other places wear their hair long, in Egypt wear it short. It is elsewhere customary,[2] in cases of death, for those who are most nearly affected to cut off their hair in testimony of sorrow; but the Egyptians, who at other times have their heads closely shorn, suffer the hair on this occasion to grow. Other nations will not suffer animals to approach the place of their repast; but in Egypt they live promiscuously with the people. Wheat and barley is a common article of food in other countries; but it is in Egypt thought mean and disgraceful, the diet here consists principally of spelt, a kind of corn which some call zea.[3] Their dough they knead with their feet; whilst in the removal of mud and dung they do not scruple to use their hands. Male children, except in those places which have borrowed the custom from hence, are left in other nations as nature formed them; in Egypt they are circumcised.[4] The men have two vests, the women only one. In opposition to the

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wisdom of the Egyptians. The law of Solon seems much more commendable: this permitted a young man to neglect the maintenance of his father, and to refuse him admission into his house, if he had been prostituted by his means. He was nevertheless obliged, after his death, to give him sepulture, with the usual funeral solemnities.

The law of which Herodotus speaks had probably this foundation—The priests and the military having duties to perform which did not suffer them to take care of their parents, these in their sons' absence would probably have experienced neglect. It is well known that the priests were also judges, and that they were despatched to different places to administer justice, and that of consequence they must often have been absent from their families.—*Larcher*.

1 *The priests of the gods.*]—Amongst the singularities which distinguished the Jewish priesthood, there is one so striking, that I cannot forbear pointing it out to the attention of the reader. The Jewish high priest was not allowed to marry except with a virgin. He was forbidden to marry either with "a widow, or a divorced woman, or profane, or an harlot." See Levit. xxi. 14. The discipline of the primitive Christians was not in this instance much less rigorous: they were excluded from the priesthood who had either married two wives, or a widow, or whose wives had been guilty of adultery. If this last incident happened, they were either obliged to be divorced, or to renounce their profession.

It can by no means be impertinent to add, from Mosheim, that the Christian doctors had the good fortune to persuade the people that the ministers of the Christian church succeeded to the character, rights, and privileges of the Jewish priesthood, which persuasion was a new source of honour and of profit to the sacred order. Accordingly, the bishops considered themselves as invested with a rank and character similar to those of the high priest among the Jews, while the presbyters represented the priests, and the deacons the Levites. The errors to which this notion gave rise were many, and one of its immediate consequences was the establishing a greater difference between the Christian pastors and their flock, than the genius of the gospel seems to admit.—*T.*

2 *Elsewhere customary.*]—Amongst the Greeks when any sad calamity befalls them, the women cut their hair close, the men wear it long; in general the women wear their hair long, the men short.—*Plutarch.*

3 *Zea.*]—I suspect this to be a kind of bearded wheat. The *far*, *olyra*, *zea*, all mean a corn which we have not in cultivation, but which our writers call *spelt*.

What Martyn says upon this subject very much deserves attention. See his note upon Georg. i. 73. at the word *farra*. "*Far*," says he, "seems to be put here for corn in general." It seems to me pretty plain that it is the ζεια or ζεα of the Greeks, and what we call in English *spelt*. It is a sort of corn very like wheat, but the chaff adheres so strongly to the grain, that it requires a mill to separate them, like barley. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says expressly that the Greeks call that ζεια which the Latins call *far*. The principal objection to this seems to be, that Pliny treats of *zea* and *far* as two different sorts of grain; but we may reasonably suppose, that what Pliny says of *zea*, was taken from the Greek authors, and that they are the same grain, notwithstanding his having distinguished them. Besides this, in the 219th verse of this Georgic, Virgil has given the epithet *robusta* to *farra*, which is the very same that Theophrastus has given to *zea*, &c.

4 *Circumcised.*]—"I am aware," says Mr. Gibbon, "how tender is the question of circumcision." He affirms, however, that the Ethiopians have a physical reason for the circumcision of males and even of females, and that it was practised in Ethiopia long before the introduction of Judaism or Christianity.

Its commencement with the Jews was unquestionably with Abraham, and by the command of God. Marsham is of opinion, that the Hebrews borrowed it from the Egyptians, and that God was not the first author of this custom. This latter is contrary to the testimony of Moses, the former position will admit of more debate. This practice, as it prevails among the Jews and Egyptians, had a very different object; with the first it was a ceremony of religion; with the latter a point of decency or cleanliness, or as some say of physical necessity. With the former it was performed on the eighth day from the birth of the child; with the latter not till the thirteenth year, and then on the girls as well as boys.

There is a kind of circumcision practised in Otaheite, which consists of slitting the prepuce through the upper part, see Hawkesworth's Voyages.

From the pain attending the operation, when performed at an advanced age, Mr. Harmer takes occasion to explain a passage in the Old Testament, concerning which commentators have materially differed.—*See Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. ii. p. 500.

After a generation's intermission, the Jews returned to circumcision under Joshua. See Joshua, v. 2. "And the Lord said unto Joshua, Make thee sharp knives, and circumcise again the children of Israel the second time."

The curious reader may also consult Exodus, chap. iv. to see what passed betwixt Moses and his wife Zipporah, on the subject of circumcising their son. Upon this last the author of the Characteristics remarks, that Zipporah, from reproaching Moses with the bloodiness of the deed, seems to have been a party only through necessity, and in fear rather of her husband, than of God.

Upon this subject see also Spencer de Legibus Hebræorum. The above observations are compiled from the different writers on this curious topic. It may not be improper to add, that circumcision is sometimes used medicinally.—*T.*

customs of other nations, the Egyptians fix the ropes to their sails on the inside. The Greeks, when they write or reckon with counters, go from the left to the right, the Egyptians from right to left; notwithstanding which they persist in affirming that the Greeks write to the left, but they themselves always to the right.

They have two sorts of letters,[5] one of which is appropriated to sacred subjects, the other used on common occasions.

XXXVII. Their veneration of their deities is superstitious to an extreme; of their customs one is to drink out of brazen goblets, which it is a universal practice among them to cleanse every day. They are so regardful of neatness, that they wear only linen,[6] and that always newly washed; and it is from the idea of cleanliness, which they regard much beyond comeliness, that they use circumcision. Their priests[7] every third day, shave every part of their bodies, to prevent vermin[8] or any species of impurity from adhering to those who are engaged in the service of the gods; the priesthood is also confined to one particular mode of dress; they have one vest of linen, and their shoes are made of the byblus; they wash themselves in cold water twice in the course of the day, and as often in the night; it would indeed be difficult to enumerate their religious ceremonies, all of which they practise with superstitious exactness. The sacred ministers possess in return many and great advantages;[9] they are not obliged to consume any part of their domestic property; each has a moiety of the sacred viands ready dressed assigned him, besides a large and daily allowance of beef and of geese; they have also wine,[10] but are not permitted to feed on fish.[11]

Beans are sown in no part of Egypt, neither will the inhabitants eat them, either boiled or raw; the priests will not even look at this pulse, esteeming it exceedingly unclean. Every god has several attendant priests, and one of superior dignity, who presides over the rest; when any one dies he is succeeded by his son.[12]

XXXVIII. They esteem bulls as sacred to Epaphus,[13] which previously to sacrifice are thus carefully examined; if they can but discover a single black hair in his body, he is

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5 *Two sorts of letters.*]—Diodorus Siculus agrees in this respect with Herodotus. Clemens Alexandrinus and Porphyry remark, that the Egyptians used three sorts of letters: the first is called epistolary, the second the sacerdotal, the third the hieroglyphic. Warburton, in his Divine Legation of Moses, attributes to the Egyptians four sorts of letters. Although I am ignorant of the time when the Egyptians first began to have an alphabet, I am satisfied it must have been long before the invasion of Cambyses.—*Larcher.*

6 *Only linen.*]—So much was said by the ancients upon the linen of Egypt, that many have been induced to suppose it remarkably fine, but it was certainly very coarse. The Greeks had no flax, and were not skilled in the art of weaving, which circumstances excuse the praise they have bestowed on the Egyptian linen. It appears from the philosophical transactions of 1761, that Dr. Halley, after a minute examination of an Egyptian mummy, found the upper filleting hardly equal in fineness to what is sold in the shops for two and four-pence a yard; the inner filleting was coarser.—*T.*

7 *Their priests.*]—For a more particular account of the peculiarities observed by the Egyptian priests, see Porphyrius de Abstinentia, lib. iii.; from whom it appears, that their whole time was divided betwixt study and acts of devotion. It may not be improper to advertise the English reader that the institutions of Pythagoras appear to have been almost wholly founded upon the manners and customs of these priests.—*T.*

8 *To prevent vermin.*]—In this respect the Jews were in like manner tenacious: if a Jewish priest found any dirt or dead vermin betwixt his inner garments and his skin, he might not perform the duties of his office. *See Maimonides.*—*T.*

9 *Possess many and great advantages.*]—They enjoyed one great advantage of which Herodotus takes no notice: Ælian positively affirms, that they were the judges of the nation; Larcher, from whom the above remark is taken, proceeds to a minute comparison betwixt the customs of the priests of Egypt and those of the Jews.

See also Genesis, chap. xlvii. ver. 22; from which it appears that the priests of Egypt had no share in the miseries of the famine. "Only the land of the priests bought he not, for the priests had a portion assigned them of Pharaoh, &c."

10 *They have also wine.*]—This assertion of Herodotus is contradicted by other writers; but, as Montfaucon observes, the customs of the priests might vary according to times and places.—*T.*

11 *Not permitted to feed on fish.*]—The reason of this, according to Plutarch, was their excessive enmity to the sea, which they considered as an element inimical to man; the same reasoning they extended to the produce of the Nile, which they thought corrupted by its connection with the sea.—*T.*

Various motives are assigned why the Pythagoreans, in imitation of the Egyptians, abstained from beans, by Plutarch, Cicero, and others. "The Pythagoreans," observes Cicero, "abstained from beans, as if that kind of food inflated the mind rather than the belly; but there is nothing so absurd which has not been affirmed by some one of the philosophers."—*T.*

12 *Succeeded by his son.*]—Amongst the Egyptians the priests composed a distinct class, as the Levites amongst the Jews, and the Brachmans with the Indians.—*Larcher.*

13 *Bulls as sacred to Epaphus.*]—It was doubtless from the circumstance of this idolatry that Aaron erected the golden calf in the wilderness, and Jeroboam in Dan and Bethel.—*T.*

Egyptia superstitione inquinatos Israelitas vitulum aureum coluisse certum est.—*Selden de Diis Syris.*

It is in this place not unworthy of remark, that Herodotus uses the word μοσχος, which may be interpreted *vitulus*. See also Virgil:

> Ego hanc vitulam, ne forte recuses,
> Bis venit ad mulctram, binos alit ubere foetus
> Depono.

deemed impure; for this purpose a priest is particularly appointed, who examines the animal as it stands, and as reclined on its back; its tongue is also drawn out, and he observes whether it be free from those blemishes[1] which are specified in their sacred books, and of which I shall speak hereafter. The tail also undergoes examination, every hair of which must grow in its natural and proper form: if in all these instances the bull appears to be unblemished, the priest fastens the byblus round his horns; he then applies a preparation of earth, which receives the impression of his seal, and the animal is then led away; this seal is of so great importance, that to sacrifice a beast which has it not, is deemed a capital offence.

XXXIX. I proceed to describe their mode of sacrifice:—Having led the animal destined and marked for the purpose to the altar, they kindle a fire: a libation of wine is poured upon the altar; the god is solemnly invoked, and the victim then is killed; they afterwards cut off his head, and take the skin from the carcase; upon the head they heap many imprecations: such as have a market-place at hand carry it there, and sell it to the Grecian traders; if they have not this opportunity, they throw it into the river. They imprecate the head, by wishing that whatever evil menaces those who sacrifice, or Egypt in general, may fall upon that head.[2] This ceremony respecting the head of the animal, and this mode of pouring a libation of wine upon the altar, is indiscriminately observed by all the Egyptians: in consequence of the above, no Egyptian will on any account eat of the head of a beast. As to the examination of the victims, and their ceremony of burning them, they have different methods, as their different occasions of sacrifice require.

XL. Of that goddess whom they esteem the first of all their deities, and in whose honour their greatest festival is celebrated I shall now make more particular mention. After the previous ceremony of prayers, they sacrifice an ox: they then strip off the skin, and take out the intestines, leaving the fat and the paunch; they afterwards cut off the legs, the shoulders, the neck, and the extremities of the loin; the rest of the body is stuffed with fine bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and various aromatics; after this process they burn it, pouring upon the flame a large quantity of oil; whilst the victim is burning the spectators flagellate themselves,[3] having fasted before the ceremony; the whole is completed by their feasting on the residue of the sacrifice.

XLI. All the Egyptians sacrifice bulls without blemish, and calves; the females are sacred to Isis, and may not be used for this purpose. This divinity is respresented under the form of a woman, and, as the Greeks paint Io, with horns upon her head; for this reason the Egyptians venerate cows far beyond all other cattle, neither will any man or woman among them kiss a Grecian, nor use a knife, or spit on any domestic utensil belonging to a Greek,[4] nor will they eat even the flesh of such beasts as by their law are pure, if it has been cut with a Grecian knife. If any of these cattle die, they thus dispose of their carcasses, the females are thrown into the river, the males they bury in the vicinity of the city, and by way of mark one and sometimes both of the horns are left projecting from the ground; they remain thus a stated time, and till they begin to putrefy, when a vessel appointed for this particular purpose is despatched from Prosopitis, an island of the Delta, nine schæni in extent, and containing several cities. Atarbechis,[5] one of these cities,

1 *Free from those blemishes.*]—See Numbers, chap. xix. ver. 2. "Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring thee a red heifer without spot, herein is no blemish, and upon which never came yoke."

2 *Fall upon that head.*]—See Leviticus, chap. xvi. ver. 21. "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, putting them upon the head of the goat."

3 *Flagellate themselves.*]—Athenagoras, in his Legat. pro Chris. ridicules this custom of the Egyptians; Larcher quotes the passage, and adds, that it is somewhat singular that such a ceremony should seem ridiculous to a Christian. Flagellation, however inflicted, or voluntarily submitted to as a penance, was subsequent to the time of Athenagoras.

It is a maxim, says Mr. Gibbon, of the civil law, that he who cannot pay with his purse must pay with his body. The practice of flagellation was adopted by the monks, as a cheap though painful equivalent.

The thirteenth century, according to Mosheim, gave birth to the sect of the Flagellants.—*T.*

4 *Belonging to a Greek.*]—That the Egyptians would not eat with strangers, appears from the following passage in Genesis, chap. xliii. ver. 32. "And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians which did eat with him by themselves, because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews, for that is an abomination to the Egyptians."

5 *Atarbechis.*]—Atarbec in Egypt is the temple of Atar or Athar, called Atarbechis by Herodotus: the same is Athyr-bet, and styled Athribites by Strabo.—*Bryant.*

Atar signifies Venus, and Bec a city, as Balbec the city of the sun, called by the Greeks Heliopolis.

Whoever wishes to be minutely informed concerning

in which is a temple of Venus, provides the vessels for this purpose, which are sent to the different parts of Egypt: these collect and transport the bones of the animals, which are all buried in one appointed place. This law and custom extends to whatever cattle may happen to die, as the Egyptians themselves put none to death.

XLII. Those who worship in the temple of the Theban Jupiter, or belong to the district of Thebes, abstain from sheep, and sacrifice goats. The same deities receive in Egypt different forms of worship; the ceremonies of Isis and of Osiris, who they say is no other than the Grecian Bacchus,[6] are alone unvaried; in the temple of Mendes, and in the whole Mendesian district, goats are preserved and sheep sacrificed. Why the Thebans, and all who are under their influence, abstain from sheep, is thus explained: Jupiter, they say, was long averse to the earnest solicitations of Hercules to see his person; but in consequence of his repeated importunity, the god, in compliance, used the following artifice: he cut off the head of a ram, and covering himself with its skin, showed himself in that form to Hercules; from this incident, the Egyptian statues of Jupiter represent that divinity with the head of a ram. This custom was borrowed of the Egyptians by the Ammonians, who are composed partly of Egyptians and partly of Ethiopians, and whose dialect is formed promiscuously of both those languages. The Egyptians call Jupiter, Ammoun,[7] and I should think this was the reason why the above people named themselves Ammonians. From this however it is, that the Thebans esteem the ram as sacred, and, except on the annual festival of Jupiter, never put one to death. Upon this solemnity they kill a ram, and placing its skin on the image of the god, they introduce before it a figure of Hercules; the assembly afterwards beat the ram, and conclude the ceremony by inclosing the body in a sacred chest.

XLIII. This Hercules, as I have been informed, is one of the twelve great gods, but of the Grecian Hercules I could in no part of Egypt procure any knowledge; that this name was never borrowed by Egypt from Greece, but certainly communicated by the Egyptians to the Greeks, and to those in particular who assign it to the son of Amphitryon, is among other arguments sufficiently evident from this, that both the reputed parents of this Hercules, Amphitryon and Alcmena, were of Egyptian origin. The Egyptians also disclaim all knowledge both of Neptune and the Dioscuri, neither of whom are admitted among the number of their gods: if they had ever borrowed the name of a deity from Greece, the remembrance of these, so far from being less, must have been stronger than of any other; for if they then made voyages, and as I have great reason to believe, there were at that time Greek sailors, they would rather have been acquainted with the names of the other deities, than with that of Hercules. Hercules is certainly one of the most ancient deities of Egypt:[8] and as they themselves affirm, is one of the twelve, who were produced from the eight gods, seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

XLIV. From my great desire to obtain information on this subject, I made a voyage to Tyre, in Phœnicia, where is a temple of Hercules held in great veneration. Among the various offerings which enrich and adorned it, I saw two pillars: the one was of the purest

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the various names and attributes of Venus, the different places where she was worshipped, and indeed every thing which antiquity has handed down concerning this goddess, will do well to consult the Memoire sur Venus, by Larcher, to which the prize of the French Academy was assigned in 1775.—*T.*

6 *The Grecian Bacchus.*]—The Egyptians maintain, that their god Osiris is no other than the Dionysus of Greece. In like manner the Indi assure us, that it is the same deity who is conversant in their country.—*Diodorus Sic.* l. iv. 210.

7 *Call Jupiter, Ammoun.*]—Plutarch says, that of all the Egyptian names which seem to have any correspondence with the Zeus of Greece, Amoun or Ammon was the most peculiar and adequate: he speaks of many people who were of this opinion.—*Bryant.*

The following line occurs in the scholiast to Pindar, Pyth. Ode 4th, v. 28.

Ζευς Λιβυης Αμμων κερατηφορε κεκλυτι μαντι.

Jupiter was almost as much in fashion amongst the old worshippers of images, as the Virgin amongst the modern: he had temples and different characters almost every where. At Carthage he was called Ammon; in Egypt, Serapis; at Athens, the great Jupiter was the Olympian Jupiter; and at Rome, the greatest Jupiter was the Capitoline.—*Spence, Polymetis.*—*T.*

8 *Deities of Egypt.*]—The remark, that the Egyptian is a very distinct personage from the Grecian Hercules, is not peculiar to Herodotus; it is affirmed by all the authors who have had occasion to speak on the subject: Cicero gives him the Nile as his father: Nilo genitus.—*Larcher.*

According to Cicero, the Egyptian Hercules was not the most ancient: he calls him the second Hercules. The Hercules, son of Amphitryon and Alcmena, was the sixth: this last, however, was the one most known, who is represented in almost all our ancient monuments, and who was worshipped by the Greeks and Romans.—*T.*

gold, the other of emerald,[1] which in the night diffused an extraordinary splendour. I inquired of the priests how long this temple had been erected, but I found that they also differed in their relation from the Greeks. This temple, as they affirmed, had been standing ever since the first building of the city, a period of two thousand three hundred years. I saw also at Tyre another temple consecrated to the Thasian Hercules. At Thasus, which I visited, I found a temple erected to this deity by the Phœnicians, who built Thasus while they were engaged in search of Europa: an event which happened five generations before Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, was known in Greece. From all these circumstances I was convinced that Hercules must be a very ancient deity. Such therefore of the Greeks as have erected two temples to the deity of this name, have, in my opinion, acted very wisely; to the Olympian Hercules they offer as to an immortal being; to the other they pay the rites of a hero.

XLV. Among the many preposterous fables current in Greece, the one concerning Hercules is not the least ridiculous. He arrived, they say, in Egypt, where the inhabitants bound him with the sacred fillet, and the usual ornaments of a victim,[2] and made preparations to sacrifice him to Jupiter. For a while he restrained himself, but upon his being conducted with the usual solemnities to the altar, he exerted his strength, and put all his opponents to death. This story of the Greeks demonstrates the extremest ignorance of the Egyptian manners; for how can it be reasonable to suppose, that they will offer human beings in sacrifice, who will not for this purpose destroy even animals, except swine, bulls, male calves without blemish, and geese? Or how could Hercules, an individual, and, as they themselves affirm, a mortal, be able to destroy many thousands of men? I hope, however, that what I have introduced on this subject will give no offence either to gods or heroes.

XLVI. The Mendesians, of whom I have before spoken, refuse to sacrifice goats of either sex, out of reverence to Pan, whom their traditions assert to be one of the eight deities, whose existence preceded that of the twelve. Like the Greeks, they always represent Pan in his images with the countenance of the she-goat[3] and legs of the male; not that they believe this has any resemblance to his person, or that he in any respect differs from the rest of the deities: the real motive which they assign for this custom I do not choose to relate. The veneration of the Mendesians for these animals, and for the males in particular,[4] is equally great and universal: this is also extended to goat-herds. There is one he-goat more particularly honoured than the rest, whose death is seriously lamented by the whole district of the Mendesians. In the Egyptian language the word Mendes is used in common for Pan and for a goat. It happened in this country, within my remembrance, and was indeed universally notorious, that a goat had indecent and public communication with a woman.

XLVII. The Egyptians regard the hog as an unclean animal,[5] and if they casually touch

1 *Of emerald.*]—This pillar, of which Herodotus here speaks, could not, says Mr. Larcher, have been a true emerald, it was probably a pseudosmaragdus. The learned Frenchman agrees in opinion with the authors of the Universal History, that it was of coloured glass, illuminated by lamps placed within.

Whether at so early a period they had knowledge of glass, may be disputed; but it is well known, that before the discovery of glass, or the application of it for windows, the rich used transparent stones for this purpose, which will solve the difficulty quite as well.—*T.*

2 *Of a victim.*]—The gradations by which mankind was led from offering the produce of the earth to the gods to sacrifice animals, are related by Porphyry, in his second book, de Abstinentia. He relates the following story on this subject: "So abhorrent," says he, "were the ancient Athenians from the destroying of any kind of animals, that a woman, named Clymene, was deemed guilty of a very criminal act, from her having without design killed a hog. Her husband, from the supposition that she had committed an impiety, went to consult the oracle on the occasion. But as the deity did not consider it in a very heinous light, men were afterwards induced to make light of it also." *See Porphyr.* lib. ii. chap. 9.—*T.*

3 *Countenance of the she goat, &c.*]—Montfaucon observes, that what Herodotus says in this place of the Egyptian manner of representing Pan, does not agree with the statues and images of Pan which have come down to us. Both the Greeks and Romans, if we may credit their monuments, which are very numerous, pictured Pan with a man's face, and with the horns, ears, and feet of a she or he-goat.—*T.*

4 *Males in particular.*]—The Egyptians venerated the he-goat as a deity for the same reason that the Greeks do Priapus. This animal has a strong propensity to venery, and the member which is the instrument of generation they esteem honourable, because from it animals derive their existence.—*Diodorus Sic.* i. 98.

5 *Unclean animal.*]—The abhorrence of the Jews to the flesh of swine is generally supposed to have been imitated from the Egyptians: they differed in this, the Jews would never eat it, the Egyptians occasionally did. The motives assigned by Plutarch for the prejudice of both these nations in this particular instance is curious enough: "The milk of the sow," says he, "occasioned leprosies, which was the reason why the Egyptians entertained so great an aversion for this animal."

one they immediately plunge themselves clothes and all into the water. This prejudice operates to the exclusion of all swine-herds, although natives of Egypt, from the temples; with people of this description a connection by marriage is studiously avoided, and they are reduced to the necessity of intermarrying among those of their own profession. The only deities to whom the Egyptians offer swine, are Bacchus and Luna; to these they sacrifice swine when the moon is at the full, after which they eat the flesh. Why they offer swine at this particular time, and at no other, the Egyptians have a tradition among themselves, which delicacy forbids me to explain. The following is the mode in which they sacrifice this animal to Luna: as soon as it is killed they cut off the extremity of the tail, which, with the spleen and the fat, they inclose in the cawl, and burn; upon the remainder, which at any other time they would disdain, they feast at the full moon, when the sacrifice is performed. They who are poor make the figures of swine with meal, which having first baked, they offer on the altar.

XLVIII. On the day of the feast of Bacchus, at the hour of supper, every person before the door of his house, offers a hog in sacrifice. The swine-herd of whom they purchase it, is afterwards at liberty to take it away. Except this sacrifice of the swine, the Egyptians celebrate the feast of Bacchus in the same manner as the Greeks. Instead of the phalli,[6] they have contrived certain figures of about a cubit in length; the private members of which are made to move. These the women carry about the streets and villages, and the member which distinguishes the sex being almost as large as the rest of the body, with these, and preceded by a piper, they sing in a long procession, the praises of Bacchus. Why this member is so disproportionably large, and why they give a motion to it alone, they assign a sacred and mysterious reason.

XLIX. I am of opinion, that Melampus,[7] son of Amytheon, was acquainted with this ceremony. It was Melampus who first taught the Greeks the name and the sacrifice of Bacchus, and introduced the procession of the phalli;[8] the mysterious purport of which he did not sufficiently explain; but since his time it has received from different sages adequate illustration. It is unquestionable, that the use of the phalli in the sacrifice of Bacchus, with the other ceremonies which the Greeks now know and practise, were first taught them by Melampus. I therefore, without hesitation, pronounce him to have been a man of wisdom, and of skill in the art of divination. Instructed by the Egyptians[9] in various ceremonies, and particularly in those which relate to Bacchus, with some few trifling changes he brought them into Greece. I can by no means impute to accident the resemblance which exists in the rites of Bacchus in Egypt, and in Greece; in this case they would not have differed so essentially from the Grecian manners, and they might have been traced to more remote antiquity: neither will I affirm that these, or that any other religious ceremonies, were borrowed of Greece[10] by the

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The same author in another place explains in this manner the dislike of the Jews to swine. The religion, the ceremonies, and feasts of the Jews, were, as he pretends, the same as those practised in Greece with respect to Bacchus. Bacchus and Adonis are the same divinities; and the Jews abstain from swine's flesh, because Adonis was slain by a boar.

It is no less worth remarking, that Plutarch explains the derivation of Levites from Lysios, Λυσιος, a name of Bacchus.—*T.*

6 *Phalli.*]—Macrobius explains the consecration of the phallus into an emblem of the power of generation, whose prolific virtue is thereby invoked to impregnate the universe; for which reason that ceremony is for the most part performed in the spring, when the whole world receives a kind of regeneration from the gods. Macrobius, Saturnal. lib. i. 7.—See also on this subject Lucian de Dea Syria; Apuleius; Letters on Mythology. See also *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, vol. iii. 138.—*T.*

Mention is made in Athenæus of a phallus, carried in a Bacchanal procession, of gold, and one hundred and twenty cubits long. It was moreover adorned with garlands, which were twined round it to its vertex, where was a golden star six cubits in circumference.—*See Athenæus*, book v. chap. 5.

7 *Melampus.*]—So called because, being exposed when a child by his mother Rhodope, his whole person was covered, excepting his feet; these the rays of the sun turned black. He was a famous soothsayer: he was also, according to Pausanias, a physician, and had a temple and statues, and solemn games instituted in his honour.—*T.*

8 *Of the Phalli.*]—In what manner these were carried in processions, may be seen in the Acharnenses of Aristophanes.

Ο Ξανθιας τον φαλλον ορθον στησατω.

See also the scholiast on this passage.—*T.*

9 *Instructed by the Egyptians.*—As Egypt was then famous for the sciences and arts, the Greeks, who were beginning to emerge from barbarism, travelled thither to obtain knowledge, which they might afterwards communicate to their countrymen. With this view the following illustrious characters visited this country: "Orpheus, Musæus, Melampus, Dædalus, Homer, Lycurgus the Spartan, Solon of Athens, Plato the philosopher, Pythagoras of Samos, Eudoxus, Democritus of Abdera, Œnopis of Chios, &c. &c."—*Larcher.*

10 *Borrowed of Greece.*]—See Bryant's Mythology, vol. ii. 483. Diodorus Sic. vol. i. 62, 63, Wesseling's edition.—*T.*

Egyptians; I rather think that Melampus learned all these particulars which relate to the worship of Bacchus, from Cadmus, and his Tyrian companions, when they came from Phœnicia to what is now called Bœotia.[1]

L. Egypt has certainly communicated to Greece the names of almost all the gods; that they are of barbarian origin, I am convinced by my different researches. The names of Neptune and the Dioscuri I mentioned before; with these, if we except Juno,[2] Vesta, Themis, the Graces, and the Nereids, the names of all the other deities have always been familiar in Egypt. In this instance I do but repeat the opinions of the Egyptians. Those names of which they disclaim any knowledge are all, except Neptune, of Pelasgian derivation; for their acquaintance with this deity, they are indebted to Africa, where indeed he was first of all known, and has always been greatly honoured. The Egyptians do not pay any religious ceremonies to heroes.

LI. With the above, the Greeks have derived many other circumstances of religious worship from Egypt, which I shall hereafter relate; they did not however learn from hence, but from the Pelasgi, to construct the figure of Mercury with an erect priapus, which custom was first introduced by the Athenians, and communicated from them to others. At that period the Athenians were ranked among the nations of Greece, and had the Pelasgians for their neighbours: from which incident this people also began to be esteemed as Greeks. Of the truth of this, whoever has been initiated in the Cabirian mysteries,[3] which the Samothracians use, and learned of the Pelasgi, will be necessarily convinced; for the Pelasgians before they lived near the Athenians formerly inhabited Samothracia, and taught the people of that country their mysteries. By them the Athenians were first of all instructed to make the figure of Mercury with an upright priapus. For this the Pelasgians have a sacred tradition, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries.

LII. The Pelasgians, as I was informed at Dodona, formerly offered all things indiscriminately to the gods. They distinguished them by no name or sirname, for they were hitherto unacquainted with either; but they called them gods, which by its etymology means disposers, from observing the orderly disposition and distribution of the various parts of the universe. They learned, but not till a late period, the names of the divinities from the Egyptians, and Bacchus was the last whom they knew. Upon this subject they afterwards consulted the oracle of Dodona,[4] by far the most ancient oracle of Greece, and at the period of which we speak, the only one. They desired to know whether they might with propriety adopt the names which they had learned of the barbarians, and were answered that they might; they have accordingly used them ever since in their rites of sacrifice, and from the Pelasgi they were communicated to the Greeks.

LIII. Of the origin of each deity, whether they have all of them always existed, as also of their form, their knowledge is very recent in-

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1 *Bœotia.*]—This country was so called from Bœotus, son of Itonus, and the nymph Menalippe, and grandson of Amphictyon. See Diodorus Sic. lib. iv. 67: and also Thucydides, lib. i. p. 11.

2 *Juno.*]—We learn from Porphyry, that to the Egyptian Juno, on a certain festival, three men were sacrificed, who were first of all examined like so many calves destined for the altar. Amasis abolished these, substituting in their room three figures of wax. Porphyr. de Abstinentia, lib. ii. c. 55.

3 *Cabirian mysteries.*]—The Cabiri, says Montfaucon, were a sort of deities about whom the ancients differ much. The Cabiri, the Curetæ, the Corybantes, the Idean Dactyli, and sometimes the Telchinii, were taken for the same: they were sometimes taken for the Dioscuri. With regard to their functions, and the places in which they exercised, opinions equally various are held: some call them the sons of Vulcan, others of Jupiter.—*See Montfaucon.*

"They, says Mr. Larcher, principally from the scholiast to the Irene of Aristophanes, "who had been admitted to these mysteries were highly esteemed, as they were supposed to have nothing to apprehend from tempests." "They," observes Plutarch, "who had learned their names, availed themselves of them as a kind of amulet to prevent calamity, pronouncing them slowly."

These names were, according to the scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. Ceres, Proserpine, and Pluto, to which others add Mercury.

Who these Cabirim might be, has been a matter of unsuccessful inquiry to many learned men. The utmost that is known with certainty is, that they were originally three, and were called by way of eminence, The Great, or Mighty Ones, for that is the import of the Hebrew name. Of the like import is the Latin appellation, Penates: Dii per quos *penitus* spiramus, &c. Thus the joint worship of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the triad of the Roman capitol, is traced to that of *The Three Mighty Ones* in Samothrace, which was established in that island, at what precise time it is impossible to determine; but earlier, if Eusebius may be credited, than the days of Abraham.—*Bishop Horsley's Charge to the Clergy, &c.—T.*

Bochart derives Cabiri from a root, signifying deos potentes; but I have somewhere seen it derived from a Hebrew word signifying παρέδροι, socii participes.

4 *Oracle of Dodona.*]—See on this subject Bryant's Mythology, vol. ii. 286.

deed. The invention of the Grecian theogony,[5] the names, the honours, the forms, and the functions of the deities, may with propriety be ascribed to Hesiod and to Homer,[6] who I believe lived four hundred years, and not more, before myself. If I may give my opinion, the poets who are reported to have been before these were certainly after them. What I have said of the names and origin of the gods, has been on the authority of the priests of Dodona; of Hesiod and Homer, I have delivered my own sentiments.

LIV. Of the two oracles of Greece and Libya, the Egyptians speak as follows: I was told by the ministers of the Theban Jupiter, that the Phœnicians had violently carried off from Thebes two priestesses, one of whom had been sold into Africa, the other into Greece; they added, that the commencement of the above oracles must be assigned to these two women. On my requesting to know their authority for these assertions, they answered, that after a long and ineffectcal search after these priestesses, they had finally learned what they had told me.

LV. I have related the intelligence which I gained from the priests at Thebes: The priestesses of Dodona[7] assert, that two black pigeons flew from Thebes in Egypt, one of which settled in Africa, the other among themselves: which latter, resting on the branch of a beech-tree, declared with a human voice that here by divine appointment was to be an oracle of Jove. The inhabitants, fully impressed that this was a divine communication, instantly complied with the injunction. The dove which flew to Africa in like manner commanded the people to fix there an oracle of Ammon, which also is an oracle of Jupiter. Such was the information I received from the priestesses of Dodona, the eldest of whom was called Promenea, the second Timarete, the youngest Nicandre; the other ministers employed in the service of the temple agreed with these in every particular.

LVI. My opinion of the matter is this: If the Phœnicians did in reality carry away these two priestesses, and sell one to Africa, the other to Greece, this latter must have been carried to the Thesproti, which country, though part of what is now termed Greece, was formerly called Pelasgia.[8] That, although in a state of servitude, she erected, under the shade of a beech-tree, a sacred edifice to Jupiter, which she might very naturally be prompted to do, from the remembrance of the temple of Jupiter at Thebes, whence she was taken. Thus she instituted the oracle, and having learned the Greek language, might probably relate that by the same Phœnicians her sister was sold for a slave to Africa.

LVII. The name of doves was probably given them because, being strangers, the sound of their voices might to the people of Dodona seem to resemble the tone of those birds. When the woman, having learned the language, delivered her thoughts in words which were generally understood, the dove might be said

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5 *Grecian theogony.*]—To suppose Homer to have been the author of the theology and mythology contained in his poems, would be as unreasonable as to imagine that he first taught the Greeks to read and write. We find that, in the following ages, when wise men began to reason more upon these subjects, they censured Homer's theology, as highly injurious to the gods, if it were understood in the literal sense. But when Homer wrote, he had sufficient excuse and authority for the fables which he delivered: and he introduced into his poems, by way of machinery, and with some decorations, theological legends, contrived in more rude and ignorant times, and sanctified by hoary age and venerable tradition. Tradition had preserved some memory of the things which the gods had done and had suffered when they were men.—*Jortin's Dissertation*, 207.

This evidence of Herodotus must be esteemed early, and his judgment valid. What can afford us a more sad account of the doubt and darkness in which mankind were enveloped, than these words of the historian? How plainly does he show the necessity of divine interposition, and of revelation in consequence of it.—*Bryant's mythology*, i. 307.

Hesiode a laisse un nom celebre et des ouvrages estimes, comme on l'a suppose contemporain d'Homere, quelques-uns ont pense qu'il etoit son rival, mais Homere ne pouvoit avoir de rivaux.

La theogonie d'Hesiode, comme celle de plusieurs anciens ecrivains de la Grece, n'est qu'un tissu d'idees absurdes, ou d'allegories impenetrables.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis*, iii. 315.

6 *Homer.*]—To me it seems certain that the life of Homer, attributed to Herodotus, was not written by our historian. This I think might very easily be proved, but it would require a dissertation, and much exceed the limits of a note.—*Larcher*.

7 *Priestesses of Dodona.*]—There is an account given by Palæphatus, of one Metra, or Mestra, who could change herself into various forms. The story at bottom is very plain: Egypt was frequently called Mestra and Mestraia, and by the person here called Mestra we are certainly to understand a woman of the country. She was sometimes simply mentioned as a *cahen* or priestess, which the Greeks have rendered κυνα, a dog. Women in this sacred character attended at the shrine of Apis and Mnevis, and of the sacred heifer at Onuphis. Some of them in different countries were styled Cyeneans, and also Peleiadæ, of whom the principal were the women at Dodona.—*Bryant*.

8 *Pelasgia.*]—The people who then composed the body of the Hellenistic nation in those ancient times, gave their names to the countries which they occupied. The Pelasgians were widely dispersed.—*Larcher*.

to have spoken with a human voice. Before she had thus accomplished herself, her voice might appear like that of a dove. It certainly cannot be supposed that a dove should speak with a human voice; and the circumstance of her being black, explains to us her Egyptian origin.

LVIII. The two oracles of Egyptian Thebes and of Dodona have an entire resemblanco to each other. The art of divination as now practised in our temples, is thus derived from Egypt; at least the Egyptians were the first who introduced the sacred festivals, processions, and supplications, and from them the Greeks were instructed. Of this it is to me a sufficient testimony, that these religious ceremonies are in Greece but of modern date, whereas in Egypt they have been in use from the remotest antiquity.

LIX. In the course of the year the Egyptians celebrate various public festivals; [1] but the festival in honour of Diana, at the city of Bubastos, is the first in dignity and importance. The second is held in honour of Isis, at the city Busiris, which is situated in the middle of the Delta, and contains the largest temple of that goddess. Isis is called in the Greek tongue, Demeter or Ceres. The solemnities of Minerva, observed at Sais,[2] are the third in consequence; the fourth are Heliopolis, and sacred to the sun; the fifth are those of Latona, at Butos; the next those of Mars, solemnized at Papremis.

LX. They who meet to celebrate the festival at Bubastos[3] embark in vessels, a great number of men and women promiscuously mixed. During the passage, some of the women[4] strike their tabors, accompanied by the men playing on flutes. The rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought to shore: of the women some continue their instrumental music, others call aloud to the females of the place, provoke them by injurious language, dance about, and indecently throw aside their garments. This they do at every place near which they pass. On their arrival at Bubastos, the feast commences, by the sacrifice of many victims, and upon this occasion a greater quantity of wine[5] is consumed than in all the rest of the year. The natives report, that at this solemnity seven hundred thousand[6] men and women assemble, not to mention children.

LXI. I have before related in what manner the rites of Isis are celebrated at Busiris. After the ceremonies of sacrifice the whole assembly, to the amount of many thousands, flagellate[7] themselves: but in whose honour they do this I am not at liberty to disclose. The Carians of Egypt treat themselves at this solemnity with unparalleled severity:[8] they cut themselves in the face with swords, and by this distinguish themselves from the Egyptian natives.

LXII. At the sacrifice solemnized at Sais, the assembly is held by night; they suspend before their houses in the open air, lamps which are filled with oil mixed with salt;[9] a wick floats at the top, which will burn all night; the feast itself is called the feast of lamps.[10] Such of the

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1 *Festivals.*]—Mr. Savary, with other modern travellers, give us an account of the annual fairs of Egypt. These are to be considered as the remains of the ancient pilgrimages of the Egyptians to Canopus, Sais, and Bubastos.

2 *Sais.*]—This place is by some supposed to be the Sin of the Scriptures.—*T.*

3 *Bubastos.*]—Savary has translated this passage in his Letters on Egypt. From a comparison of his version with mine, it is painful to observe he has given to Herodotus what the historian never imagined.—*Larcher.*

4 *The women.*]—These no doubt are the Almai, which were not then more decent than now.

The Egyptians since Herodotus have been governed by various nations, and at length are sunk deep in ignorance and slavery, but their true character has undergone no change. The frantic ceremonies the pagan religion authorized are now renewed around the sepulchres of Santons, before the churches of the Copts, and in the fairs I mentioned.—*Savary.*

5 *Quantity of wine.*]—In the Greek it is wine of the vine, to distinguish it from beer, which he calls barley-wine.—*Larcher.*

Whoever has not seen a witty and humorous dissertation on οινος κριθινος, or barley-wine, published at Oxford in 1750 may promise himself much entertainment from its perusal.

6 *Seven hundred thousand.*]—For seven hundred thousand, some read only seventy thousand.—*T.*

7 *Flagellate themselves.*]—The manner in which Voltaire has translated this passage is too singular to be omitted—"On frappe, dans la ville de Busiris, dit Herodote, les hommes et les femmes apres le sacrifice, mais de dire ou on les frappe, c'est ce qui ne m'est pas permis."—*Questions sur l' Encyclopedie.*

8 Xenophanes, the physician, seeing the Egyptians lament and beat themselves at their festivals, says to them, sensibly enough, "If your gods be gods in reality, cease to lament them; but if they are mortals, forbear to sacrifice to them."—*Plutarch.*

9 *Salt.*]—Salt was constantly used at all entertainments, both of the gods and men, whence a particular sanctity was believed to be lodged in it: it is hence called θειος αλς, divine salt, by Homer.—*Potter.*

10 *Feast of lamps.*]—This feast, which much resembles the feast of lamps observed from time immemorial in China, seems to confirm the opinion of M. de Guignes,

Egyptians as do not attend the ceremony think themselves obliged to observe the evening of the festival, and in like manner burn lamps before their houses: thus on this night not Sais only, but all Egypt is illuminated. A religious motive is assigned for the festival itself, and for the illuminations by which it is distinguished.

LXIII. At Heliopolis and Butos,[11] sacrifices alone are offered, but at Papremis, as at other places, in addition to the offering of victims, other religious ceremonies are observed. At the close of the day a small number of priests are in immediate attendance upon the statue of Mars; a great number, armed with clubs, place themselves at the entrance of the temple; opposite to these may be seen more than a thousand men tumultuously assembled, with clubs also in their hands, to perform their religious vows. The day before the festival they remove the statue of the god, which is kept in a small case decorated with gold, to a different apartment. The priests attendant upon the statue place it, together with its case, on a four wheeled carriage, and begin to draw it along. Those at the entrance of the temple endeavour to prevent its admission; but the votaries above mentioned come to the succour of the god, and a combat ensues between the two parties, in which many heads are broken, and I should suppose many lives lost, though this the Egyptians positively deny.

LXIV. The motive for this ceremony is thus explained by the natives of the country: This temple, they say, was the residence of the mother of Mars: the god himself, who had been brought up at a distance from his parent, on his arrival at man's estate came hither to visit his mother. The attendants, who had never seen him before, not only refused to admit him, but roughly drove him from the place. Obtaining proper assistance, he returned, severely chastised those who had opposed him, and obtained admission to his parent. From this circumstance the above mode of fighting was ever after practised on the festival of Mars, and these people were also the first who make it a point of religion not to communicate carnally with a woman[12] in a temple, nor enter any consecrated place after the venereal act, without having first washed. Except the Egyptians and the Greeks, all other nations without scruple connect themselves with women in their temples, nor think it necessary to wash themselves after such connection, previous to their paying their devotions. In this instance they rank man indiscriminately with other animals; for observing that birds as well as beasts copulate in shrines and temples, they conclude that it cannot be offensive to the deity. Such a mode of reasoning does not by any means obtain my approbation.

LXV. The superstition of the Egyptians is conspicuous in various instances, but in this more particularly: notwithstanding the vicinity of their country to Africa, the number of beasts is comparatively small, but all of them, both those which are wild and those which are domestic, are regarded as sacred. If I were to explain the reason of this prejudice, I should be led to the discussion of those sacred subjects, which I particularly wish to avoid,[13] and which but from necessity I should not have discussed so fully as I have. Their laws compel them to cherish animals, a certain number of men and women are appointed to this office, which is esteemed so honourable,[14] that it descends in

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who has been the first to intimate that China was a colony from Egypt.—*Larcher*.

In Egypt there is no rejoicing, no festival of any consideration at all, unaccompanied with illumination. For this purpose they make use of earthen lamps, which they put into very deep vessels of glass, in such a manner as that the glass is two thirds, or at least one half of its height, higher than the lamp, in order to preserve the light, and prevent its extinction by the wind. The Egyptians have carried this art to the highest perfection, &c.—*Maillet*.

11 *Butos.*]—This is indifferently written Butos, Butis, and Buto.—*T.*

12 *Communicate carnally with a woman.*]—Mention is made of the Mossyri, called by Apollonius Rhodius, Mossyræci, who copulated in the public streets. See Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, and others.

Next by the sacred hill their oars impel
Firm Argo, where the Mossyræcians dwell,
Of manners strange, for they with care conceal
Those deeds which others openly reveal,
And actions that in secret should be done
Perform in public and before the sun:
For, like the monsters of the bristly drove,
In public they perform the feats of love.

Fawkes Apollonius Rhod.

Quid ego de Cynicis loquar, quibus in propatulo coire cum conjugibus mos fuit. Lactantius.—See also what Diogenes Laertius says of Crates and Hipparchia. See Bayle on the Adamites and Picards, and also "A Dialogue concerning Decency." See also Herodotus, book i.—*T.*

13 *Wish to avoid.*]—The ancients were remarkably scrupulous in every thing which regarded religion; but in the time of Diodorus Siculus strangers did not pay the same reverence to the religious rites of the Egyptians. This historian was not afraid to acquaint us with the motives which induced the Egyptians to pay divine honours to animals.—*Larcher*.

See Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. 21.

14 *Esteemed so honourable.*]—So far from refusing this employ, or being ashamed publicly to exercise it, they

succession from father to son. In the presence of these animals the inhabitants of the cities perform their vows. They address themselves as supplicants to the divinity, who is supposed to be represented by the animal in whose presence they are; they then cut off their children's hair, sometimes the whole of it, sometimes half, at other times only a third part; this they weigh in a balance against a piece of silver; as soon as the silver preponderates, they give it to the woman who keeps the beast, she in return feeds the beast with pieces of fish, which is their constant food. It is a capital offence designedly to kill any one of these[1] animals; to destroy one accidentally is punished by a fine, determined by the priests; but whoever, however involuntarily, kills an ibis[2] or an hawk[3] cannot by any means escape death.

LXVI. The number of domestic animals in Egypt is very great, and would be much greater if the increase of cats[4] were not thus frustrated—The female cats, when delivered of their young, carefully avoid the company of the males, who to obtain a second commerce with them contrive and execute this stratagem; they steal the young from the mother, which they destroy, but do not eat. This animal, which is very fond of its young, from its desire to have more, again covets the company of the male. In every accident of fire, the cats seem to be actuated by some supernatural[5] impulse; for the Egyptians surrounding the place which is burning appear to be occupied with no thought but that of preserving their cats. These, however, by stealing between the legs of the spectators, or by leaping over their heads, endeavour to dart into the flames. This circumstance, whenever it happens, diffuses universal sorrow.[6] In whatever family a cat by accident happens to die, every individual cuts off his eye-brows,[7] but on the death of a dog[8]

make a vain display of it, as if they participated the greatest honours of the gods. When they travel through the cities, or the country, they make known, by certain marks which they exhibit, the particular animal of which they have the care. They who meet them as they journey respect and worship these.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

1 *To kill any one of these.*]—The cat was also held in the extremest veneration by the ancient Egyptians; and Diodorus Siculus relates, that a Roman having by accident killed a cat, the common people instantly surrounded his house with every demonstration of fury. The king's guards were instantly despatched to rescue him from their rage, but in vain; his authority and the Roman name were equally ineffectual.—In the most extreme necessities of famine, they rather chose to feed on human flesh than on these animals.—*T.*

2 *Ibis.*]—The Egyptians thus venerated the ibis, because they were supposed to devour the serpents which bred in the ground after the ebbing of the Nile. —*T.*

3 *Hawk.*]—They have a kind of domestic large brown hawk, with a fine eye. One may see the pigeons and hawks standing close to one another. The Turks never kill them, and seem to have a sort of veneration for these birds, and for cats, as well as their ancestors. The ancient Egyptians in this animal, worshipped the sun or Osiris, of which the brightness of its eyes was an emblem.—*Pococke.*

Osiris was worshipped at Philæ, under the figure of the Ethiopian hawk.—*T.*

4 *If the increase of cats, &c.*]—There occurs, I own, a difficulty in the Egyptian system of theology. It is evident from their method of propagation, that a couple of cats in fifty years would stock a whole kingdom. If religious veneration were paid them, it would in twenty more not only be easier in Egypt to find a god than a man, (which Petronius says was the case in some parts of Italy) but the gods must at last entirely starve the men, and leave themselves neither priests nor votaries remaining. It is probable, therefore, that this wise nation, the most celebrated in antiquity for prudence and sound policy, foreseeing such dangerous consequences, reserved all their worship for the full-grown divinities, and used the freedom to drown the holy spawn, or little sucking gods, without any scruple or remorse. And thus the practice of warping the tenets of religion, in order to serve temporal interests, is not by any means to be regarded as an invention of these later ages.—*Hume.*

5 *Supernatural.*]—It is astonishing that Herodotus should see this as a prodigy. The cat is a timid animal, fire makes it more so: the precautions taken to prevent its perishing, frighten it still more, and deprive it of its sagacity.—*Larcher.*

6 *Universal sorrow.*]—One method of mourning prevalent in the east, was to assemble in multitudes, and bewail aloud. In a manuscript of Sir John Chardin, part of which has been given in the work of Mr. Harmer, we have this remark, "It is the genius of the people of Asia to express their sentiments of joy and grief aloud. These their transports are ungoverned, excessive, and truly outrageous." See Harmer, vol. ii. p. 136.

7 *Cuts off his eye-brows.*]—The custom of cutting off the hair in mourning appears to have obtained in the east in the prophetic times.

Among the ancient Greeks it was sometimes laid upon the dead body, sometimes cast into the funeral pile, and sometimes placed upon the grave.

Women in the deep mourning of captivity, shaved off their hair. "Then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails." Deut. xxi. 12.

Maillet says, that in the east the women that attend a corpse to the grave generally have their hair hanging loose about their ears.

8 *Death of a dog.*]—In this respect Plutarch differs from Herodotus. He allows that these animals were at one time esteemed holy, but it was before the time of Cambyses. From the era of his reign they were held in another light; for when this king killed the sacred Apis, the dogs fed so liberally upon his entrails, without making a proper distinction, that they lost all their sanctity. But they were certainly of old looked upon as sacred; and it was perhaps with a view to this, and to prevent the Israelites retaining any notion of this nature, that a dog was not suffered to come within the precincts of the

they shave their heads and every part of their bodies.

LXVII. The cats when dead are carried to sacred buildings, and after being salted[9] are buried in the city Bubastis. Of the canine species, the females are buried in consecrated chests, wherever they may happen to die, which ceremony is also observed with respect to the ichneumons.[10] The shrew-mice and hawks are always removed to Butos; the ibis to Hermopolis;[11] the bears, an animal rarely seen in Egypt, and the wolves,[12] which are not much bigger than foxes, are buried in whatever place they die.

LXVIII. I proceed now to describe the nature of the crocodile,[13] which during the four severer months in winter eats nothing: it is a quadruped, but amphibious; it is also oviparous, and deposits its eggs in the sand; the greater part of the day it spends on shore, but all the night in the water, as being warmer than the external air,[14] whose cold is increased by the dew. No animal that I have seen or known, from being at first so remarkably diminutive grows to so vast a size. The eggs are not larger than those of geese: on leaving the shell the young is proportionably small, but when arrived at its full size it is sometimes more than seventeen cubits in length: it has eyes like a hog,[15]

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temple of Jerusalem. In the Mosaic law, the price of a dog, and the hire of a harlot are put upon the same level. See Deuteronomy, xxiii. 18. "Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore nor the price of a dog into the house of the Lord thy God, for any vow, for both these are an abomination to the Lord thy God."—*Bryant.*

It is because the dog was consecrated to Anubis, that he was represented with a dog's head. Virgil and Ovid call him Latrator Anubis; Propertius and Prudentius, Latrans Anubis.—*Larcher.*

At the present day dogs are considered in the east as defiling: they do not suffer them in their houses, and ever with care avoid touching them in the streets. By the ancient Jews, as remarked before, they were considered in a disagreeable light. "Am I a dog?" says the Philistine to David. "What, is thy servant a dog?" says Hazael, &c. See Harmer, vol. i. p. 220. It may indeed be observed, that in most countries and languages the word dog is a term of contempt. "I took by the throat the uncircumcised dog."—*T.*

9 *After being salted.*]—Diodorus Siculus says the same thing, and he also describes the process used on the occasion.—*T.*

10 *Ichneumon*]—is found both in Upper and Lower Egypt. It creeps slowly along, as if ready to seize its prey; it feeds on plants, eggs, and fowls. In Upper Egypt it searches for the eggs of the crocodile, which lie hid in the sand, and eats them, thereby preventing the increase of that animal. It may be easily tamed, and goes about the houses like a cat. It makes a growling noise and barks when it is very angry. The French in Egypt have called this Rat de Pharaon. Alpinus and Bellonius, following this, have called it Mus Pharaonis. The resemblance it has to a mouse in colour and hair, might have induced people ignorant of natural history to call it a mouse, but why Pharaoh's mouse? The Egyptians were in the time of Pharaoh too intelligent to call it a mouse: nor is it at this day called *phar* by the Arabs, which is the name for mouse; they call it *nems.* What is related concerning its entering the jaws of the crocodile is fabulous.—*Hasselquist.*

11 *Hermopolis.*]—There were in Egypt two places of this name, Wesseling supposes Herodotus to speak of that in the Thebiad.—*T.*

12 *Wolves.*]—Hasselquist did not meet with either of these animals in Egypt. Wolves were honoured in Egypt, says Eusebius, probably from their resemblance to the dog. Some relate, that the Ethiopians having made an expedition against Egypt, were put to flight by a vast number of wolves, which occasioned the place where the incident happened to be called Lycopolis.

13 *Of the crocodile.*]—The general nature and properties of the crocodile are sufficiently known. I shall therefore be contented with giving the reader from different authors, such particulars of this extraordinary animal as are less notorious. The circumstance of their eating nothing during the four severe winter months seems to be untrue.

The excrements do not appear to pass through the anus, they pass through the gut into the ventricle, and are vomited up. Under the shoulder of the old crocodile is a folliculus containing a thick matter, which smells like musk, a perfume much esteemed in Egypt. When the male copulates with the female, he turns her with his snout on her back.

The fat of the crocodile is used by the Egyptians against the rheumatism. The gall is thought good for the eyes, and for barrenness in women. The eyes are an aphrodisiac, and as Hasselquist affirms, esteemed by the Arabs superior even to ambergris.

When the ancient prophets in the Old Testament speak of a dragon, a crocodile is generally to be understood. "Am I a sea or a jannin?" See Job vii. 12; where, according to Harmer, a crocodile alone can be meant. The animal is of most extraordinary strength. "One of twelve feet," says Maillet, "after a long fast threw down with the stroke of his tail five or six men, and a bale of coffee." They sleep in the sun, but not soundly. They seldom descend below the Thebais, and never below Grand Cairo. Some have been seen fifty feet long. Herodotus says it has no tongue, but it has a fleshy substance like a tongue, which serves it to turn its meat: it is said to move only the upper jaw, and to lay fifty eggs. It is not a little remarkable, that the ancient name being champsa, the Egyptians now call it timsah.—*T.*

14 *Warmer than the external air.*]—Water exposed to violent heat during the day preserves its warmth in the night, and is then much less cold than the external air.—*Larcher.* From consulting modern travellers, we find the remarks of Herodotus on the crocodile, excepting only the particularities which we have pointed out, confirmed.—*T.*

15 *Eyes like a hog.*]—The leviathan of Job is variously understood by critics for the whale and the crocodile. Both these animals are remarkable for the smallness of their eyes, in proportion to the bulk of their bodies: those of the crocodile are said to be extremely piercing out of the water; in which sense, therefore, the poet's expression, "its eyes are like the eyelids of the morning," can only be applicable. Dr. Young, in his paraphrase on this part of Job, describing the crocodile as

teeth large and prominent, in proportion to the dimensions of its body; but, unlike all other animals, it has no tongue. It is further and most singularly distinguished by only moving its upper jaw. Its feet are armed with strong fangs; the skin is protected by hard scales regularly divided. In the open air its sight is remarkably acute, but it cannot see at all in the water; living in the water its throat is always full of leeches; beasts and birds universally avoid it, the trochilus alone excepted, which, from a sense of gratitude, it treats with kindness. When the crocodile leaves the water, it reclines itself on the sand, and generally towards the west, with its mouth open: the trochilus entering its throat destroys the leeches; in acknowledgment for which service it never does the trochilus injury.

LXIX. This animal, by many of the Egyptians, is esteemed sacred,[1] by others it is treated as an enemy.[2] They who live near Thebes, and the lake Mœris, hold the crocodile in religious veneration; they select one, which they render tame and docile, suspending golden ornaments from its ears,[3] and sometimes gems of value; the fore feet are secured by a chain. They feed it with the flesh of the sacred victims, and with other appointed food. While it lives they treat it with unceasing attention, and when it dies it is first embalmed, and afterwards deposited in a sacred chest. They who lived in or near Elephantine, so far from considering these beasts as sacred, make them an article of food: they call them not crocodiles, but champsæ.[4] The name of crocodiles was first imposed by the Ionians, from their resemblance to lizards so named by them, which are produced in the hedges.

LXX. Among the various methods that are used to take the crocodile,[5] I shall only relate one which most deserves attention: they fix on a hook a piece of swine's flesh, and suffer it to float into the middle of the stream; on the banks they have a live hog, which they beat till it cries out. The crocodile hearing the noise makes towards it, and in the way encounters and devours the bait. They then draw it on shore, and the first thing they do is to fill its eyes with clay; it is thus easily manageable, which it otherwise would not be.

LXXI. The hippopotamus[6] is esteemed sa-

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the animal intended in the original, has given the image an erroneous reference to the magnitude rather than the brightness of its eyes.

> Large is his front, and when his burnish'd eyes
> Lift their broad lids, the morning seems to rise.
> *Dr. Aikin, Poetical Use of Nat. Hist.*

1 *Esteemed sacred.*]—On this subject we have the following singular story in Maximus Tyrius. An Egyptian woman brought up the young one of a crocodile. The Egyptians esteemed her singularly fortunate, and revered her as the nurse of a deity. The woman had a son about the same age with the crocodile, and they grew up and played together. No harm ensued whilst the crocodile was gentle from being weak; but when it got its strength it devoured the child. The woman exulted in the death of her son, and considered his fate as blessed in the extreme, in thus becoming the victim of their domestic god.—*T.*

2 *Treated as an enemy.*]—These were the people of Tentyra in particular, now called Dandera, they were famous for their intrepidity as well as art in overcoming crocodiles. For a particular account of their manner of treating them, see Pliny, book viii. chap. 25.—*T.*

3 *Ornaments from its ears.*]—This seems to suppose, that the crocodile has ears externally, nevertheless those which the Sultan sent to Louis the Fourteenth, and which the academy of sciences dissected, had none. They found in them indeed apertures of the ears placed below the eyes, but concealed and covered with skin, which had the appearance of two eye-lids entirely closed. When the animal was alive, and out of the water, these lids probably opened. However this may be, it was, as may be presumed, to these membranes that the ear-rings were fixed.—*Larcher.*

4 *Champsæ.*]—The crocodile had many names, such as carmin, souchus, campsa. This last signified an ark or receptacle.—*Bryant.*

5 *To take the crocodile.*]—The most common way of killing the crocodile is by shooting it. The ball must be directed towards the belly, where the skin is soft, and not armed with scales like the back. Yet they give an account of a method of catching them something like that which Herodotus relates. They make some animal cry at a distance from the river, and when the crocodile comes out they thrust a spear into his body, to which a rope is tied; they then let him go into the water to spend himself; and afterwards drawing him out, run a pole into his mouth, and jumping on his back tie his jaws together.—*Pococke.*

6 *The hippopotamus.*]—It is to be observed, that the hippopotamus and crocodile were symbols of the same purport: both related to the deluge, and however the Greeks might sometimes represent them, they were both in different places reverenced by the ancient Egyptians.—*Bryant*, who refers his reader on this subject to the Isis and Osiris of Plutarch.

The hippopotamus is generally supposed to be the behemoth of Scripture. Maillet says his skin is two fingers thick; and that it is so much the more difficult to kill it as there is only a small place in its forehead where it is vulnerable. Hasselquist classes it not with the amphibia but quadrupeds. It is an inveterate enemy to the crocodile, and kills it wherever it meets it. It never appears below the cataracts. The hide is a load for a camel: Maillet speaks of one which would have been a heavy load for four camels. He does great injury to the Egyptians, destroying in a very short time an entire field of corn or clover. Their manner of destroying it is too curious to be omitted: they place in his way a great quantity of peas; the beast filling himself with these, they occasion an intolerable thirst. Upon these he drinks large draughts of water, and the Egyptians afterwards find

ored in the district of Papremis, but in no other part of Egypt. I shall describe its nature and properties: it is a quadruped, its feet are cloven, and it has hoofs like an ox; the nose is short, but turned up, the teeth prominent; it resembles a horse in its mane, its tail, and its voice: it is of the size of a very large ox, and it has a skin so remarkably thick that when dried it is made into offensive weapons.

LXXII. The Nile also produces otters, which the Egyptians venerate, as they also do the fish called lepitodus, and the eel:[8] these are sacred to the Nile, as among the birds is one called the chenalopex.[9]

LXXIII. They have also another sacred bird, which, except in a picture, I have never seen: it is called the phœnix.[10] It is very uncommon even among themselves; for according to the Heliopolitans, it comes there but once in the course of five hundred years, and then only at the decease of the parent bird. If it bear any resemblance to its picture, the wings are partly of a gold and partly of a ruby colour, and its form and size perfectly like the eagle. They relate one thing of it which surpasses all credibility: they say that it comes from Arabia to the temple of the sun, bearing the dead body of its parent inclosed in myrrh, which it buries. It makes a ball of myrrh shaped like an egg, as large as it is able to carry, which it proves by experiment. This done it excavates the mass, into which it introduces the body of the dead bird; it again closes the aperture with myrrh, and the whole becomes the same weight as when composed entirely of myrrh; it then proceeds to Egypt to the temple of the sun.

LXXIV. In the vicinity of Thebes there are also sacred serpents,[11] not at all troublesome to men; they are very small, but have two horns on the top of the head. When they die, they are buried in the temple of Jupiter, to whom they are said to belong.

LXXV. There is a place in Arabia, near the city Butos, which I visited for the purpose of obtaining information concerning the winged serpent.[12] I saw here a prodigious quantity of

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him dead on the shore, blown up as if killed with the strongest poison. Pennant relates, in his Synopsis of Animals, other and more plausible means of taking this animal. Its voice is between the roaring of a bull and the braying of an elephant. It is at first interrupted with frequent short pauses, but may be heard at a great distance. The oftener he goes on shore, the better hopes have the Egyptians of a sufficient increase of the Nile. His food, they say, can be almost distinguished in his excrements. Pococke calls it a fish, and says that he was able to obtain little information concerning it.

I have asserted that this animal is generally allowed to be the behemoth of scripture; Mr. Bruce is of a contrary opinion, and believes the behemoth to be the elephant.—See his Travels, vol. v. p. 88.

The above particulars are compiled chiefly from Hasselquist, Maillet, and Pennant.—*T.*

8 *The eel.*]—Antiphanes in Athenæus, addressing himself to the Egyptians, says, "You adore the ox; I sacrifice to the gods. You reverence the eel as a very powerful deity; we consider it as the daintiest of food." Antiphanes, and the Greek writers, who amused themselves with ridiculing the religious ceremonies of Egypt, were doubtless ignorant of the motive which caused this particular fish to be proscribed. The flesh of the eel, and some other fish, thickened the blood, and by checking the perspiration excited all those maladies connected with the leprosy. The priests forbade the people to eat it, and to render their prohibitions more effectual, they pretended to regard these fish as sacred. M. Paw pretends that the Greeks have been in an error in placing the eel amongst the sacred fish, but I have always to say to that learned man, where are your proofs?—*Larcher.*

9 *Chenalopex.*]—This bird in figure greatly resembles the goose, but it has all the art and cunning of the fox.—*Larcher.*

10 *Phœnix.*]—From what is related of this bird the Phœnicians gave the name phœnix to the palm-tree, because when burnt down to the ground it springs up again fairer and stronger than ever.

The ancient Christians also refer to the phœnix, as a type of the resurrection.—*T.*

We find the following remark in Thomasius de Plagio Literario.

Herodotus in secundo ex historica Hecatæi Milesii narratione quamplurima verbis totidem exscripsisse dicitur, pauca quædam leviter ementitus, cujusmodi sunt, quæ de phœnice ave, deque fluviatili equo et crocodilorum venatione commemorat, p. 204.

As to what he may have borrowed from Hecatæus, nothing can be said, but the term 'leviter ementitus' does not appear to be candidly applicable to a writer who, in this book particularly, tells you in every page that he only relates the information he received, and who professedly regards the story of the phœnix as fabulous.—*T.*

11 *Sacred serpents.*]—The symbolical worship of the serpent was in the first ages very extensive, and was introduced into all the mysteries wherever celebrated. It is remarkable that wherever the Amonians founded any places of worship, there was generally some story of a serpent. There was a legend about a serpent at Colchis, at Thebes, and at Delphi, &c.—*Bryant.*

The Egyptians worshipped the goodness of the Creator under the name of Cneph. The symbol, according to Eusebius, was a serpent. "The serpent within a circle, touching it at the two opposite points of its circumference, signifies the good genius."

These serpents, honoured by the name of Haridi, still are famous, as treated by the priests of Achmin.—*Savary.*

We have already observed, that the serpent was a symbol of the sun, which the Egyptians gave a place in their sacred tables. Nor did they content themselves with placing the serpent with their gods, but often represented even the gods themselves with the body and tail of a serpent joined to their own head.—*Montfaucon.*

12 *Winged serpent.*]—We ought not to be too prompt either to believe, or the contrary, things which are uncommon. Although I have never seen winged serpents, I believe that they exist; for a Phrygian brought into

serpents' bones and ribs placed on heaps of different heights. The place itself is a strait betwixt two mountains, it opens upon a wide plain which communicates with Egypt. They affirm, that in the commencement of every spring these winged serpents fly from Arabia towards Egypt, but that the ibis[1] here meets and destroys them. The Arabians say, that in acknowledgment of this service the Egyptians hold the ibis in great reverence, which is not contradicted by that people.

LXXVI. One species of the ibis is entirely black, its beak remarkably crooked, its legs as large as those of a crane, and in size it resembles the crex: this is the enemy of the serpents. The second species is the most common: these have the head and the whole of the neck naked; the plumage is white, except that on the head, the neck, the extremities of the wings, and the tail, these are of a deep black colour, but the legs and the beak resemble in all respects those of the other species. The form of the flying and of the aquatic serpents is the same: the wings of the former are not feathered, but entirely like those of the bats. And thus I have finished my account of the sacred animals.

LXXVII. Those Egyptians who live in the cultivated parts of the country, are of all whom I have seen, the most ingenious, being attentive to the improvement of the memory[2] beyond the rest of mankind. To give some idea of their mode of life: for three days successively in every month they use purges, vomits, and clysters; this they do out of attention to their health,[3] being persuaded that the diseases of the body are occasioned by the different elements received as food. Besides this, we may venture to assert, that after the Africans there is no people in health and constitution[4] to be

Ionia a scorpion which had wings like those of the grasshopper.—*Pausanias.*

"The burden of the beasts of the south: into the land of trouble and anguish, from whence come the young and old lion, the viper, and fiery flying serpent, &c."—Isaiah, xxx. 6.

De serpentibus memorandi maxime, quos parvos admodum et veneni præsentis, certo anni tempore ex limo concretarum paludum emergere in magno examine volantes Egyptum tendere, atque in ipso introitu finium ab avibus quas ibidas appellant, adverso agmine excipi pugnaque confici traditum est.—*Pomponius Mela.*

1 *Ibis.*]—The ibis was a bird with a long neck and a crooked beak, not much unlike the stork; his legs were long and stiff, and when he put his head and neck under his wing, the figure he made, as Elian says, was something like a man's heart. It is said that the use of clysters was first found out from observations made of this bird's applying that remedy to himself, by the help of his long neck and beak. It is reported of it, that it could live no where but in Egypt, but would pine itself to death if transported to another country.—*Montfaucon.*

In contradiction to the above M. Larcher informs us, that one was kept for several years in the menagerie at Versailles.—*T.*

Hasselquist calls the ardea ibis, the ibis of the ancient Egyptians, because it is very common in Egypt, and almost peculiar to that country: because it eats and destroys serpents; and because the urns found in sepulchres contain a bird of this size: it is of the size of a raven hen.

2 *Of the memory.*]—The invention of local memory is ascribed to Simonides. "Much," says Cicero, "do I thank Simonides of Chios, who first of all invented the art of memory." Simonides is by some authors affirmed to have taken medicines to acquire this accomplishment.—*See Bayle,* article *Simonides.*

Mr. Hume remarks, that the faculty of memory was much more valued in ancient times than at present; that there is scarce any great genius celebrated in antiquity, who is not celebrated for this talent, and it is enumerated by Cicero amongst the sublime qualities of Cæsar.—*T.*

3 *Their health, &c.*]—This assertion was true previous to the time of Herodotus, and a long time afterwards; but when they began to neglect the canals, the water putrefied, and the vapours which were exhaled rendering the air of Egypt very unhealthy, malignant fevers soon began to appear: these became epidemical, and these vapours concentrating and becoming every day more pestilential, finally caused that dreadful malady known by the name of the plague. It was not so before canals were sunk at all, or as long as they were kept in good order: but probably that part of Lower Egypt which inclines to Elearchis has never been healthy.—*Larcher.*

4 *Health and constitution.*]—It is of this country, which seems to have been regarded by nature with a favourable eye, that the gods have made a sort of terrestrial paradise.—The air there is more pure and excellent than in any other part of the world; the women, and the females of other species, are more fruitful than any where else; the lands are more productive. As the men there commonly enjoy perfect health, the trees and plants never lose their verdure, and the fruits are always delicious or at least salutary. It is true, that this air, good as it is, is subject to be corrupted in some proportion to other climates. It is even bad in those parts where, when the inundations of the Nile have been very great, this river in returning to its channel, leaves marshy places, which infect the country round about: the dew is also very dangerous in Egypt.—*Quoted from Maillet, by Harmer in his Observations on Scripture.*

Pococke says, that the dew of Egypt occasions very dangerous disorders in the eyes; but he adds, that they have the plague very rarely in Egypt, unless brought by infection to Alexandria, where it does not commonly spread. Some suppose that this distemper breeds in temperate weather, and that excessive cold and heat stops it: so that they have it not in Constantinople in winter, nor in Egypt in summer. The air of Cairo in particular is not thought to be wholesome; the people are much subject to fluxes, and troubled with ruptures; the small-pox also is common, but not dangerous; pulmonary diseases are unknown. Savary speaks in high terms of the healthiness of the climate, but allows that the season from February to the end of May is unhealthy. Volney, who contradicts Savary in most of his assertions, confirms what he says of the climate of Egypt.—*T.*

compared with the Egyptians. To this advantage the climate, which is here subject to no variations, may essentially contribute: changes of all kinds, and those in particular of the seasons, promote and occasion the maladies of the body. To their bread, which they make with spelt, they give the name of cyllestis: they have no vines[5] in the country, but they drink a liquor fermented from barley;[6] they live principally upon fish, either salted[7] or dried in the sun; they eat also quails,[8] ducks, and some smaller birds, without other preparation than first salting them; but they roast and boil such other birds and fishes as they have, excepting those which are preserved for sacred purposes.

LXXVIII. At the entertainments of the rich, just as the company is about to rise from the repast, a small coffin is carried round, containing a perfect representation of a dead body; it is in size sometimes of one but never of more than two cubits, and as it is shown to the guests in rotation, the bearer exclaims, "Cast your eyes on this figure, after death you yourself will resemble it; drink then, and be happy."—Such are the customs they observe at entertainments.

LXXIX. They contentedly adhere to the customs of their ancestors, and are averse to foreign manners.[9] Among other things which claim our approbation, they have a song,[10] which

5 *No vines.*]—That there must have been vines in some parts of Egypt, is evident from the following passage in the book of Numbers: "And wherefore have ye made us to come up out of Egypt, to bring us in unto this evil place? it is no place of seed or of figs, *or of vines*, or of pomegranates; neither is there any water to drink." Larcher therefore supposes Herodotus to speak only of that part of Egypt where corn was cultivated. Again, in the Psalms, we have this passage: "He destroyed their vines with hailstones." Egypt, however, certainly never was a wine country, nor is it now productive of a quantity adequate to the wants of the inhabitants.

The Greeks were wrong, says Savary, in wishing to establish a perfect resemblance betwixt Bacchus and Osiris. The first was honoured as the author of the vine; but the Egyptians, far from attributing its culture to Osiris, held wine in abhorrence. "The Egyptians," says Plutarch, "never drank wine before the time of Psammitichus; they held this liquor to be the blood of the giants, who having made war on the gods, and perished in battle, and that the vine sprang from the earth mingled with their blood; nor did they offer it in libations, thinking it odious to the gods." Whence the oriental aversion for wine originated, it would be difficult to say, but exist it did, which probably was one reason why it was forbidden by Mahomet. Perhaps we should seek for the cause in the curse of Noah, pronounced upon Ham, who insulted his father finding him drunk.—*Savary.*

In the time of Homer the vine grew wild in the island of Sicily, but it was not improved by the skill, nor did it afford a liquor grateful to the taste of the savage inhabitants.—*Gibbon.*

Of the small quantity of wine made anciently in Egypt, some was carried to Rome, and according to Maillet, was the third in esteem of their wines.

6 *Fermented from barley.*]—See a Dissertation on Barley Wine, before alluded to, where, amongst a profusion of witty and humorous remarks, much real information is communicated on this subject.—*T.*

The most vulgar people make a sort of beer of barley, without being malted; they put something in it to make it intoxicate, and call it *bouzy:* they make it ferment; it is thick and sour, and will not keep longer than three or four days.—*Pococke.*

The invention of this liquor of barley is universally attributed to Osiris.—*T.*

An Englishman may in this place be excused, if he assert with some degree of pride, that the "wine of barley" made in this country, or in other words British beer is superior to what is made in any other part of the world: the beer of Bremen is however deservedly famous. It has been asserted by some that our brewers throw dead dogs flayed into the wort, and boil them till the flesh is all consumed. "Others," say the authors of the Encyclopædia Britannica, "more equitable, attribute the excellency of our beer to the quality of our malt and water, and skill of our brewers."

7 *Salted.*]—A distinction must here be observed betwixt sea-salt and fossil-salt: the Egyptians abhorred the former, but made no scruple of using the latter.

8 *Quails.*]—"The quails of Egypt are esteemed a great delicacy, are of the size of a turtle dove, and called by Hasselquist, tetrao Israelitarum." A dispute, however, has arisen amongst the learned, whether the food of the Israelites in the desert was a bird; many suppose that they fed on locusts. Their immense quantities seem to form an argument in favour of this latter opinion, not easily to be set aside; to which may be added, that the Arabs at the present day eat locusts when fresh, and esteem them when salted a great delicacy.—*T.*

9 *Averse to foreign manners.*]—The attachment of the Egyptians to their country has been a frequent subject of remark; it is nevertheless singular, that great numbers of them anciently lived as servants in other lands. Mr. Harmer observes, that Hagar was an Egyptian, with many others; and that it will not be easy to pick out from the Old Testament accounts an equal number of servants of other countries, that lived in foreign lands mentioned there.—*T.*

10 *They have a song.*]—Linus, says Diodorus Siculus, was the first inventer of melody amongst the Greeks. We are told by Athenæus, that the strain called Linus was very melancholy. Linus was supposed to have been the first lyric poet in Greece, and was the master of Orpheus, Thamyris, and Hercules.

Plutarch, from Heraclides of Pontus, mentions certain dirges as composed by Linus; his death gave rise to a number of songs in honour of his memory: to these Homer is supposed to allude in the following lines:

> To these a youth awakes the warbling strings,
> Whose tender lay the fate of Linus sings,
> In measured dance behind him move the train,
> Tune soft the voice, and answer to the strain.—*Pope.*

Song in Greece is supposed to have preceded the use of letters.—Not only the Egyptians, but the Hebrews, Arabians, Assyrians, Persians, and Indians had their national songs.

is also used in Phœnicia, Cyprus, and other places, where it is differently named. Of all the things which astonished me in Egypt, nothing more perplexed me than my curiosity to know whence the Egyptians learned this song, so entirely resembling the Linus of the Greeks; it is of the remotest antiquity among them, and they call it Maneros. They have a tradition that Maneros was the only son of their first monarch; and that having prematurely died, they instituted these melancholy strains in his honour, constituting their first and in earlier times their only song.

LXXX. The Egyptians surpass all the Greeks, the Lacedæmonians excepted, in the reverence [1] which they pay to age; if a young person met his senior, he instantly turns aside to make way for him; if a senior enter an apartment, the youth always rise from their seats; this ceremony is observed by no other of the Greeks. When the Egyptians meet they do not speak, but make a profound reverence, bowing with the hand down to the knee.

LXXXI. Their habit, which they call calasiris,[2] is made of linen, and fringed at the bottom; over this they throw a kind of shawl made of white wool, but in these vests of wool they are forbidden by their religion either to be buried or to enter any sacred edifice; this is a peculiarity of those ceremonies which are called Orphic [3] and Pythagorean:[4] whoever has been initiated into these mysteries can never be interred in a vest of wool, for which a sacred reason is assigned.

LXXXII. Of the Egyptians it is further memorable, that they first imagined what month or day was to be consecrated to each deity; they also from observing the days of nativity,[5] venture to predict the particular circumstances of a man's life and death: this is done by the poets of Greece, but the Egyptians have certainly discovered more things that are wonderful than all the rest of mankind. Whenever any

Montaigne has preserved an original Caribbean song, which he does not hesitate to declare worthy of Anacreon.

"Oh, snake, stay; stay, O snake, that my sister may draw from the pattern of thy painted skin the fashion and work of a rich ribbon, which I mean to present to my mistress: so may thy beauty and thy disposition be preferred to all other serpents. Oh snake, stay!" *Ritson's Essay on National Song.*

1 *Reverence, &c.*]—The following story is related by Valerius Maximus: An old Athenian going to the theatre, was not able to find a place amongst his countrymen; coming by accident where the ambassadors from Sparta were sitting, they all respectfully rose, and gave him the place of honour amongst them. The people were loud in their applause, which occasioned a Spartan to remark, that the Athenians were not ignorant of virtue, though they forbore to practise it.

Juvenal, reprobating the dissipation and profligacy of the times in which he lived, expresses himself thus:

Credebant hoc grande nefas et morte piandum
Si juvenis vetulo non assurrexerat, et si
Barbato cuicunque puer.

As if the not paying a becoming reverence to age was the highest mark of degeneracy which could be shown.

Savary tells his readers, that the reverence here mentioned is at this day in Egypt exhibited on every occasion to those advanced in years. Various modes of testifying respect are adopted amongst different nations, but this of rising from the seat seems to be in a manner instinctive, and to prevail every where.

2 *Calasiris.*]—This calasiris they wore next the skin, and it seems to have served them both for shirt and habit, it being the custom of the Egyptians to go lightly clothed; it appears also to have been in use amongst the Greeks.—See Montfaucon. Pococke, with other modern travellers, informs us that the dress of the Egyptians seems to have undergone very little change; the most simple dress being only a long shirt with wide sleeves, tied about the middle. When they performed any religious offices, we find from Herodotus, they were clothed only in linen; and at this day when the Egyptians enter a mosque they put on a white garment; which circumstance, Pococke remarks, might probably give rise to the use of the surplice. To this simplicity of dress in the men, it appears that the dress of the females, in costliness and magnificence, exhibits a striking contrast.—*T.*

3 *Orphic.*]—Those initiated into Orpheus's mysteries were called Orpheolelestai, who assured all admitted into their society of certain felicity after death: which when Philip, one of that order, but miserably poor and indigent, boasted of, Leotychidas the Spartan replied, "Why do you not die then, you fool, and put an end to your misfortunes together with your life?" At their initiation little else was required of them besides an oath of secrecy.—*Potter.*

So little do we know about Orpheus, that Aristotle does not scruple to question his existence. The celebrated Orphic verses cited by Justin are judged by Dr. Jortin to be forgeries.

4 *Pythagorean.*]—To be minute in our account of the school of Pythagoras, would perhaps be trifling with the patience of some readers, whilst to pass it over without any notice might give offence to others. Born at Samos, he travelled to various countries, but Egypt was the great source from which he derived his knowledge. On his return to his country, he was followed by numbers of his disciples; from hence came a crowd of legislators, philosophers, and scholars, the pride of Greece. To the disciples of Pythagoras the world is doubtless indebted for the discovery of numbers, of the principles of music, of physics, and of morals.—*T.*

5 *Days of nativity.*]—Many illustrious characters have in all countries given way to this weakness; but that such a man as Dryden should place confidence in such prognostications, cannot fail to impress the mind with convictions of the melancholy truth, that the most exalted talents are seldom without their portion of infirmity.

Casting their nativity, or by calculation seeking to know how long the queen should live, was made felony by act of the 23d of Elizabeth.

Sully also was marked by this weakness; and Richelieu and Mazarin kept an astrologer in pay.—See an ingenious Essay upon the Dæmon of Socrates.

unusual circumstance occurs, they commit the particulars to writing, and mark the events which follow it: if they afterwards observe any similar incident, they conclude that the result will be similar also.

LXXXIII. The art of divination[6] in Egypt is confined to certain of their deities. There are in this country oracles of Hercules, of Apollo, of Minerva and Diana, of Mars, and of Jupiter; but the oracle of Latona at Butos is held in greater estimation than any of the rest: the oracular communication is regulated by no fixed system, but is differently obtained in different places.

LXXXIV. The art of medicine[7] in Egypt is thus exercised: one physician is confined to the study and management of one disease; there are of course a great number who practise this art; some attend to disorders of the eyes, others to those of the head; some take care of the teeth, others are conversant with all diseases of the bowels; whilst many attend to the cure of maladies which are less conspicuous.

LXXXV. With respect to their funerals and ceremonies of mourning; whenever a man of any importance dies, the females of his family,[8] disfiguring their heads and faces with dirt, leave the corpse in the house, and run publicly about, accompanied by their female relations, with their garments in disorder, their breasts exposed, and beating themselves severely: the men on their parts do the same, after which the body is carried to the embalmers.[9]

LXXXVI. There are certain persons legally appointed to the exercise of this profession. When a dead body is brought them, they exhibit to the friends of the deceased different models highly finished in wood. The most perfect of these they say resembles one whom I do not think it religious to name in such a matter; the second is of less price, and inferior in point of execution: another is still more mean; they then inquire after which model the deceased shall be represented: when the price is determined, the relations retire, and the embalmers thus proceed:—In the most perfect specimens of their art, they draw the brain through the nostrils, partly with a piece of crooked iron, and partly by the infusion of drugs; they then with an Ethiopian stone make an incision in the side, through which

6 *Art of divination.*]—Of such high importance was this art anciently esteemed, that no military expedition was undertaken without the presence of one or more of these diviners.

7 *Art of medicine.*]—It is remarkable, with regard to medicine, that none of the sciences sooner arrived at perfection; for in the space of two thousand years, elapsed since the time of Hippocrates, there has scarcely been added a new aphorism to those of that great man, notwithstanding all the care and application of so many ingenious men as have since studied that science.—*Dutens.*

With respect to the state of chirurgery amongst the ancients, a perusal of Homer alone will be sufficient to satisfy every candid reader, that their knowledge and skill was far from contemptible. Celsus gives an exact account and description of the operation for the stone, which implies both a knowledge of anatomy, and some degree of perfection in the art of instrument-making.

The three qualities, says Bayle, of a good physician, are probity, learning, and good fortune; and whoever peruses the oath which anciently every professor of medicine was obliged to take, must both acknowledge its merits as a composition, and admire the amiable disposition which it inculcates.—*T.*

8 *Females of the family.*]—"I was awakened before day-break by the same troop of women; their dismal cries suited very well with the lonely hour of the night. This mourning lasts for the space of seven days, during which interval the female relations of the deceased make a tour through the town morning and night, beating their breasts, throwing ashes on their heads, and displaying every artificial token of sorrow."—*Irwin.*

The assembling together of multitudes to the place where persons have lately expired, and bewailing them in a noisy manner, is a custom still retained in the east, and seems to be considered as an honour due to the deceased.—*Harmer.*—This gentleman relates a curious circumstance corroborative of the above, from the MS. of Chardin; see vol. ii. 136.

9 *Embalmers.*]—The following remarks on the subject of embalming are compiled from different writers.

The Jews embalmed their dead, but instead of emboweling, were contented with an external unction. The present way in Egypt, according to Maillet, is to wash the body repeatedly with rose-water.

A modern Jew has made an objection to the history of the New Testament, that the quantity of spices used by Joseph and Nicodemus on the body of Christ, was enough for two hundred dead bodies.

Diodorus Siculus is very minute on this subject: after describing the expense and ceremony of embalming, he adds, that the relations of the deceased, till the body was buried, used neither the baths, wine, delicate food, nor fine clothes.

In the Philosophical Transactions for 1764, a particular account is given of the examination of a mummy.

Diodorus Siculus describes three methods of embalming, with the first of which our author does not appear to have been acquainted. The form and appearance of the whole body was so well preserved, that the deceased might be known by their features.

The Romans had the art of embalming as well as the Egyptians; and if what is related of them be true, this art had arrived to greater perfection in Rome than in Egypt.—*See Montfaucon.*

A modern author remarks, that the numberless mummies which still endure, after so long a course of ages, ought to ascertain to the Egyptians the glory of having carried chemistry to a degree of perfection attained but by few. Some moderns have attempted by certain preparations to preserve dead bodies entire, but to no purpose.—*T.*

they extract the intestines;[1] these they cleanse thoroughly, washing them with palm-wine, and afterwards covering them with pounded aromatics: they then fill the body with powder of pure myrrh,[2] cassia, and other perfumes, except frankincense. Having sown up the body, it is covered with nitre[3] for the space of seventy days,[4] which time they may not exceed; at the end of this period it is washed, closely wrapped in bandages of cotton,[5] dipped in a gum,[6] which the Egyptians use as glue: it is then returned to the relations, who inclose the body in a case of wood, made to resemble a human figure, and place it against the wall in the repository of their dead. The above is the most costly mode of embalming.

LXXXVII. They who wish to be less expensive, adopt the following method: they neither draw out the intestines, nor make any incision in the dead body, but inject an unguent made from the cedar; after taking proper means to secure the injected oil within the body, it is covered with nitre for the time above specified:[7] on the last day they withdraw the liquor before introduced, which brings with it all the bowels and intestines; the nitre eats away the flesh, and the skin and bones only remain: the body is returned in this state, and no further care taken concerning it.

LXXXVIII. There is a third mode of embalming appropriated to the poor. A particular kind of ablution[8] is made to pass through the body, which is afterwards left in nitre for the above seventy days, and then returned.

LXXXIX. The wives of men of rank, and such females as have been distinguished by their beauty or importance, are not immediately on their decease delivered to the embalmers: they are usually kept for three or four days, which is done to prevent any indecency being offered to their persons. An instance once occurred of an embalmer's gratifying his lust on the body of a female lately dead: the crime was divulged by a fellow artist.

XC. If an Egyptian or foreigner be found, either destroyed by a crocodile or drowned in the water, the city nearest which the body is discovered, is obliged to embalm and pay it every respectful attention, and afterwards deposit it in some consecrated place; no friend or relation is suffered to interfere, the whole process is conducted by the Priests of the Nile,[9] who bury it themselves with a respect to which a lifeless corpse would hardly seem entitled.

XCI. To the customs of Greece they express aversion, and to say the truth, to those of all other nations. This remark applies, with only one exception, to every part of Egypt.

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1 *Intestines.*]—Porphyry informs us what afterwards becomes of these: they are put into a chest, and one of the embalmers makes a prayer for the deceased, addressed to the sun, the purport of which is to signify that if the conduct of the deceased has during his life been at all criminal, it must have been on account of these; the embalmer then points to the chest, which is afterwards thrown into the river.—*T.*

2 *Myrrh, &c.*]—Instead of myrrh and cassia, the Jews in embalming used myrrh and aloes.—*T.*

3 *Nitre.*]—Larcher says, this was not of the nature of our nitre, but a fixed alkaline salt.

4 *Seventy days.*]—"If the nitre or natrum had been suffered," says Larcher, "to remain for a longer period, it would have attacked the solid or fibrous parts, and dissolved them; if it had been a neutral salt, like our nitre, this precaution would not have been necessary."

5 *Cotton.*]—By the byssus cotton seems clearly to be meant, "which," says Larcher, "was probably consecrated by their religion to the purpose of embalming." Mr. Greaves asserts, that these bandages in which the mummies were involved were of linen; but he appears to be mistaken. There are two species of this plant, annual and perennial, it was the latter which was cultivated in Egypt.

6 *Gum.*]—This was gum arabic. Pococke says it is produced from the acacia, which is very common in Egypt, the same as the acacia called *cyale* in Arabia Petræa: in Egypt it is called *sount.*

7 *Time above specified.*]—According to Irwin, the time of mourning of the modern Egyptians is only seven days: the Jews in the time of Moses mourned thirty days. The mourning for Jacob, we find from Genesis, chap. i. 3, was the time here prescribed for the process of embalming: but how are we to explain the preceding verses?

"And Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father, and the physicians embalmed Israel. "And forty days were fulfilled for him; (for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed) and the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days."—*T.*

8 *Ablution.*]—The particular name of this ablution is in the original *surmaia*, some believe it a composition of salt and water; the word occurs again in chap. cxxv. where it signifies a radish.

9 *Priests of the Nile.*]—That the Nile was esteemed and worshipped as a god, having cities, priests, festivals, and sacrifices consecrated to it, is sufficiently evident.—"No god," says Plutarch, "is more solemnly worshipped than the Nile."—"The grand festival of the Nile," says Heliodorus, "was the most solemn festival of the Egyptians: they regard him as the rival of heaven, since without clouds or rain he waters the lands."

The memory of these ancient superstitions is still preserved, and is seen in the great pomp with which the canal of Grand Cairo is opened every year. It appears also from the representations of modern travellers, that the Egyptian women bathe in the Nile at the time of its beginning to rise, to express their veneration for the benefits it confers on their country. Irwin tells us, that a sacred procession along the banks of the Nile is annually made by women on the first visible rise of the river.

Chemmis[10] is a place of considerable note in the Thebaid, it is near Neapolis, and remarkable for a temple of Perseus[11] the son of Danae. This temple is of a square figure, and surrounded with palm-trees. The vestibule, which is very spacious, is constructed of stone, and on the summit are placed two large marble statues. Within the consecrated enclosure stand the shrine and statue of Perseus, who, as the inhabitants affirm, often appears in the country and the temple. They sometimes find one of his sandals, which are of the length of two cubits, and whenever this happens, fertility reigns through Egypt. Public games, after the manner of the Greeks, are celebrated in his honour. Upon this occasion they have every variety of gymnastic exercise. The rewards of the conquerors are cattle, vests, and skins.[12] I was once induced to inquire why Perseus made his appearance to them alone, and why they were distinguished from the rest of Egypt by the celebration of gymnastic exercises?[13] They informed me in return, that Perseus was a native of their country, as were also Danaus and Lynceus, who made a voyage into Greece, and from whom, in regular succession, they related how Perseus was descended. This hero visited Egypt for the purpose, as the Greeks also affirm, of carrying from Africa the Gorgon's head.[14] Happening to come among them, he saw and was known to his relations. The name of Chemmis he had previously known from his mother, and himself instituted the games which they continued to celebrate.

XCII. These which I have described, are the manners of those Egyptians who live in the higher parts of the country. They who inhabit the marshy grounds differ in no material instance. Like the Greeks, they confine themselves to one wife.[15] To procure themselves more easily the means of sustenance, they make

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10 *Chemmis.*]—The Egyptians called this place Chemmo. Chemmis seems to be a Greek termination; it is the same place with Panopolis. Plutarch informs us, that Pans and Satyrs once dwelt near Chemmis, which tradition probably arose from the circumstance of the worship of Pan commencing first in this place.—*Larcher.*

I suppose Akmim to have been Panopolis, famous of old for workers in stone, and for the linen manufactures; at present they make coarse cotton here. It appears plainly from Diodorus, that this place is what was called Chemmis by Herodotus. It is now the place of residence of the prince of Akmim, who has the title of emir or prince, and is as a sheik of the country.—*Pococke.*

11 *Perseus*]—Was one of the most ancient heroes in the mythology of Greece. The history of Perseus came apparently from Egypt. Herodotus more truly represents him as an Assyrian, by which is meant a Babylonian (book vi. 54.) He resided in Egypt, and is said to have reigned at Memphis. To say the truth, he was worshipped there, for Perseus was a title of the deity. Perseus was no other than the sun, the chief god of the gentile world. On this account he had a temple at Chemmis, Memphis, and in other parts of Egypt. His true name was Perez or Parez, rendered Peresis, Perses, and Perseus; and in the account given of this personage we have the history of the Peresians, Parrhasians, and Perezites in their several peregrinations.—*Bryant.*

12 *Skins.*]—To prove that skins were in ancient times distributed as prizes at games, Wesseling quotes the following lines from Homer:

——οὐχ ἱερήϊον, οὐδὲ ΒΟΕΙΗΝ
Ἀρνύσθην ἅτε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν,

which literally means, "They did not attempt to gain a victim, or the *skin of an ox*, the prize of the racers."

Which Pope, entirely omitting the more material circumstance of the sentence, very erroneously renders thus:

No vulgar prize they play,
No vulgar victim must reward the day,
(Such as in races crown the speedy strife.)—*T.*

13 *Gymnastic exercises.*]—These were five in number. They began with the foot race, which was the most ancient. The second was leaping with weights in the hand; and mention is made in Pausanias of a man who leaped fifty-two feet. The third was wrestling: the victor was required to throw his adversary three times. The fourth was the disk; and the fifth boxing. This last was sometimes with the naked fist, and sometimes with the cæstus.—*T.*

14 *Gorgon's head.*]—The Gorgons were three in number, sisters, the daughters of Phorcys, a sea-god, and Ceto, of whom Medusa was the chief, or according to some authors the only one who was mortal. Her story is this: Independent of her other accomplishments, her golden hair was so very beautiful that it captivated the god Neptune, who enjoyed her person in the temple of Minerva. The goddess in anger changed her hair into snakes, the sight of which transformed the spectators into stones. From the union of Medusa with Neptune Pegasus was born; but after that no one with impunity could look at Medusa. Perseus, borrowing the wings of Mercury, and the shield of Minerva, came suddenly upon her when she and her snakes were asleep, and cut off her head.

But in every circumstance of the mythology of the Gorgons, there is great disagreement in different ancient authors: according to some the blood of Medusa alone produced Pegasus.

The head of Medusa frequently exercised the skill of the more ancient artists, who, notwithstanding what is mentioned above, sometimes represented it as exceedingly beautiful.

The following description of the daughters of Phorcys, and of the Gorgons, I give from the Prometheus Vinctus of Æschylus, in the animated version of Potter:

Thou shalt come to the Gorgonian plains
Of Cisthine, where dwell the swan-like forms
Of Phorcys' daughters, bent and white with age;
One common eye have these, one common tooth
And never does the sun with cheerful ray
Visit them darkling, nor the moon's pale orb
That silvers o'er the night. The Gorgons nigh,
Their sisters, these spread their broad wings, and wreath
Their horrid hair with serpents, fiends abhorr'd,
Whom never mortal could behold and live.

15 *To one wife.*]—Modern travellers inform us, that although the Mahometan law allows every man to have four wives, many are satisfied with one.

use of the following expedient: when the waters have risen to their extremest height, and all their fields are overflowed, there appears above the surface an immense quantity of plants of the lily species, which the Egyptians call the lotos:[1] having cut down these, they dry them in the sun. The seed of the flower, which resembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread; they also eat the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavour, and about the size of an apple. There is a second species of the lotos, which grows in the Nile, and which is not unlike a rose. The fruit, which grows from the bottom of the root, resembles a wasp's nest: it is found to contain a number of kernels of the size of an olive-stone, which are very grateful, either fresh or dried. Of the byblus, which is an annual plant, after taking it from a marshy place, where it grows, they cut off the tops, and apply them to various uses. They eat or sell what remains, which is nearly a cubit in length. To make this a still greater delicacy, there are many who previously roast it. With a considerable part of this people fish constitutes the principal article of food: they dry it in the sun, and eat it without other preparation.

XCIII. Those fishes which are gregarious seldom multiply in the Nile, they usually propagate in the lakes. At the season of spawning they move in vast multitudes towards the sea: the males lead the way, and emit the engendering principle in their passage; this the females absorb as they follow, and in consequence conceive. As soon as the seminal matter has had its proper operation, they leave the sea, return up the river, and endeavour to regain their accustomed haunts. The mode, however, of their passage is reversed, the females lead the way, whilst the males follow. The females do now what the males did before, they drop their spawn, resembling small grains of millet, which the males eagerly devour. Every particle of this contains a small fish, and each which escapes the males regularly increases till it becomes a fish. Of these fish, such as are taken in their passage towards the sea are observed to have the left part of their heads depressed, which on their return is observed of their right. The cause of this is obvious: as they pass to the sea they rub themselves against the banks on the left side; as they return they keep closely to the same bank, and in both instances press against it, that they may not be obliged to deviate from their course by the current of the stream. As the Nile gradually rises, the water first fills those cavities of the land which are nearest the river. As soon as these are saturated, an abundance of small fry may be discovered. The cause of their increase may perhaps be thus explained: when the Nile ebbs, the fish, which in the preceding season had deposited their spawn in the mud, retreated reluctantly with the stream; but at the proper season, when the river flows, this spawn is matured into fish.

XCIV. The inhabitants of the marshy grounds make use of an oil, which they term kiki, expressed from the Sillicyprian plant. In Greece this plant springs spontaneously without any cultivation, but the Egyptians sow it on the banks of the river, and of the canals; it there produces fruit in great abundance, but of

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"The equality in the number of males and females born into the world intimates," says Mr. Paley, "the intention of God, that one woman should be assigned to one man."

"From the practice of polygamy permitted among the Turks," says Volney, "the men are enervated very early; and nothing is more common than to hear men of thirty complaining of impotence. But still it is no new remark, that the conversion of infidels is retarded by the prohibition of more wives than one."

That the Greeks did not always confine themselves to one wife we learn from certain authority. Euripides was known to be a woman-hater, "but," says Hume, "it was because he was coupled to two noisy vixens." The reader will find many ingenious remarks and acute reasonings in Hume's 19th essay on polygamy and divorces.—*T.*

1 *Lotos.*]—The lotos is an aquatic plant peculiar to Egypt, which grows in rivulets, and by the side of lakes. There are two species, the one bearing a white the other a bluish flower. The root of the first species is round, resembling a potatoe, and is eaten by the inhabitants who live near the lake Menzala.—*Savary.*

The lotos is of the lily species. We find this singular remark in the Memoire sur Venus:—Le lys etoit odieux a Venus parce qu'il lui disputoit la beaute. Aussi pour s'en venger fit-elle croitre au milieu de ses petales le membre de l'ane." The above is translated from the Alexipharmaca of Nicander.—*T.*

The byblus or papyrus the ancients converted to a great variety of uses, for particulars of which consult Pliny and Strabo. It is a rush, and grows to the height of eight or nine feet; it is now very scarce in Egypt, for Hasselquist makes no mention of it. The use of the papyrus for books was not found out till after the building of Alexandria. As anciently books were rolled up, the nature of the papyrus made it very convenient for this purpose. They wrote upon the inner skins of the stalk. From papyrus comes our English word paper.—*T.*

See in Homer, Odys. ix. 94, the extraordinary effects imputed to the eating of the lotos.

> The trees around them all their food produce,
> Lotos the name divine, nectareous juice,
> Thence called Lotophagi, which whoso tastes
> Insatiate riots in the sweet repast:
> Nor other home, nor other care intends,
> But quits his home, his country, and his friends.

a very strong odour; when gathered they obtain from it, either by friction or pressure, an unctuous liquid, which diffuses an offensive smell, but for burning is equal in quality to the oil of olives.

XCV. The Egyptians are provided with a remedy against gnats, of which there are a surprising number. As the wind will not suffer these insects to rise far from the ground, the inhabitants of the higher part of the country usually sleep in turrets. They who live in the marshy grounds use this substitute; each person has a net, with which they fish by day, and which they render useful by night. They cover their beds with their nets,[2] and sleep securely beneath them. If they slept in their common habits, or under linen, the gnats would not fail to torment them, which they do not even attempt through a net.

XCVI. Their vessels of burden are constructed of a species of thorn, which resembles the lotos of Cyrene, and which distils a gum. From this thorn they cut planks about two cubits square: after disposing these in the from of bricks, and securing them strongly together, they place from side to side benches for the rowers. They do not use timber artificially carved, but bend the planks together with the bark of the byblus made into ropes. They have one rudder,[3] which goes through the keel of the vessel; their mast is made of the same thorn, and the sails are formed from the byblus. These vessels are haled along by land, for unless the wind be very favourable they can make no way against the stream. When they go with the current, they throw from the head of the vessel a hurdle made of tamarisk, fastened together with reeds; they have also a perforated stone of the weight of two talents, this is let fall at the stern, secured by a rope. The name of this kind of bark is baris,[4] which the above hurdle, impelled by the tide, draws swiftly along. The stone at the stern regulates its motion. They have immense numbers of these vessels, and some of them of the burden of many thousand talents.

XCVII. During the inundation of the Nile, the cities only are left conspicuous, appearing above the waters like the islands of the Ægean sea. As long as the flood continues, vessels do not confine themselves to the channel of the river, but traverse the fields and the plains. They who then go from Naucratis to Memphis, pass by the pyramids; this, however, is not the usual course, which lies through the point of the Delta, and the city of Cercasorus. If from the sea and the town of Canopus, the traveller desires to go by the plains to Naucratis, he must pass by Anthilla[5] and Archandros.

XCVIII. Of these places Anthilla is the most considerable: whoever may be sovereign of Egypt, it is assigned perpetually as part of the revenues of the queen, and appropriated to the particular purpose of providing her with sandals; this has been observed ever since Egypt was tributary to Persia. I should suppose that the other city derives its name from Archander, the son of Pthius, son-in-law of Danaus, and grandson of Achæus. There may probably have been some other Archander, for the name is certainly not Egyptian.

XCIX. All that I have hitherto asserted has been the result of my own personal remarks or diligent inquiry. I shall now proceed to relate what I learned from conversing with Egyptians, to which I shall occasionally add what I myself have witnessed.—Menes, the first sovereign of Egypt, as I was informed by the priests, effectually detached the ground on which Memphis[6] stands from the

2 *With their nets.*]—In the countries of the east, it is at present a common practice to cover their beds with nets, by way of protection from the flies and other insects.

3 *One rudder.*]—When Herodotus observes in this place, that these vessels had *one* rudder, it looks as if other ships had two.—See Claudian, cens. Hor. vi. 132:

Qualis piratica puppis
Orta gubernaculis.

Diod. l. lxxv. p. 845, mentions five hundred ships which had one rudder at the stern and another at the prow.—*Jortin.*

But Dr. Jortin must have seen abundant proof in ancient authors, that this was not usual: such might easily be produced.

4 *Baris.*]—Part of the ceremony in most of the ancient mysteries consisted in carrying about a kind of ship or boat; which custom, upon due examination, will be found to relate to nothing else but Noah and the deluge. The ship of Isis is well known. The name of this, and of all the navicular shrines, was Baris; which is very remarkable, for it was the very name of the mountain, according to Nicolas Damascenus, on which the ark of Noah rested.—*Bryant.*

5 *Anthilla*]—Was probably the same place with Gynæcopolis; the superior excellence of its wines made it in after-times celebrated.—*Larcher.*

6 *Memphis.*]—Authors are exceedingly divided about the site of ancient Memphis. The opinions of a few of the more eminent are subjoined.

Diodorus Siculus differs from Herodotus with regard to the founder. "Uchoreus," says he, "built the city of Memphis, which is the most illustrious of all the cities of Egypt."

water. Before his time the river flowed entirely along the sandy mountain on the side of Africa. But this prince, by constructing a bank at the distance of a hundred stadia from Memphis, towards the south, diverted the course of the Nile,[1] and led it, by means of a new canal, through the centre of the mountains. And even at the present period, under the dominion of the Persians, this artificial channel is annually repaired, and regularly defended. If the river were here once to break its banks, the town of Memphis would be inevitably ruined. It was the same Menes who, upon the solid ground thus rescued from the water, first built the town now known by the name of Memphis, which is situate in the narrowest part of Egypt. To the north and the west of Memphis he also sunk a lake, communicating with the river, which, from the situation of the Nile, it was not possible to effect towards the east. He moreover erected on the same spot a magnificent temple in honour of Vulcan.

C. The priests afterwards recited to me from a book the names of three hundred and thirty sovereigns (successors of Menes); in this continued series eighteen were Ethiopians,[2] and one a female native of the country, all the rest were men and Egyptians. The female was called Nitocris, which was also the name of the Babylonian princess. They affirm that the Egyptians having slain her brother, who was their sovereign, she was appointed his successor; and that afterwards, to avenge his death, she destroyed by artifice a great number of Egyptians. By her orders a large subterraneous apartment was constructed, professedly for festivals, but in reality for a different purpose. She invited to this place a great number of those Egyptians whom she knew to be the principal instruments of her brother's death, and then by a private canal introduced the river amongst them. They added, that to avoid the indignation of the people, she suffocated herself in an apartment filled with ashes.

CI. None of these monarchs, as my informers related, were distinguished by any acts of magnificence or renown, except Mœris, who was the last of them. Of this prince various monuments remain. He built the north entrance of the temple of Vulcan, and sunk a lake, the dimensions of which I shall hereafter describe. Near this he also erected pyramids, whose magnitude, when I speak of the lake, I shall particularize. These are lasting monuments of his fame; but as none of the preceding princes performed any thing memorable, I shall pass them by in silence.

CII. The name of Sesostris,[3] who lived after them, claims our attention. According to the priests, he was the first who, passing the Arabian gulf in a fleet of long vessels, reduced under his authority the inhabitants bordering on the Red Sea. He proceeded yet farther, till he came to a sea, which on account of the number of shoals was not navigable. On his return to Egypt, as I learned from the same authority, he levied a mighty army, and made a martial progress by land, subduing all the nations whom he met with on his march. Whenever he was opposed by a people who proved themselves brave, and who discovered an ardour for liberty,

"It is very extraordinary," observes Pococke, "that the situation of Memphis should not be well known, which was so great and famous a city, and for so long a time the capital of Egypt." See what this writer says farther on the subject, vol. i. 39.

Besides the temple of Vulcan, here mentioned, Memphis was famous for a temple of Venus.

"Is it not astonishing," remarks Savary, "that the site of the ancient metropolis of Egypt, a city near seven leagues in circumference, containing magnificent temples and palaces, which art laboured to render eternal, should at present be a subject of dispute among the learned? Pliny," continues Savary, "removes the difficulty past doubt. The three grand pyramids seen by the watermen from all parts stand on a barren and rocky hill, between Memphis and the Delta, one league from the Nile, two from Memphis, and near the village of Busiris."

Mr. Gibbon does not speak of the situation of ancient Memphis with his usual accuracy and decision.

"On the western side of the Nile, at a small distance to the east of the pyramids, and at a small distance to the south of the Delta, Memphis, one hundred and fifty furlongs in circumference, displayed the magnificence of ancient kings."

D'Anville, the most accurate of all geographers, places it fifteen miles above the point of the Delta, which he says corresponds exactly with the measurement of three schœni.—*T.*

1 *Diverted the course of the Nile.*]—The course of this ancient bed is not unknown at present. It may be traced across the desert, passing west of the lakes of Natroun, by petrified wood, masts, and lateen yards, the wrecks of vessels by which it was anciently navigated.—*Savary.*

2 *Eighteen were Ethiopians.*]—These eighteen Ethiopian princes prove that the throne was not always hereditary in Egypt.—*Larcher.*

3 *Sesostris.*]—See Bouhier's Chronological Account of the kings of Egypt from Mœris to Cambyses, according to which Mœris died in the year of the world 3360, and was succeeded by Sesostris in 3361.

Diodorus Siculus makes this prince posterior to Mœris by seven generations; but, as Larcher justly observes, this writer cannot be entitled to an equal degree of credit with Herodotus. Sesostris has been differently named. Tacitus calls him Rhampses: Scaliger, both Rhamesses and Egyptus. He is named Sesostris in Diodorus Siculus; Sesosis in Pliny, &c.—*T.*

he erected columns in their country, upon which he inscribed his name, and that of his nation, and how he had here conquered by the force of his arms; but where he met with little or no opposition, upon similar columns[4] which he erected, he added the private parts of a woman, expressive of the pusillanimity of the people.

CIII. Continuing his progress, he passed over from Asia to Europe, and subdued the countries of Scythia and Thrace.[5] Here I believe he stopped, for monuments of his victory are discovered thus far, but no farther. On his return he came to the river Phasis; but I am by no means certain whether he left[6] a detachment of his forces as a colony in this district, or whether some of his men, fatigued with their laborious service, remained here of their own accord.

CIV. The Colchians certainly appear to be of Egyptian origin; which indeed, before I had conversed with any one on the subject, I had always believed. But as I was desirous of being satisfied, I interrogated the people of both countries: the result was, that the Colchians seemed to have better remembrance of the Egyptians, than the Egyptians of the Colchians. The Egyptians were of opinion that the Colchians were descended of part of the troops of Sesostris. To this I myself was also inclined, because they are black, and have short hair and curling,[7] which latter circumstance may not, however, be insisted upon as evidence, because it is common to many other nations. But a second and better argument is, that the inhabitants of Colchos, Egypt, and Ethiopia, are the only people who from time immemorial have used circumcision. The Phœnicians and the Syrians of Palestine[8] acknowledge that they borrowed this custom from Egypt. Those Syrians who live near the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, and their neighbours the Macrones, confess that they learned it, and that too recently, from the Colchians. These are the only people who use circumcision, and who use it precisely like the Egyptians. As this practice can be traced both in Egypt and Ethiopia to the remotest antiquity, it is not possible to say which first introduced it. The Egyptians certainly communicated it to the other nations by means of their commercial intercourse. The Phœnicians, who are connected with Greece, do not any longer imitate the Egyptians in this particular, their male children not being circumcised.

CV. But the Colchians have another mark of resemblance to the Egyptians. Their manufacture of linen[9] is alike and peculiar to those two nations; they have similar manners, and the same language. The linen which comes from Colchis, the Greeks call Sardonian;[10] the linen of Egypt, Egyptian.

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4 *Upon similar columns, &c.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the same facts, with this addition, that upon the columns intended to commemorate the bravery of the vanquished, Sesostris added the private parts of a man.—*T.*

Nous ignorons si les Hermes caracterises par la nature feminine, et eriges par Sesostris dans les pays qu'il avoit conquis sans resistance, avoient ete figures de la meme maniere; ou si, pour indiquer le sexe, ils avoient coutume de le designer.—*Winkelmann.*

5 *Thrace.*]—According to another tradition preserved in Valerius Flaccus, the Getæ, the bravest and most upright of the Thracians, vanquished Sesostris; and it was doubtless to secure his retreat, that he left a detachment of his troops in Colchis.

Cunabula gentis
Colchidos hic ortusque tuens: ut prima Sesostris
Intulerit rex bella Getis: ut clade suorum
Territus, hos Thebas patriumque reducat ad amnem
Phasidos hos imperat agnis, Colchosque vocari
Imperet.— *Larcher.*

6 *Whether he left, &c.*]—Pliny assures us, though I know not on what authority, that Sesostris was defeated by the Colchians.—*Larcher.*

7 *Hair short and curling.*]—"That is," says Volney, in his remark on this passage, "that the ancient Egyptians were real negroes, of the same species with all the natives of Africa; and though, as might be expected, after mixing for so many ages with the Greeks and Romans, they have lost the intensity of their first colour, yet they still retain strong marks of their original conformation."

8 *Syrians of Palestine.*]—Mr. Gibbon takes the opportunity of this passage to make it appear, that under the Assyrian and Persian monarchies, the Jews languished for many ages the most despised portion of their slaves. "Herodotus," says the English historian, "who visited Asia whilst it obeyed the Persian empire, slightly mentions the Jews of Palestine." But this seems to be a partial quotation; for taking into consideration the whole of the context, Herodotus seems precluded from mentioning the Syrians of Palestine in this place otherwise than slightly.—*T.*

9 *Manufacture of linen.*]—See chap. xxxii. of this book.—*T.*

10 *Sardonian.*]—In the original, for Σαρδονικον, Larcher recommends the reading of Σαρδιανικον, which he justifies by saying that Sardis was a far more proper and convenient market for this kind of linen than Sardinia.

The latter country in ancient times had the character of being remarkably unhealthy. "Remember," says Cicero, writing to his brother, "though in perfect health, you are in Sardinia." Martial also,

Nullo fata loco possis excludere, cum mors
Venerit, in medio Tibure, Sardinia est.

This country also gave rise to many peculiar phrases: Sardi venales, risus Sardonicus, Sardonia tinctura, &c The first is differently explained; Cicero, applying it to Gracchus, who after the capture of Sardinia wasted much time in selling his prisoners, makes it to signify any matter tediously protracted. Others, applying it

CVI. The greater part of the pillars which Sesostris erected in the places which he conquered are no longer to be found. Some of them I myself have seen in Palestine of Syria, with the private members of a woman, and the inscriptions which I have before mentioned. In Ionia there are two figures of this king formed out of a rock; one is in the way from Ephesus to Phocæa, the other betwixt Sardis and Smyrna. Both of them represent a man, five palms in height; the right hand holds a javelin, the left a bow; the rest of his armour is partly Egyptian and partly Ethiopian. Across his breast, from shoulder to shoulder, there is this inscription in the sacred characters of Egypt. "I conquered this country by the force of my arms." Who the person is, here represented, or of what country, are not specified, both are told elsewhere. Some have been induced, on examination, to pronounce this the figure of Memnon, but they must certainly be mistaken.

CVII. The same priests informed me that Sesostris returned to Egypt with an immense number of captives of the different nations which he had conquered. On his arrival at the Pelusian Daphne, his brother, to whom he had confided the government in his absence, invited him and his family to take up their abode with him; which, when they had done, he surrounded their apartments with combustibles, and set fire to the building.[1] As soon as Sesostris discovered the villany, he deliberated with his wife, who happened to be with him, what measures to pursue; she advised him to place two of their six children across the parts which were burning, that they might serve as a bridge for the preservation of themselves and the rest. This Sesostris executed; two of the children consequently perished, the remainder were saved with their father.

CVIII. Sesostris did not omit to avenge himself on his brother: on his return to Egypt, he employed the captives of the different nations he had vanquished to collect those immense stones which were employed in the temple of Vulcan. They were also compelled to make those vast and numerous canals[2] by which Egypt is intersected. In consequence of their involuntary labours, Egypt, which was before conveniently adapted to those who travelled on horseback or in carriages, became unfit for both. The canals occur so often, and in so many winding directions, that to journey on horseback is disagreeable, in carriages impossible. The prince however was influenced by a patriotic motive: before his time those who inhabited the inland parts of the country, at a distance from the river, on the ebbing of the Nile suffered great distress from the want of water, of which they had none but from muddy wells.

CIX. The same authority informed me, that Sesostris made a regular distribution of the lands of Egypt. He assigned to each Egyptian a square piece of ground; and his revenues were drawn from the rent which every individual annually paid him. Whoever was a sufferer by the inundation of the Nile, was permitted to make the king acquainted with his loss. Certain officers were appointed to inquire into the particulars of the injury, that no man might be taxed beyond his ability. It may not be improbable to suppose that this was the origin of geometry,[3] and that the Greeks learned

to the Asiatic Sardis, make it signify persons who are venal. The Sardonic laugh is that beneath which the severest uneasiness is concealed. "Sardinia," says Solinus, "produces an herb which has this singular property, that whilst it destroys whoever eats it, it so contracts the features, and in particular of the mouth, into a grin, as to make the sufferer appear to die laughing." Of this herb Solinus relates other strange properties. Sardinia was also famous for a very beautiful colour, whence Sardonia tintura was made to signify a modest blush. See Pliny, Solinus, Hoffman, &c.—*T.*

1 *Set fire to the building.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the matter differently. The brother of Sesostris made him and his attendants drunk, and in the night set fire to his apartment. The guards being intoxicated, were unable to assist their master; but Sesostris, imploring the interposition of the gods, fortunately escaped. He expressed his gratitude to the deities in general, and to Vulcan in particular, to whose kindness principally he thought himself indebted.—*T.*

2 *Numerous canals.*]—Probably one reason why Sesostris opened canals, was to prevent these hurtful inundations, as well as to convey water to those places where they might think proper to have villages built, and to water the lands more conveniently, at such times as the waters might retire early; for they might find by experience, after the canals were opened, that instead of apprehending inundations, they had greater reason, as at present, to fear a want of water.—*Pococke.*

There are still eighty canals in Egypt like rivers, several of which are twenty, thirty, and forty leagues in length.—*Savary.*

The same author adds, that the chain-buckets used in Egypt to disperse the water over the high lands gave to Archimedes, during his voyage in Egypt, the idea of his ingenious screw, which is still in use.

A country where nothing is so seldom met with as a spring, and where rain is an extraordinary phenomenon, could only have been fertilized by the Nile. Accordingly, from times of the most remote antiquity, fourscore considerable canals were digged at the entrance of the kingdom, besides a great number of small ones, which distributed these waters all over Egypt.—*Raynal.*

3 *Origin of geometry.*]—The natives of Thebes, above

it from hence. As to the pole, the gnomon,[4] and the division of the day[5] into twelve parts, the Greeks received them from the Babylonians.

CX. Except Sesostris, no monarch of Egypt was ever master of Ethiopia. This prince placed as a monument[6] some marble statues before the temple of Vulcan: two of these were thirty cubits in height, and represented him and his queen; four others, of twenty cubits each, represented his four children. A long time afterwards, Darius, king of Persia, was desirous of placing before these a statue of himself,[7] but the high priest of Vulcan violently opposed it, urging that the actions of Darius were far less splendid than those of the Egyptian Sesostris. This latter prince had vanquished as many nations as Darius, and had also subdued the Scythians, who had never yielded to the arms of Darius. Therefore, says he, it can never be just to place before the statues of Sesostris the figure of a prince, whose exploits have not been equally illustrious. They told me that Darius forgave this remonstrance.[8]

CXI. On the death of Sesostris, his son Pheron,[9] as the priests informed me, succeeded to his throne. This prince undertook no military expedition; but by the action I am going to relate he lost the use of his eyes:—When the Nile was at its extreme height of eighteen cubits, and had overflowed the fields, a sudden wind arose which made the waters impetuously swell; at this juncture the prince hurled a javelin into the vortex of the stream: he was in a moment

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all others, were renowned for their great wisdom. Their improvements in geometry are thought to have been owing to the nature of their country; for the land of Egypt being annually overflowed, and all property confounded, they were obliged upon the retreat of the waters to have recourse to geometrical decision, in order to determine the limits of their possessions.—*Bryant.*

4 *The pole, the gnomon.*]—The text is a literal translation of the original, to which as it stands it will not be very easy to annex any meaning. My own opinion, from reflecting on the context, is, that it signifies a dial with its index. Wesseling, in his note on this passage, informs us from Pollux that many considered πυλον and ὡρολογιον as synonymous expressions. Scaliger is of the same opinion, to which Wesseling himself accedes. Salmatius thinks differently, and says of this particular passage, ne hoc quidem quidquam ad horologiorum usum facit. Larcher's interpretation seems far-fetched. "He," says the learned Frenchman, "who wishes to form a solar quadrant must necessarily know the altitude of the pole."—When it is considered that the more ancient dials were divided by the first *twelve* letters of the alphabet, I cannot help adhering to the interpretation I have given of it.—*T.*

5 *Division of the day.*]—From this passage it appears, that in the time of Herodotus the day was divided into twelve parts: at the same time we may not conclude, with Leo, Allatius, and Wesseling, that to these twelve parts the name of *hours* was given. It is by no means certain when the twenty-four parts of the day were first distinguished by the name of hours, but it was doubtless very late; and the passages cited from Anacreon and Xenophon to prove the contrary ought not to be interpreted by what we call hours.

The passage in Anacreon, μεσονυκτιοις ποθ' ὡραις, means nothing more than the middle of the night. Νυκτος αμολγω, in Homer, which signifies an advanced time of the night, is explained by the scholiast ἡ του μεσονυκτιου ὡρα, the very expression of Anacreon. The passage from Xenophon is not more decisive.—*Larcher.*

Upon this subject we have the following curious note in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis:—Of the dials of the ancients we may form some idea from the following example: Palladius Rutilius, who lived about the fifth century, and who has left us a treatise on agriculture, has put at the end of every month a table, in which one sees the correspondence of the divisions of the day to the different lengths of the shadow of the gnomon. It must be observed in the first place, that this correspondence is the same in the months equally distant from the solstice, January and December, February and November, &c. Secondly, that the length of the shadow is the same for the hours equally distant from the mid-day point. The following is the table for January.

Hours.	Feet.
I. and XI.	29
II. and X.	19
III. and IX.	15
IV. and VIII.	12
V. and VII.	10
VI.	9

This dial seems to have been adapted for the climate of Rome. Similar dials were constructed for the climate of Athens.

6 *Placed as a monument.*]—Larcher, in his version, adds in this place, "to commemorate the danger he had escaped." The text will not justify this version, though the learned Frenchman's opinion, that this is the implied meaning, rests on the positive assertion of Diodorus Siculus, who, relating the fact of the statues circumstantially, adds that they were erected by Sesostris in gratitude to Vulcan, by whose interposition he escaped the treachery of his brother.—*T.*

7 *A statue of himself.*]—After a series of ages, when Egypt was reduced under the power of Persia, Darius, the father of Xerxes, was desirous of placing an image of himself at Memphis, before the statue of Sesostris. This was strenuously opposed by the chief priest, in an assembly of his order, who asserted that the acts of Darius had not yet surpassed those of Sesostris. The king did not take this freedom amiss, but was rather pleased with it; saying, that if he lived as long as Sesostris, he would endeavour to equal him.—*Diodorus Sic.*

8 *Forgave this remonstrance.*]—It does not however appear from hence that Darius was ever in Egypt. The resistance of the chief priest might probably be told him, and he might forgive it. It appears by a passage in Aristotle, that Darius attacked and conquered this country; if so, the priest of Vulcan might personally oppose Darius. The authority of Aristotle is of no weight compared with that of our historian; and probably, in that writer, instead of Darius we should read Xerxes.—*Larcher.*

9 *Pheron.*]—This prince is erroneously supposed to be the first Egyptian Pharaoh.—*T.*

deprived of sight, and continued blind for the space of ten years; in the eleventh an oracle was communicated to him from Butos, intimating that the period of his punishment was expired, and that he should recover his sight by washing his eyes with the urine of a woman who had never known any man but her husband. Pheron first made the experiment with the urine of his own wife, and when this did not succeed he applied that of other women indiscriminately. Having at length recovered his sight, he assembled all the women, except her whose urine had removed his calamity, in a city which is to this day called Erythrebolos;[1] all these, with the town itself, he destroyed by fire, but he married the female who had deserved his gratitude. On his recovery he sent magnificent presents to all the more celebrated temples; to that of the Sun he sent two obelisks too remarkable to be unnoticed: each was formed of one solid stone, one hundred cubits high, and eight broad.

CXII. The successor of Pheron, as the same priests informed me, was a citizen of Memphis, whose name in the Greek tongue was Proteus.[2] His shrine is still to be seen at Memphis, it is situated to the south of the temple of Vulcan, and is very magnificently decorated. The Phœnicians of Tyre dwell in its vicinity, and indeed the whole of the place is denominated the Tyrian camp. In this spot, consecrated to Proteus,[2] there is also a small temple, dedicated to Venus the stranger:[3] this Venus I conjecture is no other than Helen, the daughter of Tyndaris, because she, I was told, resided for some time at the court of Proteus, and because this building is dedicated to Venus the stranger; no other temple of Venus is distinguished by this appellation.

CXIII. To my inquiries on the subject[4] of Helen, these priests answered as follows: Paris having carried off Helen from Sparta, was returning home, but meeting with contrary winds in the Ægean, he was driven into the Egyptian sea. As the winds continued unfavourable, he proceeded to Egypt, and was driven to the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and to Tarichea: in this place was a temple of Hercules, which still remains; if any slave fled to this for refuge, and in testimony of his consecrating himself to the service of the god, submitted to be marked with certain sacred characters, no one was suffered to molest him. This custom has been strictly observed, from its first institution to the present period. The servants of Paris, aware of the privileges of this temple, fled thither from their master, and with the view of injuring Paris, became the suppliants of the divinity. They published many accusations against their master, disclosing the whole affair of Helen, and the wrong done to Menelaus: this they did not only in the presence of the priests, but also before Thonis,[5] the governor of the district.

CXIV. Thonis instantly despatched a messenger to Memphis, with orders to say thus to Proteus: "There is arrived here a Trojan, who

1 *Erythrebolos.*]—Diodorus Siculus calls this place Heliopolis; and says that the woman, through whose means Pheron was cured of his blindness, was the wife of a gardener.—*T.*

2 *Proteus.*]—Proteus was an Egyptian title of the deity, under which he was worshipped both at Pharos and at Memphis. He was the same as Osiris and Canobus, and particularly the god of mariners, who confined his department to the sea. From hence I think we may unravel the mystery about the pilot of Manelaus, who is said to have been named Canopus, and to have given name to the principal sea-port in Egypt.—*Bryant.*

No antique figure has yet been met with of Proteus: upon this circumstance Mr. Spence remarks, that his character was far more manageable for poets, than for sculptors or painters. The former might very well describe all the variety of shapes that he could put on, and point out the transition from one to the other, but the artists must have been content to show him either in his own natural shape, or in some one alone of all his various forms. Of this deity the best description is given in the Georgics of Virgil.—*T.*

It is remarkable, that if we were to write the Egyptian name of Proteus, as given by the Greeks, in Phœnician characters, we should make use of the same letters wo pronounce Pharao; the final *o* in the Hebrew is an *h*, which at the end of words frequently becomes *t.*—*Volney.*

3 *Venus the Stranger.*]—It is doubtless this Venus to whom Horace alludes in the following verses:

> Oh quæ beatam diva tenes Cyprum, et
> Memphim carentem Sithonia nive
> Regina.

Strabo also speaks of this temple, and tells us that some believed it dedicated to the Moon.—*T.*

4 *Inquiries on the subject.*]—Upon no subject, ancient or modern, have writers been more divided, than about the precise period of the Trojan war. Larcher, after discussing this matter very fully, in his essay on chronology, is of opinion, and his arguments appear to me at least, satisfactory, that it took place about 1263 years before the vulgar era.—*T.*

5 *Thonis.*]—Some writers pretend that Thonis was prince of the Canopian mouth of the Nile, and that he was the inventor of medicine in Egypt. Before he saw Helen he treated Menelaus with great respect; when he had seen her he made his court to her, and even endeavoured to violate her person: Menelaus on hearing this put him to death. The city of Thonis, and Thoth, the first Egyptian month, take their names from him.

This narrative seems less probable than that of Herodotus; Theth, or the Mercury of the Egyptians, was much more ancient.—*Larcher.*

has perpetrated an atrocious crime in Greece; he has seduced the wife of his host, and has carried her away, with a great quantity of treasure; adverse winds have forced him hither; shall I suffer him to depart without molestation, or shall I seize his person and property?" The answer which Proteus sent was thus conceived: "Whoever that man is who has violated the rights of hospitality, seize and bring him before me, that I may examine him."

CXV. Thonis upon this seized Paris, and detaining his vessels, instantly sent him to Proteus, with Helen[6] and all his wealth: on their arrival Proteus inquired of Paris who he was, and whence he came: Paris faithfully related the name of his family and country, and from whence he last set sail. But when Proteus proceeded to make inquiries concerning Helen, and how he obtained possession of her person, Paris hesitated in his answers; his slaves who had deserted him explained and proved the particulars of his guilt; in consequence of which Proteus made this determination: "If I did not esteem it a very heinous crime to put any stranger to death, whom unfavourable winds have driven to my coast, I would assuredly, thou most abandoned man, avenge that Greek whose hospitality thou hast so treacherously violated. Thou hast not only seduced his wife, but, having violently taken her away, still criminally detainest her; and, as if this were not enough, thou hast robbed and plundered him! But as I can by no means prevail upon myself to put a stranger to death, you I shall suffer to depart; the woman and your wealth I shall detain, till the Greek himself thinks proper to demand her.—Do you and your companions depart within three days from my coast, or expect to be treated as enemies."

CXVI. Thus, according to the narrative of the priests, did Helen come to the court of Proteus. I conceive that this circumstance could not be unknown to Homer; but as he thought it less ornamental to his poem, he forbore to use it. That he actually did know it, is evident from that part of the Iliad where he describes the voyage of Paris; this evidence he has no where retracted. He informs us, that Paris, after various wanderings, at length arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia; it is in the Bravery of Diomed;[7] the passage is this:

> There lay the vestures of no vulgar art,
> Sidonian maids embroider'd every part;
> When from soft Sidon youthful Paris bore;
> With Helen touching on the Tyrian shore.
> Il. vi. 390.

He again introduces this subject in the Odyssey:

> These drugs, so friendly to the joys of life,
> Bright Helen learn'd from Thone's imperial wife;
> Who sway'd the sceptre where prolific Nile
> With various simples clothes the fatten'd soil,
> With wholesome herbage mix'd, the direful bane
> Of vegetable venom taints the plain.
> Od. iv. 315.

Menelaus also says to Telemachus:

> Long on the Egyptian coast by calms confined,
> Heaven to my fleet refused a prosperous wind:
> No vows had we preferr'd, no victim slain,
> For this the gods each favouring gale restrain.
> Od. iv. 473.

In these passages Homer confesses himself acquainted with the voyage of Paris to Egypt; for Syria borders upon Egypt, and the Phœnicians, to whom Sidon belongs, inhabit part of Syria.

CXVII. Of these the last passage confirms sufficiently the argument, which may be deduced from the former, that the Cyprian verses[8] were

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6 The incident of the detention of Helen by Proteus, is the argument of one of the tragedies of Euripides.

The poet supposes that Helen never was at Troy, but that Paris carried thither a cloud in her form:—On the death of Proteus, his son Theaclymenus prepared to make Helen his wife; at this juncture Menelaus was driven on the coast, saw Helen again, and with her concerted and accomplished their return to Greece.—*T.*

7 *Bravery of Diomed.*—The different parts of Homer's poems were known anciently by names taken from the subjects treated in them: Thus the fifth book of the Iliad was called the *Bravery of Diomed;* and in like manner the eleventh the *Bravery of Agamemnon;* the tenth the *Night-watch*, or the *Death of Dolon, &c.*; all of which titles are prefixed to the respective books in Clarke's and other editions from Eustathius:—See also Ælian, Var. Hist. Book xiii. c. 14. This division was more ancient than that into books, and therefore does not always coincide with it: thus the second Iliad has two names, the *Dream* or the *Trial*, and the *Catalogue;* whereas four or five books of the Odyssey are supposed to be comprised under the name of the *Story of Alcinous.* Valcnaer erroneously supposed this to be a later division of the grammarians, and therefore endeavoured to explain away the expression of Herodotus, which evidently refers to it.—*T.*

8 *Cyprian verses.*]—On the subject of these verses the following sentence occurs in Athenæus.

"The person who composed the Cyprian verses, whether he was some Cyprian or Stasinus, or by whatever name he chooses to be distinguished," &c. From which it appears, that Athenæus had no idea of their being written by Homer. But we are told by Ælian, in his Various History, that Homer certainly did compose these verses, and gave them as a marriage portion with his daughter.—See Ælian, book ix. chap. 15, in the note to which, this note is amply discussed.

The subject of this poem was the Trojan war after the birth of Helen. Venus caused this prince to be born, that she might be able to promise Paris an accomplished beauty; to this Jupiter, by the advice of Momus, had

never written by Homer. These relate that Paris, in company with Helen, assisted by a favourable wind and sea, passed in three days from Sparta to Troy; on the contrary, it is asserted in the Iliad, that Paris, after carrying away Helen, wandered about to various places.

CXVIII. I was desirous of knowing whether all that the Greeks relate concerning Troy had any foundation in truth; and the same priests instructed me in the following particulars, which they learned from Menelaus himself. After the loss of Helen, the Greeks assembled in great numbers at Teucris, to assist Menelaus; they disembarked and encamped; they then despatched ambassadors to Troy, whom Menelaus himself accompanied. On their arrival they made a formal demand of Helen, and of the wealth which Paris had at the same time clandestinely taken, as well as general satisfaction for the injury. The Trojans then and afterwards uniformly persisted in declaring that they had among them neither the person nor the wealth of Helen, but that both were in Egypt; and they thought it hard that they should be made responsible for what Proteus king of Egypt certainly possessed. The Greeks believing themselves deluded, laid siege to Troy, and persevered till they took it. But when Helen was not to be found in the captured town, and the same assertions concerning her were continued, they at length obtained credit, and Menelaus himself was despatched to Proteus.

CXIX. As soon as he arrived in Egypt he proceeded up the Nile to Memphis. On his relating the object of his journey, he was honourably entertained; Helen, who had been treated with respect, was restored to him, and with her, all his treasures. Inattentive to these acts of kindness, Menelaus perpetrated a great enormity[1] against the Egyptians: the winds preventing his departure, he took two children[2] of the people of the country, and with great barbarity offered them in sacrifice. As soon as the circumstance was known, universal indignation was excited against him, and he was pursued; but he fled by sea into Africa, and the Egyptians could trace him no further. Of the above facts, some they knew, as having happened among themselves, and others were the result of much diligent inquiry.

CXX. This intelligence concerning Helen I received from the Egyptian priests, to which I am inclined to add, as my opinion, that if Helen had been actually in Troy, they would certainly have restored her to the Greeks, with or without the consent of Paris. Priam and his connections could never have been so infatuated, as to endanger the preservation of themselves and their children, merely that Paris might enjoy Helen; but even if such had been their determination at first, still after having lost, in their different contests with the Greeks, many of their countrymen, and among these, if the poets may be believed, several of their king's own sons, I cannot imagine but that Priam, even if he had married her himself, would have restored Helen, if no other means had existed of averting these calamities. We may add to this, that Paris was not the immediate heir to the crown, for Hector was his superior both in age and virtue: Paris, therefore, could not have possessed any remarkable influence in the state, neither would Hector have countenanced the misconduct of his brother, from which he himself, and the rest of his countrymen, had experienced so many and such

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consented, in order to destroy the human race again by the war of Troy, which was to take place on her account. As the author of this poem refers all the events of this war to Venus, goddess of Cyprus, the work was called by her name. "It is evident," says M. Larcher in continuation, "that Herodotus would have told the name of the author, had he known it."

1 *Great enormity.*]—It was Saturn, according to the poets and historians, who first introduced the detestable custom of human sacrifices. The Saturn of the heathens, according to the best writers, was the Abraham of Scripture. In the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, &c. there are two curious dissertations on the subject of human sacrifices; the one asserting the truth of these on the authorities of Manethon, Sanchoniathon, Herodotus, Pausanias, Josephus, &c. &c. by M. l'Abbe de Boissy; the other by M. Monin, denying them altogether, from the reason of the thing itself, and from want of sufficient and satisfactory evidence. The principal arguments of both may be seen in the Choix des Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c. published in this country by Maty.

2 *Two children.*]—This was doubtless to appease the winds. This kind of sacrifice was frequent in Greece, but detestable in Egypt.

Sanguine placastis ventos et virgine cæsa.—*Virgil.*

See Book vii. chap. 191.—*Larcher.*

In the early times of all religions, when nations were yet barbarous and savage, there was ever an aptness or tendency towards the dark part of superstition, which among many other horrors produced that of *human sacrifice.*—*Lord Shaftesbury.*

That the custom of human sacrifice, alike cruel and absurd, gives way but very slowly to the voice of nature and of reason, is evident from its having been practised at so late a period by the enlightened people of Greece. Porphyry also informs us, that even in his time, who lived 233 years after the Christian era, human sacrifices were common in Arcadia and at Carthage.—*T.*

great calamities. But the restoration of Helen was not in their power, and the Greeks placed no dependence on their assertions, which were indisputably true; but all this, with the subsequent destruction of Troy, might be ordained by Providence, to instruct mankind that the gods proportioned punishments to crimes.

CXXI. The same instructors farther told me, that Proteus was succeeded by Rhampsinitus:[3] he built the west entrance of the temple of Vulcan; in the same situation he also erected two statues, twenty-five cubits in height. That which faces the north the Egyptians call summer, the one to the south winter: this latter is treated with no manner of respect, but they worship the former, and make offerings before it. This prince possessed such abundance of wealth, that so far from surpassing, none of his successors ever equalled him in affluence. For the security of his riches, he constructed a stone edifice, connected with his palace by a wall. The man whom he employed,[4] with a dishonest view so artfully disposed one of the stones, that two or even one person might remove it from its place. In this building, when completed, the king deposited his treasures. Some time afterwards the artist found his end approaching; and having two sons, he called them both before him, and informed them in what manner, with a view to their future emolument and prosperity, he had built the king's treasury. He then explained the particular circumstance and situation of the stone, gave them minutely its dimensions, by observance of which they might become the managers of the king's riches. On the death of the father, the sons were not long before they availed themselves of their secret. Under the advantage of the night, they visited the building, discovered and removed the stone, and carried away with them a large sum of money. As soon as the king entered the apartment, he saw the vessels which contained his money materially diminished; he was astonished beyond measure, for as the seals were unbroken, and every entrance properly secured, he could not possibly direct his suspicions against any one. This was several times repeated; the thieves continued their visits, and the king as regularly saw his money decrease. To effect a discovery, he ordered some traps to be placed round the vessels which contained his riches. The robbers came as before; one of them proceeding as usual directly to the vessels, was caught in the snare; as soon as he was sensible of his situation, he called his brother, and acquainted him with it; he withal entreated him to cut off his head without a moment's delay, as the only means of preventing his own detection and consequent loss of life; he approved and obeyed his advice, and replacing properly the stone, he returned home with the head of his brother. As soon as it was light the king entered the apartment, and seeing the body secured in the snare without a head, the building in no part disturbed, nor the smallest appearance of any one having been there, he was more astonished than ever. In this perplexity he commanded the body to be hanged from the wall, and having stationed guards on the spot, he directed them to seize and bring before him whoever should discover any symptoms of compassion or sorrow at sight of the deceased. The mother being much exasperated at this exposure of her son, threatened the surviving brother, that if he did not contrive and execute some means of removing the body, she would immediately go to the king, and disclose all the circumstances of the robbery. The young man in vain endeavoured to alter the woman's determination; he therefore put in practice the following expedient:—He got together some asses, which he loaded with flasks of wine: he then drove them near the place where the guards were stationed to watch the body of his brother; as soon as he approached, he secretly removed the pegs from the mouths of two or three of the skins, and when he saw the wine running about, he began to beat his head, and to cry out vehemently, with much pretended confusion and distress. The soldiers, perceiving the accident, instantly ran with vessels, and such wine as they were able to catch, they considered as so much gain to themselves. At first, with great apparent anger, he reproached and abused them, but he gradually listened to their endeavours to console and pacify him; he then proceeded at leisure to turn his asses out of the road, and to secure his flasks. He soon entered into conversation with the guards, and affecting to be pleased with the drollery of one of them, he gave them a flask of wine: they accordingly sat down to drink, and insisted upon his bearing

3 *Rhampsinitus.*]—Diodorus Siculus calls him Rhemphis. He greatly oppressed his subjects by his avarice and extortions: he amassed in gold and silver four hundred thousand talents; a most incredible sum.—*Larcher*.

4 *The man whom he employed.*]—Pausanias relates a similar fable of Trophonius, whose cave became so famous.—*Larcher*.

them company: he complied with their solicitations, and a second flask was presently the effect of their civility to him. The wine had soon its effect, the guards became exceedingly drunk, and fell fast asleep; under the advantage of the night, the young man took down the body of his brother, and in derision shaved the right cheeks of the guards: he placed the body on one of the asses, and returned home, having thus satisfied his mother. When the king heard of what had happened, he was enraged beyond measure: but still determined on the detection of the criminal, he contrived this, which to me seems a most improbable[1] part of the story.—He commanded his daughter to prostitute her person indiscriminately to every comer, upon condition that, before enjoyment, each should tell her the most artful as well as the most wicked thing he had ever done; if any one should disclose the circumstances of which he wished to be informed, she was to seize him, and prevent his escape. The daughter obeyed the injunction of her father; the thief, knowing what was intended, prepared still farther to disappoint and deceive the king. He cut off the arm near the shoulder from a body recently dead, and concealing it under his cloak, he visited the king's daughter: when he was asked the same question as the rest, he replied, "That the most wicked thing he had ever done was the cutting off the head of his brother, who was caught in a snare in the king's treasury; the most artful thing, was his making the guards drunk, and by that means effecting the removal of his brother's body." On hearing this she endeavoured to apprehend him, but he, favoured by the night, put out to her the dead arm, which she seizing was thus deluded, whilst he made his escape. On hearing this also, the king was equally astonished at the art and audacity of the man; he was afterwards induced to make a proclamation through the different parts of his dominions, that if the offender would appear before him, he would not only pardon but reward him liberally. The thief, trusting to his word, appeared; Rhampsinitus was delighted with the man, and thinking his ingenuity beyond all parallel, gave him his daughter. The king conceived the Egyptians superior in subtlety to all the world, but he thought this man superior even to the Egyptians.

CXXII. After this event, they told me that the same king[2] descended alive beneath the earth, to what the Greeks call the infernal regions, where he played at dice with the goddess Ceres,[3] and alternately won and lost.[4] On his return she presented him with a napkin embroidered with gold. This period of his return was observed by the Egyptians as a solemn festival, and has continued to the time of my remembrance; whether the above, or some other incident was the occasion of this feast, I will not take upon me to determine. The ministers of this solemnity have a vest woven within the space of the day, this is worn by a priest whose eyes are covered with a bandage. They conduct him to the path which leads to the temple of Ceres, and there leave him. They assert, that two wolves meet the priest thus blinded, and lead him to the temple, though at the distance of twenty stadia from the city, and afterwards conduct him back again to the place where they found him.

CXXIII. Every reader must determine for himself with respect to the credibility of what I have related; for my own part I heard these things from the Egyptians, and think it necessary to transcribe the result of my inquiries. The Egyptians esteem Ceres and Bac-

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1 *Most improbable.*]—Herodotus, we may perceive from this passage, did not implicitly credit all the priests told him. Many other passages occur in the process of this work, to prove that our historian was by no means so credulous as has been generally imagined.—*Larcher.*

2 *The same king.*]—The kings of Egypt had many names and titles, these names and titles have been branched out into persons, and inserted in the lists of the real monarchs. I have mentioned of Osiris, that he was exposed in an ark, and for a long time in a state of death, the like is said of Orus, Adonis, Thamuz, and Talus, Tulus, or Thoulos. Lastly, it is said of Rhameses, whom Herodotus calls Rhampsinitus, that he descended to the mansions of death, and after some stay returned to light. I mention these things to show that the whole is one and the same history, and that all these names are titles of the same person. They have however been otherwise esteemed, and we find them accordingly inserted in the lists of kings, by which means the chronology of Egypt has been greatly embarrassed.—*Bryant.*

3 *Ceres.*]—In the Greek Demeter. "The Egyptians," says Diodorus Siculus, "rated the earth as the common womb of all things, Meter, which the Greeks, by an easy addition, afterwards altered to Demeter."—*T.*

4 *Alternately won and lost.*]—Valcnaer informs us in a note, that this circumstance of playing at dice with Ceres, and alternately conquering and being conquered, has been ingeniously explained to mean no more, quam Cererem almam et fautricem vel vicissim inimicam experiri, to find agricultural experiments sometimes successful, and sometimes otherwise. I think there was probably something also allegorical and mysterious in the story—possibly there might be in this feast something similar to the Eleusinian mysteries, the particular mention of Ceres suggests that opinion.—*T.*

chief as the great deities of the realms below; they are also the first of mankind who have defended the immortality of the soul.[5] They believe, that on the dissolution of the body the soul immediately enters some other animal, and that, after using as vehicles every species of terrestrial, aquatic, and winged creatures, it finally enters a second time into a human body. They affirm that it undergoes all these changes in the space of three thousand years. This opinion some amongst the Greeks[6] have at different periods of time, adopted as their own; but I shall not, though I am able, specify their names.

CXXIV. I was also informed by the same priests, that till the reign of Rhampsinitus, Egypt was not only remarkable for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who succeeded this prince, degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct.[7] He barred the avenues to every temple, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifices; he proceeded next to make them labour servilely for himself. Some he compelled to hew stones in the quarries of the Arabian mountains, and drag them to the banks of the Nile; others were appointed to receive them in vessels, and transport them to

5 *Immortality of the soul.*]—The doctrine of the resurrection was first entertained by the Egyptians; and their mummies were embalmed, their pyramids were constructed, to preserve the ancient mansion of the soul during a period of three thousand years. But the attempt is partial and unavailing: and it is with a more philosophic spirit that Mahomet relies on the omnipotence of the Creator, whose word can reanimate the breathless clay, and collect the innumerable atoms that no longer retain their form or substance. The intermediate state of the soul it is hard to decide; and those who most firmly believe her immaterial nature are at a loss to understand how she can think or act without the agency of the organs of sense.—*Gibbon.*

The Platonic doctrine esteemed the body a kind of prison with respect to the soul. Somewhat similar to this was the opinion of the Marcionites, who called the death of the body the resurrection of the soul.—*T.*

The soul, by reason of its anxiety and impotence, being unable to stand by itself, wanders up and down to seek out consolations, hopes, and foundations, to which she adheres and fixes. But it is wonderful to observe how short the most constant and obstinate maintainers of this just and clear persuasion of the immortality of the soul do fall, and how weak their arguments are when they go about to prove it by human reason.—*Montaigne.*

To enumerate the various opinions which have prevailed concerning the soul of man, would be an undertaking alike arduous and unprofitable. Some of the ancients considered it as a part of the substance of God; the doctrine of the propagation of souls prevailed, according to Bayle, or rather subsisted, to a very late period of the Christian era: Averhoes affirmed its mortality, and most of the pagan philosophers believed it to be material; but the arguments for its immortality which are afforded us in the word of God at the same time animate our piety, and satisfy our reason.—*T.*

I have observed so many marks of resemblance betwixt the Egyptians and the Indians, that I can by no means persuade myself that they are the effects of chance. I love better to believe that India was civilized by those Egyptians who accompanied Bacchus or Sesostris in their expeditions. I am, therefore, not at all surprised at finding amongst the Indians Egyptian architecture, the division of the people into tribes, which never intermingle; respect for animals, and for the cow in particular; the metempsychosis, &c. With regard to this last dogma, I am tempted to believe, that it did not originate in Egypt, that it indeed is not of very great antiquity, and that the soldiers of Sesostris brought it with them on their return from their expedition. "I know," remarks Pausanias, "that the Chaldean and Indian magi have been the first who asserted the immortality of the soul." Besides Moses, who was anterior to that prince, had heard no mention of it; if he did know it, how could he persuade himself that he was chosen to keep under the laws of God, and their own, a people always ready to rebel? It is indeed known, that the immortality of the soul was not known to the Jews, but by the commerce which they had with the Assyrians, during the time of their captivity.—*Larcher.*

6 *Some amongst the Greeks.*]—He doubtless means to speak of Pherecydes of Syros, and Pythagoras.—*Larcher.*

Pherecydes was the disciple of Pittacus, and the master of Pythagoras, and also of Thales the Milesian. He lived in the time of Servius Tullius, and as Cicero tells us, primum dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos, first taught that the souls of men were immortal. His life is given at some length by Diogenes Laertius.—*T.*

7 *Profligacy of conduct.*]—It is not easy to see what could induce M. de Pauw to attempt the vindication of this prince, and to reject as fabulous what Herodotus relates of his despotism, as if this were not the infirmity of these princes, and as if they did not all endeavour to establish it within their dominions. Egypt enjoyed good laws at the first, they were observed during some ages, and the people were consequently happy; but their princes endeavoured to free themselves from the restraints imposed upon them, and by degrees they succeeded. M. de Voltaire was justified in considering the construction of the pyramids as a proof of the slavery of the Egyptians; and it is with much justice he remarks, that it would not be possible to compel the English to erect similar masses, who are far more powerful than the Egyptians at that time were. This is perfectly true, and M. de Pauw, in attacking Voltaire, has wandered from the question. He ought to have proved, that the kings of England were really able to compel their subjects to raise similar monuments, as Herodotus positively asserts of the princes of Egypt. He ought, I say, to have proved this, and not to have advanced that the cultivation of their lands cost the English nine times more labour than it does in Egypt; and that their marine in one year occasions the destruction of more people *than the construction of all the pyramids would have done in a long series of ages.* M. de Pauw would not see that a spirit of ambition, a desire of wealth, &c. induce the English eagerly to undertake the most laborious enterprises; that they are not obliged to do this; and in one word, that it is optional with them; on the contrary, the Egyptians were compelled by their sovereigns to labours the most painful, humiliating, and servile.—*Larcher.*

a mountain of Libya. For this service a hundred thousand men were employed, who were relieved every three months. Ten years were consumed in the hard labour of forming the road through which these stones were to be drawn: a work, in my estimation, of no less fatigue and difficulty than the pyramid itself.[1] This causeway[2] is five stadia in length, forty cubits wide, and its extreme height thirty-two cubits: the whole is of polished marble, adorned with the figures of animals. Ten years, as I remarked, were exhausted in forming this causeway, not to mention the time employed in the vaults[3] of the hill[4] upon which the pyramids are erected. These he intended as a place of burial for himself, and were in an island which he formed by introducing the waters of the Nile. The pyramid itself was a work of twenty years; it is of a square form; every front is eight plethra[5] long, and as many in height;

1 *The pyramid itself.*]—For the satisfaction of the English reader, I shall in few words enumerate the different uses for which the learned have supposed the pyramids to have been erected. Some have imagined that, by the hieroglyphics inscribed on their external surface, the Egyptians wished to convey to the remotest posterity their national history, as well as their improvements in science and the arts. This, however ingenious, seems but little probable; for the ingenuity which was equal to contrive, and the industry which persevered to execute structures like the pyramids, could not but foresee, that however the buildings themselves might from their solidity and form defy the effects of time, the outward surface, in such a situation and climate, could not be proportionably permanent; add to this that the hieroglyphics were a sacred language, and obscure in themselves, and revealed but to a select number, might to posterity afford opportunity of ingenious conjecture, but were a very inadequate vehicle of historical facts.

Others have believed them intended merely as observatories to extend philosophic and astronomical knowledge: but in defence of this opinion little can be said: the adjacent country is a flat and even surface; buildings, therefore, of such a height, were both absurd and unnecessary; besides that, for such a purpose, it would have been very preposterous to have constructed such a number of costly and massy piles, differing so little in altitude.

To this may be added, that it does not appear, from an examination of the pyramids, that access to the summit was ever practicable during their perfect state.

By some they have been considered as repositories for corn, erected by Joseph, and called the granaries of Pharaoh. The argument against this is very convincing, and is afforded us by Pliny. "In the building the largest of the pyramids 366,000 men," says he, "were employed twenty years together." This, therefore, will be found but ill to correspond with the Scriptural history of Joseph. The years of plenty which he foretold were only seven, which fact is of itself a sufficient answer to the above.

It remains, therefore, to mention the more popular and the more probable opinion, which is, that they were intended for the sepulchres of the Egyptian monarchs.

> Instead of useful works, like Nature, great,
> Enormous cruel wonders crush'd the land,
> And round a tyrant's tomb, who none deserved,
> For one vile carcass perished countless lives.—*Thomson.*

When we consider the religious prejudices of the Egyptians, their opinion concerning the soul, the pride, the despotism and the magnificence of their ancient princes, together with the modern discoveries with respect to the interior of these enormous piles, there seems to remain but little occasion for argument, or reason for doubt.—*T.*

2 *Causeway.*]—The stones might be conveyed by the canal that runs about two miles north of the pyramids, and from thence part of the way by this extraordinary causeway. For at this time there is a causeway from that part, extending about a thousand yards in length, and twenty feet wide, built of hewn stone. The length of it agreeing so well with the account of Herodotus, is a strong confirmation that this causeway has been kept up ever since, though some of the materials of it may have been changed, all being now built with freestone. It is strengthened on each side with semicircular buttresses, about fourteen feet diameter, and thirty feet apart; there are sixty-one of these buttresses, beginning from the north. Sixty feet farther it turns to the west for a little way, then there is a bridge of about twelve arches, twenty feet wide, built on piers that are ten feet wide. Above one hundred yards further there is such another bridge, beyond which the causeway continues about one hundred yards to the south, ending about a mile from the pyramids, where the ground is higher. The country over which the causeway is built, being low, and the water lying on it a great while, seems to be the reason for building this causeway at first, and continuing to keep it in repair.—*Pococke.*

The two bridges described by Pococke are also mentioned particularly by Norden. The two travellers differ essentially in the dimensions which they give of the bridges they severally measured; which induces M. Larcher reasonably to suppose that Pococke described one bridge, and Norden the other.—*T.*

3 *Vaults.*]—The second pyramid has a fosse cut in the rock to the north and west of it, which is about ninety feet wide, and thirty feet deep. There are small apartments cut from it into the rock, &c.

4 *The hill.*]—The pyramids are not situated in plains, but upon the rock that is at the foot of the high mountains which accompany the Nile in its course, and which make the separation betwixt Egypt and Lybia. It may have fourscore feet of perpendicular elevation above the horizon of the ground, that is always overflowed by the Nile. It is a Danish league in circumference.—*Norden.*

5 *Eight plethra.*]—To this day the dimensions of the great pyramid are problematical. Since the time of Herodotus many travellers and men of learning have measured it; and the difference of their calculations, far from removing, has but augmented doubt. I will give you a table of their admeasurements, which at least will serve to prove how difficult it is to come at truth.

	Height of the great pyramid.	Width of one side.
Ancients.	*Feet.*	*Feet.*
Herodotus	800	800
Strabo	625	600
Diodorus	600 some inches	700
Pliny		708
Moderns.		
Le Brun	616	704
Prosp. Alpinus	625	750
Thevenot	520	612
Niebuhr	440	710
Greaves	444	648

the stones are very skilfully cemented, and none of them of less dimensions than thirty feet.

CXXV. The ascent of the pyramid was regularly graduated by what some call steps, and others altars. Having finished the first flight, they elevated the stones to the second by the aid of machines[6] constructed of short pieces of wood; from the second, by a similar engine, they were raised to the third, and so on to the summit. Thus there were as many machines as there were regular divisions in the centre of the pyramid, though in fact there might only be one, which being easily manageable, might be removed from one range of the building to another, as often as occasion made it necessary; both modes have been told me, and I know not which best deserves credit. The summit of the pyramid was first of all finished,[7] descending thence, they regularly completed the whole. Upon the outside were inscribed, in Egyptian characters,[8] the various sums of money expended in the progress of the work, for the radishes, onions, and garlic consumed by the artificers. This, as I well remember, my interpreter informed me, amounted to no less a sum than one thousand six hundred talents. If this be true, how much more must it necessarily have cost for iron tools, food, and clothes for the workmen, particularly when we consider the length of time they were employed in the building itself, adding what was spent in the hewing and conveyance of the stones, and the construction of the subterraneous apartments?

CXXVI. Cheops having exhausted his wealth, was so flagitious, that he prostituted his daughter,[9] commanding her to make the most of her person. She complied with her father's injunctions, but I was not told what sum she thus procured; at the same time she took care to perpetuate the memory of herself; with which view she solicited every one of her lovers to present her with a stone. With these it is reported, the middle of the three pyramids,[10] fronting the larger one, was constructed, the elevation of which on each side, was one hundred and fifty feet.

CXXVII. According to the Egyptians, this Cheops reigned fifty years. His brother

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	Number of the layers or steps.
Greaves,	207
Maillet,	208
Albert Lewenstein,	260
Pococke,	212
Belon,	250
Thevenot,	208

To me it seems evident that Greaves and Niebuhr are prodigiously deceived in the perpendicular height of the great pyramid. All travellers agree it contains at least two hundred and seven layers, which layers are from four to two feet high. The highest are at the base, and they decrease insensibly to the top. I measured several, which were more than three feet high, and I found none that were less than two, therefore the least mean height that can be allowed them is two feet and a half, which, according to the calculation of Greaves himself, who counted two hundred and seven, will give five hundred and seventeen feet six inches in perpendicular height.—*Savary.*

6 *Aid of machines.*]—Mr. Greaves thinks that this account of Herodotus is full of difficulty. "How, in erecting and placing so many machines, charged with such massy stones, and those continually passing over the lower degrees, could it be avoided, but that they must either unsettle them, or endanger the breaking of some portions of them? Which mutilations would have been like scars in the face of so magnificent a building."

I own that I am of a different opinion from Mr. Greaves; for such massy stones as Herodotus has described would not be discomposed by an engine resting upon them, and which, by the account of Herodotus, I take to be only the pulley. The account that Diodorus gives of raising the stones by imaginary χωμάτων (heaps of earth,) engines not being then, as he supposes, invented, is too absurd to take notice of. And the description that Herodotus has given, notwithstanding all the objections that have been raised to it, and which have arisen principally from misrepresenting him, appears to me very clear and certain.—*Dr. Templeman's Notes to Norden.*

7 *First of all finished.*] — The word in the text is ἐξεποιήθη, which Larcher has rendered, "On commenca revetir et perfectionner."

Great doubts have arisen amongst travellers and the learned, whether the pyramid was coated or not. Pliny tells us, that at Busiris people lived who had the agility to mount to the top of the pyramid. If it was graduated by steps, little agility would be required to do this; if regularly coated, it is hard to conceive how any agility could accomplish it.

Norden says, that there is not the least mark to be perceived to prove that the pyramid has been coated with marble.

Savary is of a contrary opinion: "That it was coated," says he, "is an incontestable fact, proved by the remains of mortar, still found in several parts of the steps, mixed with fragments of white marble." Upon the whole it seems more reasonable to conclude that it was coated.—*T.*

8 *Egyptian characters.*]—Probably in common characters, and not in hieroglyphics.—*Larcher.*

9 *Prostituted his daughter.*]—This account of the king's prostituting his daughter has been thought so full of horror, that many have doubted the truth of it; but we have had in our own country an instance of as horrid a crime in a husband's prostituting his wife merely for his diversion. *See State Trials, the Case of Mervin Lord Audley.*

10 *The middle of the three pyramids.*]—The acts of magnificence which the courtezans of antiquity were enabled to accomplish from the produce of their charms almost exceed belief. It is told of Lamia, the charming mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes, that she erected at Sicyon a portico, so beautiful and superb, that an author named Polemo wrote a book to describe it.—*See Athenæus and the Letters of Alciphron.*—*T.*

Chephren[1] succeeded to his throne, and adopted a similar conduct. He also built a pyramid, but this was less than his brother's, for I measured them both; it has no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, which in the other surrounds an island where the body of Cheops is said to be deposited.[2] Of this latter pyramid, the first ascent is entirely of Ethiopian marble of divers colours, but it is not so high as the larger pyramid, near which it stands, by forty feet. This Chephren reigned fifty-six years; the pyramid he built stands on the same hill with that erected by his brother; the hill itself is near one hundred feet high.

CXXVIII. Thus for the space of one hundred and six years were the Egyptians exposed to every species of oppression and calamity, not having in all this period permission to worship in their temples. For the memory of these two monarchs they have so extreme an aversion, that they are not very willing to mention their names.[3] They call their pyramids by the name of the shepherd Philitis,[4] who at that time fed his cattle in those places.

CXXIX. Mycerinus, the son of Cheops, succeeded Chephren: as he evidently disapproved of his father's conduct, he commanded the temples to be opened, and the people, who had been reduced to the extremest affliction, were again permitted to offer sacrifice at the shrines of their gods. He excelled all that went before him in his administration of justice. The Egyptians revere his memory beyond that of all his predecessors, not only for the equity of his decisions,[5] but because if complaint was ever made of his conduct as a judge, he condescended to remove and redress the injury.[6] Whilst Mycerinus thus distinguished himself by his exemplary conduct to his subjects, he lost his daughter and only child, the first misfortune he experienced. Her death excessively afflicted him; and wishing to honour her funeral with more than ordinary splendour, he inclosed her body in a heifer[7] made of wood, and richly ornamented with gold.[8]

CXXX. This heifer was not buried; it remained even to my time in the palace of Sais, placed in a superb hall. Every day costly aromatics were burnt before it; and every night it was splendidly illuminated; in an adjoining

1 *His brother Chephren.*]—Diodorus Siculus remarks, that some authors are of opinion, that it was not his brother who succeeded him, but his son Chabryis, or Chabryen. Probably, says Larcher, the same word differently written.

2 *Is said to be deposited.*]—The kings designed these pyramids for their sepulchres, yet it happened that their remains were not here deposited. The people were so exasperated against them, by the severe labours they had been compelled to endure, and were so enraged at the oppressive cruelty of their princes, that they threatened to take their bodies from their tombs, and cast them to the dogs. Both of them, therefore, when dying, ordered their attendants to bury them in some secret place.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

3 *Mention their names.*]—Part of the punishment annexed in France to high-treason, and other enormous offences, is the irrevocable extinction of the family name of the convicted persons.

This is probably the reason, observes M. Larcher, why historians are so much divided in opinion concerning the names of the princes who erected the pyramids.

4 *Philitis.*]—Some of the pyramids in Egypt were styled the pyramids of the shepherd Philitis, and were said to have been built by people whom the Egyptians held in abomination; from whence we may form a judgment of the persons by whom these edifices were erected. Many hills and places of reputed sanctity were denominated from shepherds. Caucasus, in the vicinity of Colchis, had its name conferred by Jupiter, in memory of Caucasus a shepherd. Mount Cithæron, in Bœotia, was called Asterius, but received the former name from one Cithæron, a shepherd, supposed to have been there slain.—*Bryant.*

5 *Equity of his decisions.*]—It appears as well from this paragraph as the remainder of the chapter, that the kings administered justice to their subjects in person. It is not, therefore, very easy to see what could induce M. Pauw to assert that the sovereigns of Egypt had not the power of deciding in any civil cause.—*Larcher.*

6 *Redress the injury.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates the same fact; and says, that he expended large sums of money in making compensation to such as he thought injured by judicial decisions.—*T.*

7 *In an heifer.*]—The Patrica were not only rites of Mithres, but also of Osiris, who was in reality the same deity. We have a curious inscription to this purpose, and a representation which was first exhibited by the learned John Price in his observations upon Apuleius. It is copied from an original which he saw at Venice, and there is an engraving from it in the edition of Herodotus by Gronovius, as well as in that by Wesseling, but about the purport of it they are strangely mistaken. They suppose it to relate to a daughter of Mycerinus, the son of Cheops. She died, it seems, and her father was so affected with her death, that he made a bull of wood, which he gilt, and in it interred his daughter. Herodotus says he saw the bull of Mycerinus, and that it alluded to this history. But notwithstanding the authority of this great author, we may be assured, that it was an emblematical representation, and an image of the sacred bull, Apis and Mnevis.—*Bryant.*

8 *Gold.*]—The prophet Isaiah, threatening the people of Israel for their blind confidence in Egypt, says, "Ye shall defile also the covering of thy graven images of silver, and the ornaments of thy molten images of gold." Winkelmann, speaking of the antiquity of art in Egypt, says, "Les figures taillees originairement en bois, et les statues jettees en fonte, ont toutes leur denomination particuliere dans la langue Hebraique: par la suite des tems les premieres furent dorees ou revetues de lames d'or."—*T.*

apartment are deposited statues of the different concubines of Mycerinus, as the priests of Sais informed me. These are to the number of twenty, they are colossal figures, made of wood, and in a naked state, but what women they are intended to represent, I presume not to determine: I merely relate what I was told.

CXXXI. Of this heifer, and these colossal figures, there are some who speak thus: Mycerinus, they say, conceived an unnatural passion for his daughter, and offered violence to her person. She having, in the anguish of her mind, strangled herself, her father buried her in the manner we have described. The mother cut off the hands of those female attendants who assisted the king in his designs upon his daughter, and therefore these figures are marked by the same imperfections as distinguished the persons they represent when alive. The whole of this story,[9] and that in particular which relates to the hands of these figures, to me seems very preposterous. I myself saw the hands lying on the ground, merely, as I thought, from the effect of time.

CXXXII. The body of this heifer is covered with a purple cloth,[10] whilst the head and neck are very richly gilt: betwixt the horns there is a golden star; it is made to recline on its knees, and is about the size of a large cow. Every year it is brought from its apartment; at the period when the Egyptians flagellate themselves in honour of a certain god, whom it does not become me to name, this heifer is produced to the light: it was the request, they say, of the dying princess to her father, that she might once every year behold the sun.

CXXXIII. Mycerinus after the above met with a second calamity; an oracle from the city Butos informed him that he should live six years, but die in the seventh; the intelligence astonished him, and he sent a message in return to reproach the goddess[11] with injustice; for that his father and his uncle, who had been injurious to mankind, and impious to the gods, had enjoyed each a length of life of which he was to be deprived, who was distinguished for his piety. The reply of the oracle told him, that his early death was the consequence of the conduct for which he commended himself; he had not fulfilled the purpose of the fates, who had decreed that for the space of one hundred and fifty years Egypt should be oppressed; of which determination the two preceding monarchs had been aware, but he had not. As soon as Mycerinus knew that his destiny was immutable, he caused an immense number of lamps to be made, by the light of which when evening approached, he passed his hours in the festivity of the banquet:[12] he frequented by day and by night the groves and streams, and whatever place he thought productive of delight: by this method of changing night into day, and apparently multiplying his six years into twelve, he thought to convict the oracle of falsehood.

CXXXIV. This prince also built a pyramid,[13] but it was not by twenty feet so high as his father's: it was a regular square on every side, three hundred feet in height, and as far as the middle of Ethiopian stone. Some of the Greeks erroneously believe this to have been erected by Rhodopis[14] the courtesan, but

9 *The whole of this story.*]—In the old version of Hedotus before quoted, this passage is rendered thus: "But this is as true as the man in the moone, for that a man with halfe an eye may clearly perceive that their hands fel off for very age, by reason that the wood, through long continuance of time, was spaked and perished."—*Herodotus his second Booke entituled Euterpe.*

10 *With a purple cloth.*]—"The Egyptians," says Plutarch, "have a custom in the month Athyr, of ornamenting a golden image of a bull, which they cover with a black robe of the finest linen. This they do in commemoration of Isis, and her grief for the loss of Orus."

11 *To reproach the goddess.*]—Instead of τῳ θεῳ Valcnaer proposes to read τῃ θεῳ: "No god," says he, "had an oracle at Butos, but the goddess called by the Greeks Latona, the nurse of Apollo the son of Isis, who had an oracle at Butos held in the highest estimation."—*T.*

12 *Of the banquet.*]—Ælian records many examples similar to this of Mycerinus, in his Various History, book ii. chap. 41.

13 *Built a pyramid.*]—"If," says Diodorus Siculus, speaking of this pyramid, "it is less in size and extent than the others, it is superior to them in the costliness of the materials, and excellence of the workmanship."

14 *Rhodopis.*]—The following account of this Rhodopis is from Strabo.

It is said that this pyramid was erected by the lovers of Rhodopis, by Sappho called Doricha: she was the mistress of her brother Charaxus, who carried to Naucratis Lesbian wine, in which article he dealt; others call her Rhodope. It is reported of her that one day when she was in the bath, an eagle snatched one of her slippers from an attendant, and carried it to Memphis. The king was then sitting in his tribunal; the eagle, settling above his head, let fall the slipper into his bosom: the prince, astonished at this singular event, and at the smallness of the slipper, ordered a search to be made through the country for the female to whom it belonged. Having found her at Naucratis, she was presented to the king, who made her his wife; when she died, she was buried in the manner we have described.

Diodorus Siculus says, that this pyramid was believed to have been erected to the memory of Rhodopis, at the expense of some governors who had been her admirers.

Perizonius, in his notes on Ælian, says that there were two of this name; one a courtesan, who afterwards be-

they do not seem to me even to know who this Rhodopis was; if they had, they never could have ascribed to her the building of a pyramid produced at the expense of several thousand talents:[1] besides this, Rhodopis lived at a different period, in the time, not of Mycerinus, but Amasis, and many years after the monarchs who erected the pyramids. Rhodopis was born in Thrace, the slave of Iadmon, the son of Hephæstopolis the Samian: she was the fellow-servant of Æsop, who wrote fables,[2] and was also the slave of Iadmon; all which may be thus easily proved: The Delphians, in compliance with the directions of the oracle, had desired publicly to know if any one required atonement to be made for the death of Æsop; but none appeared to do this, except a grandson of Iadmon, bearing the same name.

CXXXV. Rhodopis was first carried to Egypt by Xanthus of Samos, whose view was to make money by her person. Her liberty was purchased for an immense sum by Charaxus[3] of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus, and brother of Sappho the poetess; thus becoming free, she afterwards continued in Egypt, where her beauty procured her considerable wealth, though by no means adequate to the construction of such a pyramid; the tenth part of her riches whoever pleases may even now ascertain, and they will not be found so great as has been represented. Wishing to perpetuate her name in Greece, she contrived what had never before been imagined, as an offering for the Delphic temple; she ordered the tenth part of her property to be expended in making a number of iron spits, each large enough to roast an ox; they were sent to Delphi, where they are now to be seen[4] behind the altar presented by the Chians. The courtesans of Naucratis[5] are generally beautiful she of whom we speak was so universally celebrated that her name is familiar to every Greek There was also another courtesan, named Archidice,[6] well known in Greece, though of less

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came the wife of Psammitichus; the other the fellow-slave of Æsop, who lived in the time of Amasis.—*T.*

1 *Several thousand talents.*]—Demetrius Poliorcetes compelled the Athenians to raise him immediately the sum of two hundred and fifty talents, which he sent to his mistress Lamia, saying it was for soap. When I inform the reader that she spent this immense sum in a feast given to her lord, what is here related of Rhodopis may seem less incredible.—*T.*

2 *Æsop, who wrote fables.*]—This name is so familiar, that it may at first sight seem superfluous and inconsistent to say any thing on the subject; but possibly every English reader may not know, that the fables which go under his name were certainly not of his composition; indeed but little concerning him can be ascertained as fact. Plutarch assures us, that Crœsus sent Æsop to the oracle of Delphi; that Æsop and Solon were together at the court of Crœsus; that the inhabitants of Delphi put him to death, and afterwards made atonement to his memory; and finally, Socrates versified his fables. Plato, who would not admit Homer into his commonwealth, gave Æsop an honourable place in them; at least such is the expression of Fontaine.

It remains to do away one absurd and vulgar prejudice concerning him. Modern painters and artists have thought proper to represent Bacchus as a gross, vulgar, and bloated personage; on the contrary, all the ancient poets and artists represented him as a youth of most exquisite beauty. A similar error has prevailed with respect to Æsop: that it is an error, Bentley's reasoning must be very satisfactory to whoever gives it the attention which it merits. "In Plato's feast," says he, "they are very merry upon Socrates' face, which resembled old Silenus. Æsop was one of the guests, but nobody presumes to jest on his ugliness." Philostratus has given, in two books, a description of a gallery of pictures; one is Æsop, with a chorus of animals about him; he is painted smiling and looking thoughtfully on the ground, but not a word on his deformity: the Athenians erected a statue in his honour. If he had been deformed, continues Bentley, a statue had been no more than a monument of his ugliness, it would have been kinder to his memory to have let it alone. But after all, the strongest argument to prove that he was not of a disagreeable form, is that he must have been sold into Samos by a trader in slaves. It is well known that these people brought up the most handsome youths they could procure. If we may judge of him from his companion and contubernalis, we must believe him a comely person. Rhodopis was the greatest beauty of her age even to a proverb—ἁπανϑ' ὁμοια και Ροδωπις ἡ καλη.

The compilers of the Encyclopedia Britannica have given into the vulgar error, and scruple not to pronounce Æsop a person of striking deformity.—*T.*

3 *Charaxus.*]—Sappho had two other brothers, Eurygius and Larychus, or rather Larichus, as it is written in Athenæus, the Dorians being partial to terminations in *ichos.*—*Larcher.*

Athenæus asserts, that the courtesan of Naucratis, beloved by Charaxus, and satirized by Sappho, was called Dorica. The same author adds, that Herodotus calls her Rhodopis from ignorance; but the opinion of Herodotus is confirmed by Strabo.—*Larcher.*

4 *Where they are now to be seen.*]—They were not to be seen in the time of Plutarch; in his tract assigning the reasons why the Pythian ceased to deliver her oracles in verse, Brasidias, whose office it was to show the curiosities of the place, points out the place where they formerly stood.—*T.*

5 *The courtesans of Naucratis.*]—"Howbeit such arrant honest women as are fishe for everye man, have in no place the like credite as in the city of Naucrates. Forasmuch as this stalant of whom we speake, had her fame so bruted in all places, as almost there was none in Greece that had not heard of the fame of Rhodope; after whome there sprang up also another as good as ever ambled, by name Archidice, &c."—*Herodotus his second booke, entituled Euterpe.*

6 *Archidice.*]—Of this courtesan, the following anecdote is related by Ælian: She demanded a great sum of money of a young man who loved her; the bargain broke off, and the lover withdrew re infecta: he dreamed in the night that he lay with the woman, which cured his passion. Archidice, on learning this, pretended that the young man ought to pay her, and summoned him

repute than Rhodopis. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her liberty, returned to Mytilene, and was severely handled[7] by Sappho in some satirical verses:—but enough has been said on this subject.

CXXXVI. After Mycerinus, as the priests informed me, Asychis reigned in Egypt; he erected the east entrance to the temple of Vulcan, which is far the greatest and most magnificent. Each of the above-mentioned vestibules is elegantly adorned with sculpture, and with paintings, but this is superior to them all. In this reign, when commerce was checked and injured from the extreme want of money, an ordinance passed, that any one might borrow money, giving the body of his father as a pledge; by this law the sepulchre of the debtor became in the power of the creditor; for if the debt was not discharged he could neither be buried with his family, nor in any other vault, nor was he suffered to inter one of his descendants. This prince, desirous of surpassing all his predecessors, left as a monument of his fame a pyramid of brick, with this inscription on a piece of marble.—"Do not disparage my worth by comparing me to those pyramids composed of stone; I am as much superior to them as Jove is to the rest of the deities; I am formed of bricks,[8] which were made of mud adhering to poles drawn from the bottom of the lake."—This was the most memorable of this king's actions.

CXXXVII. He was succeeded by an inhabitant of Anysis, whose name was Anysis, and who was blind. In his reign Sabacus[9] king of Ethiopia overran Egypt with a numerous army; Anysis fled to the morasses, and saved his life, but Sabacus continued master of Egypt for the space of fifty years. Whilst he retained his authority he made it a rule not to punish any crime with death, but according to the magnitude of the offence, he condemned the criminal to raise the ground near the place to which he belonged; by which means the situation of the different cities became more and more elevated; they were somewhat raised under the reign of Sesostris by the digging of the canals, but they became still more so under the reign of the Ethiopian. This was the case with all the cities of Egypt, but more particularly with the city of Bubastis. There is in this city a temple, which well deserves our attention; there may be others larger as well as more splendid, but none which have a more delightful situation. Bubastis in Greek is synonymous with Artemis or Diana.[10]

CXXXVIII. This temple, taking away the entrance, forms an island; two branches of the Nile meet at the entrance of the temple, and then separating flow on each side entirely round it: each of these branches is one hundred feet wide, and regularly shaded with trees; the vestibule is forty cubits high, and ornamented with various figures, none of which are less than six cubits. The temple is in the centre of the town, and in every part a conspicuous object: its situation has never been altered, though every part of the city has been elevated; a wall ornamented with sculpture surrounds the building: in the interior part a grove of lofty trees shades the temple, in the centre of which is the statue of the goddess: the length and breadth of the temple each way is one stadium. There is a paved way which leads through the public square of the city, from the entrance of

before the judges: the judge ordered the man to put the sum of money required in a purse, and to move it so that its shadow might fall on Archidice; his meaning was, that the young man's pleasure was but the shadow of a real one. The celebrated Lamia condemned this decision as unjust; the shadow of the purse, she observed, had not cured the courtesan's passion for the money, whereas the dream had cured the young man's passion for the woman.

7 *Severely handled.*]—The Greek word μιν may apply either to Charaxus or Rhodopis; the application appears most obvious to the former.—*T.*

8 *Formed of bricks.*]—Mr. Greaves asserts, that all the pyramids were made of stone, of course he did not penetrate far enough into Egypt to see the one here mentioned; it is situated about four leagues from Cairo, and is noticed both by Norden and Pococke.—*T.*

As to what concerns the works on which the Israelites were employed in Egypt, I admit that I have not been able to find any ruins of bricks burnt in the fire. There is indeed a wall of that kind which is sunk very deep in the ground, and is very long, near to the pyramids, and adjoining to the bridges of the Saracens, that are situated in the plain; but it appears too modern to think that the bricks of which it is formed were made by the Israelites. All that I have seen elsewhere of brick building, is composed of the large kind of bricks hardened in the sun, such as those of the brick pyramid.—*Norden.*

9 *Sabacus.*]—This event happened in the beginning of the reign of Hezekiah. Prideaux, on the authority of Syncellus, says he took Bocchoris, and burned him alive; but it is more generally believed that Bocchoris was anterior to Sabacus: this last is the person mentioned in the book of Kings, by the name of So.—*T.*

10 *Artemis or Diana.*—Bubastis was a virgin, presided at childbirths, and was the symbol of the moon. This resemblance with their Diana caused the Greeks to name her the Diana of the Egyptians; yet the similitude was far from perfect, for with the latter she was not the goddess of the mountains, the woods, and the chase. This difference probably caused Juvenal to say,

Oppida tota canem venerantur nemo Dianam.—*Larcher.*

this temple to that of Mercury,[1] which is about thirty stadia in length.

CXXXIX. The deliverance of Egypt from the Ethiopian was, as they told me, effected by a vision, which induced him to leave the country: a person appeared to him in a dream, advising him to assemble all the priests of Egypt, and afterwards cut them in pieces. This vision to him seemed to demonstrate, that in consequence of some act of impiety, which he was thus tempted to perpetrate, his ruin was at hand, from heaven or from man. Determined not to do this deed, he conceived it more prudent to withdraw himself; particularly as the time of his reigning over Egypt was, according to the declaration of the oracles, now to terminate. During his former residence in Ethiopia, the oracles of his country[2] had told him, that he should reign fifty years over Egypt: this period being accomplished, he was so terrified by the vision, that he voluntarily withdrew himself.

CXL. Immediately on his departure[3] from Egypt, the blind prince quitted his place of refuge, and resumed the government: he had resided for the period of fifty years in a solitary island, which he himself had formed of ashes and of earth. He directed those Egyptians who frequented his neighbourhood for the purpose of disposing of their corn, to bring with them, unknown to their Ethiopian master, ashes for his use. Amyrtæus was the first person who discovered this island, which all the princes who reigned during the space of seven hundred years[4] before Amyrtæus were unable to do: it is called Elbo, and is on each side ten stadia in length.

CXLI. The successor of this prince was Sethos, a priest of Vulcan;[5] he treated the military of Egypt with extreme contempt, and as if he had no occasion for their services. Among other indignities, he deprived them of their aruræ,[6] or fields of fifty feet square, which, by way of reward, his predecessors had given each soldier; the result was that when Sennacherib, king of Arabia and Assyria, attacked Egypt with a mighty army, the warriors whom he had thus treated, refused to assist him. In this perplexity the priest retired to the shrine of his god, before which he lamented his danger and misfortunes: here he sunk into a profound sleep, and his deity promised him in a dream, that if he marched to meet the Assyrians he should experience no injury, for that he would furnish him with assistance; the vision inspired him with confidence; he put himself

1 *Mercury.*]—The Egyptian Mercury was named Thoth or Theuth. Thoth with the Egyptians was the inventor of the sciences; and as Mercury with the Greeks presided over the sciences, this last people called Thoth in their tongue by the name of Hermes or Mercury: they had also given the name of Mercury to Anubis, on account of some fancied similitude betwixt those deities. "It is not," says Plutarch, "a dog properly so called, which they revere under the name of Mercury, it is his vigilance and fidelity, the instinct which teaches him to distinguish a friend from an enemy, that which (to use the expression of Plato) makes this animal a suitable emblem to the god the immediate patron of reason.

Servius on Virgil has a remark to the same effect.—*Larcher.*

This deity also with the Romans was esteemed the patron of arts, and the protector of learned men. See the ode addressed to him by Horace, beginning with

Mercuri, (nam te docilis magistro
Movit Amphion lapides canendo,)
Tuque testudo, resonare septem
Callida nervis, &c.

Where he is not only represented as the patron, but the teacher of music; Learned men also were called Viri Mercuriales.

Nisi Faunus ictum
Dextra levasset, Mercurialium
Custos virorum.—*Horace.*

2 *The oracles of his country.*]—The oracles in Ethiopia were the oracles of Jupiter.—*T.*

3 *On his departure.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that after the departure of Sabachus there was an anarchy of two years, which was succeeded by the reign of twelve kings, who at their joint expense constructed the labyrinth.

4 *Seven hundred years.*]—M. Larcher is of opinion, that this is a mistake, crept into the manuscript of Herodotus from a confusion of the numeral letters by copyists.—*T.*

5 *Priest of Vulcan.*]—The following account is given by M. Larcher, from Plato, Plutarch, and Diodorus Siculus.

A prince cannot reign in Egypt if he be ignorant of sacred affairs. If an individual of any other class comes accidentally to the crown, he must immediately be admitted of the sacerdotal order. "The kings," says Plutarch, "must be either of the order of priests or soldiers, these two classes being distinguished, the one by their wisdom, the other by their valour. When they have chosen a warrior for king, he is instantly admitted into the order of priests, who instruct him in their mysterious philosophy. The priests may censure the prince, give him advice, and regulate his actions. By them is fixed the time when he may walk, bathe, or visit his wife.

"Such privileges as the above," says M. Larcher, "must necessarily inspire them with contempt for the rest of the nation, and must have excited a spirit of disgust in a people not blinded by superstition." Sethos however experienced how dangerous it was to follow the maxims of the priesthood only.

6 *Aruræ.*]—Aruræ is a Greek word, which signifies literally a field ploughed for corn, and is sometimes used for the corn itself. It was also an Egyptian measure. "Egypt," says Strabo, "was divided into præfectures, which again were divided into toparchiæ, and these into other portions, the smallest of which were termed ἄρουραι." Suidas says it was a measure of fifty feet: from this word is derived, *arvum, aro, &c. See Hoffman on this word.*

at the head of his adherents, and marched to Pelusium, the entrance of Egypt: not a soldier accompanied the party, which was entirely composed of tradesmen[7] and artizans. On their arrival at Pelusium, so immense a number of mice[8] infested by night the enemy's camp, that their quivers and bows, together with what secured their shields to their arms, were gnawed in pieces. In the morning the Arabians, finding themselves without arms, fled in confusion, and lost great numbers of their men. There is now to be seen in the temple of Vulcan a marble statue of this king, having a mouse in his hand, and with this inscription: "Whoever thou art, learn from my fortune to reverence the gods."

CXLII. Thus according to the information of the Egyptians and their priests, from the first king to this last, who was priest of Vulcan, a period of three hundred and forty-one generations had passed, in which there had been as many high priests, and the same number of kings. Three generations are equal to one hundred years, and therefore three hundred generations are the same as ten thousand years; the forty-one generations that remain make one thousand three hundred and forty years. During the above space of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, they assert that no divinity appeared in a human form; but they do not say the same of the time anterior to this account, or of that of the kings who reigned afterwards. During the above period of time the sun,[9] they told me, had four times deviated from his ordinary course, having twice risen where he uniformly goes down, and twice gone down where he uniformly rises. This however had produced no alteration in the climate of Egypt; the fruits of the earth, and the phenomena of the Nile, had always been the same, nor had any extraordinary or fatal diseases occurred.

CLXIII. When the historian Hecatæus[10] was at Thebes, he recited to the priests of

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7 *Tradesmen.*]—The Egyptians were divided into three classes; those of rank, who with the priests occupied the most distinguished honours of the state; the military, who were also husbandmen; and artizans, who exercised the meaner employments. The above is from Diodorus Siculus, who speaks probably of the three principal divisions: Herodotus mentions seven classes.—*Larcher.*

8 *Immense a number of mice.*]—The Babylonish Talmud hath it that this destruction upon the army of the Assyrians was executed by lightning, and some of the Targums are quoted for saying the same thing; but it seemeth most likely, that it was effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which is frequent in those parts, and often when it lights among a multitude destroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in those vast caravans of the Mahometans who go their annual pilgrimage to Mecca; and the words of Isaiah, which threatened Sennacherib with a blast that God would send upon him, seem to denote this thing.

Herodotus gives us some kind of a disguised account of this deliverance from the Assyrians, in a fabulous application of it to the city of Pelusium, instead of Jerusalem, and to Sethos the Egyptian, instead of Hezekiah.

It is particularly to be remarked, that Herodotus calls the king of Assyria Sennacherib, as the Scriptures do, and the time in both doth also well agree; which plainly shows that it is the same fact that is referred to by Herodotus, although much disguised in the relation; which may be easily accounted for, when we consider that it comes to us through the hands of such as had the greatest aversion both to the nation and to the religion of the Jews, and therefore would relate nothing in such a manner as would give reputation to either.—*Prideaux's Connection.*

M. Larcher, in a note of five pages on the above, says little more than our countryman, except that he adopts, with respect to the destruction of the army of Sennacherib, the opinion of Josephus, whose words are these:

"Sennacherib, on his return from the Egyptian war, found his army which he had left under Rabshakeh, almost quite destroyed by a judicial pestilence, which swept away, in officers and common soldiers, the first night they sat down before the city, one hundred and eighty-five thousand men."—*T.*

9 *The sun, &c.*]—See Spenser's Fairy Queen, book v. stanza 8:

> And if to those Egyptians, wizards old,
> Which in star-read were wont to have insight,
> Faith may be given, it is by them told,
> That since the time they first took the sun's height,
> Four times his place he shifted hath in sight,
> And twice hath risen where he now doth west,
> And wested twice where he ought rise aright.

10 *When the historian Hecatæus.*]—Athenæus relates the same circumstance as from Hecatæus, which may serve to confirm the assertion of Porphyry, that Herodotus took great part of his second book, with very slight alteration, from Hecatæus. If this fact be once allowed, Herodotus will lose the character that he has long supported, of an honest man, and a faithful historian. But it appears from Athenæus himself, that the work which in later ages passed under the name of Hecatæus the Milesian, was not universally acknowledged for genuine; and Callimachus, who employed much of his time and pains in distinguishing genuine from spurious authors, attributes the supposed work of Hecatæus to another and a later writer. But what is perhaps even a stronger proof in our author's favour is, that he is never charged with the crime of theft by Plutarch, whose knowledge of this plagiarism, if it had ever existed, cannot be questioned, when we consider his extensive and accurate learning; and whose zeal to discover it cannot be doubted, when we reflect that he has written a treatise expressly to prove the malignity of Herodotus, though in fact it only proves his own. Could Plutarch miss such an opportunity of taxing Herodotus? Could he have failed of saying, that this historian was at once so malicious and so ungrateful as to speak with disrespect and contempt of the author to whom he was obliged for a considerable portion of his own history? Our materials for an account of Hecatæus are at best but scanty. He was a native of Miletus,

Jupiter the particulars of his descent, and endeavoured to prove that he was the sixteenth in a right line from some god. They addressed him in reply, as they afterwards did myself, who had said nothing on the subject of my family. They introduced me into a spacious temple, and displayed to me a number of figures in wood; this number I have before specified, for every high priest places here during his life a wooden figure of himself. The priests enumerated them before me, and proved, as they ascended from the last to the first, that the son followed the father in regular succession. When Hecatæus, in the explanation of his genealogy, ascended regularly, and traced his descent in the sixteenth line from a god, they opposed a similar mode of reasoning to his, and absolutely denied the possibility of a human being's descent from a god. They informed him that each of these colossal figures was a Piromis,[1] descended from a Piromis; and they further proved, that without any variation this had uniformly occurred to the number of three hundred and forty-one, but in his whole series there was no reference either to a god or a hero. Piromis in the Egyptian language means one "beautiful and good."

CXLIV. From these priests I learned, that the individuals whom those figures represented, so far from possessing any divine attributes, had all been what we have described. But in the times which preceded, immortal beings[2] had reigned in Egypt, that they had communication with men, and had uniformly one superior; that Orus,[3] whom the Greeks call Apollo, was the last of these; he was the son of Osiris, and, after he had expelled Typhon,[4] himself succeeded to the throne: it is also to be observed, that in the Greek tongue Osiris is synonymous with Bacchus.

CXLV. The Greeks consider Hercules, Bacchus, and Pan, as the youngest of their deities: but Egypt esteems Pan as the most ancient of the gods, and even of those eight[5]

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and son of one Ægisander; he was one of the very first writers of prose, with Cadmus and Pherecydes of Scyros. Salmasius contends that he was older than Pherecydes but younger than Eumelus. The most ample account of him is found in Vossius. He certainly wrote a book of genealogies; and the sentence with which he commences his history is preserved in Demetrius Phalereus: it is to this effect, "What follows is the recital of Hecatæus, of Miletus: I write what seems to me to be true. The Greeks in my opinion have related many things contradictory and ridiculous."—*T.*

1 *Piromis.*]—There are many strange and contradictory opinions about this passage, which, if I do not deceive myself, is very plain, and the purport of it is this:—"After the fabulous accounts, there had been an uninterrupted succession of Piromis after Piromis, and the Egyptians referred none of these to the dynasties of either the gods or heroes, who were supposed first to have possessed the country."—From hence I think it is manifest that Piromis signifies a man.—*Bryant.*

M. Lacroze observes, that Brama, which the Indians of Malabar pronounce Biroumas, in the Sanscreet or sacred language of India, signifies the same as Piromis; and that Piromia, in the language of the inhabitants of Ceylon, means also at this day a man. Quære, is this similitude the effect of chance, or of the conquests of Sesostris, who left colonies in various parts of Asia?—*Larcher.*

2 *Immortal beings.*—M. Larcher says, that all governments were at first theocratic, and afterwards became monarchic and democratic. In the theocratic form the priests governed alone, who also preserved a considerable influence in monarchies and republics. What prevents our supposing that Egypt was governed many thousand years by priests; and that this government, in reality theocratic, was named from the deity to whom the high priest who enjoyed the sovereign authority attached himself?

3 *Orus.*]—According to Plutarch, the Egyptians held two principles, one good, the other evil. The good principle consisted of three persons, father, mother, and son; Osiris was the father, Isis the mother, and Orus the son. The bad principle was Typhon: Osiris, strictly speaking, was synonymous with reason; Typhon the passions, αλογος, without reason.—*T.*

The notion of a Trinity, more or less removed from the purity of the Christian faith, is found to have been a leading principle in all the ancient schools of philosophy, and in the religions of almost all nations; and traces of an early popular belief of it appear even in the abominable rites of idolatrous worship. The worship of a Trinity is traced to an earlier age than that of Plato or Pythagoras, or even of Moses.—*Bishop Horsley.*

4 *Typhon.*]—Typhon, as the principle of evil, was always inclined to it; all bad passions, diseases, tempests, and earthquakes, were imputed to him. Like the untutored Indians and savages, the Egyptians paid adoration to Typhon from fear; they consecrated to him the hippopotamus, the crocodile, and the ass. According to Jablonski, the word Typhon is derived from *Theu* a wind, and *phou* pernicious.

To Osiris is ascribed the introduction of the vine; "and where," says Mr. Bryant, "that was not adapted to the soil, he showed the people the way to make wine of barley."—*T.*

The Greeks considered Osiris the same person as Bacchus, because they discovered a great resemblance between the fables related of Bacchus and the traditions of the Egyptians concerning Osiris. Learned men of modern times have believed that Isuren, one of the three divinities to whom the Indians now pay adoration, is the ancient Osiris, but this remains to be proved.—*Larcher*

The three Indian deities are Brama, Vishnou, and Seeva; where Larcher found Isuren, I cannot imagine

5 *Even of those eight.*]—The ark, according to the traditions of the Gentile word, was prophetic, and was looked upon as a kind of temple or place of residence of the deity. In the compass of eight persons it comprehended all mankind; which eight persons were thought to be so highly favoured by heaven, that they

who are accounted the first. Hercules was among those of the second rank in point of antiquity, and one of those called the twelve gods. Bacchus was of the third rank, and among those whom the twelve produced. I have before specified the number of years which the Egyptians reckon from the time of Hercules to the reign of Amasis; from the time of Pan a still more distant period is reckoned; from Bacchus, the youngest of all, to the time of Amasis, is a period, they say, of fifteen thousand years. On this subject the Egyptians have no doubts, for they profess to have always computed the years, and kept written accounts of them with the minutest accuracy. From Bacchus, who is said to be the son of Semele, the daughter of Cadmus,[6] to the present time is one thousand six hundred years; from Hercules, the reputed son of Alcmena, is nine hundred years; and from Pan, whom the Greeks call the son of Penelope and Mercury, is eight hundred years, before which time was the Trojan war.

CXLVI. Upon this subject I have given my own opinion, leaving it to my readers to determine for themselves. If these deities had been known in Greece, and then grown old, like Hercules, the son of Amphitryon, Bacchus the son of Semele, and Pan the son of Penelope, it might have been asserted of them, that although mortals, they possessed the names of those deities known in Greece in the times which preceded. Of Bacchus, the Greeks affirm that as soon as he was born[7] Jove inclosed him in his thigh, and carried him to Nysa,[8] a town in Ethiopia beyond Egypt: with regard to the nativity of Pan they have no tradition among them; from all which I am convinced, that these deities were the last known among the Greeks, and that they date the period of their nativity from the precise time that their names came amongst them:—the Egyptians are of the same opinion.

CXLVII. I shall now give some account of the internal history of Egypt; to what I learned from the natives themselves, and the information of strangers, I shall add what I myself beheld. At the death of their sovereign, the priest of Vulcan, the Egyptians recovered their freedom; but as they could not live without kings, they chose twelve, among whom they divided the different districts of Egypt. These princes connected themselves with each other by intermarriages, engaging solemnly to promote their common interest, and never to engage in any acts of separate policy. The principal motive of their union was to guard against the declaration of an oracle, which had said, that whoever among them should offer in the temple of Vulcan a libation from a brâzen vessel, should be sole sovereign of Egypt; and it is to be remembered that they assembled indifferently in every temple.

CXLVIII. It was the resolution of them all, to leave behind them a common monument of their fame.—With this view, beyond the lake Mœris, near the city of crocodiles,[9] they constructed a labyrinth,[10] which exceeds I can truly

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were looked up to by their posterity with great reverence, and came at last to be reputed deities. Hence in the ancient mythology of Egypt there were precisely eight gods; of these the sun was chief, and was said first to have reigned. Some made Hephaistus the first king of that country; whilst others supposed it to have been Pan. There is no real inconsistency in these accounts; they were all three titles of the same deity, the sun.—*Bryant.*

Herodotus says, eight of the first sort; he also tells us that Orus, the Apollo of the Greeks, was the last god that reigned; what then can Mr. Bryant mean by saying he was the first?

6 *Daughter of Cadmus.*]—The son of Cadmus is supposed to have lived at the time of the Trojan war; his daughter Semele is said to have been sixteen hundred years before Herodotus, by that writer's own account: —She was at this rate prior to the foundation of Argos, and many centuries before her father, near a thousand years before her brother.—*Bryant.*

7 *As soon as he was born.*]—Upon this subject I have somewhere met an opinion to the following effect: when the ancients spoke of the nativity of their gods, we are to understand the time in which their worship was first introduced: when mention is made of their marriage, reference is to be made to the time when the worship of one was combined with that of another. Some of the ancients speak of the tombs of their gods, and that of Jupiter in Crete was notorious, the solution of which is, that the gods sometimes appeared on earth, and after residing for a time amongst men, returned to their native skies; the period of their return was that of their supposed deaths.

The following remark is found in Cicero's Tusculan Questions: "Ipsi illi majorum gentium dii qui habentur hinc a nobis in cœlum profecti reperiuntur;"—The gods of the popular religions were all but deceased mortals advanced from earth to heaven.—*T.*

8 He derived his name of Διονυσος from his father, and the place where he was brought up.

9 *City of crocodiles.*]—We are ignorant of the real name of this city; it is very probable that it was called from the word Champsis, which according to our author was the Egyptian term for crocodile.—*Larcher.*

10 *A labyrinth.*]—Diodorus says this was built as a sepulchre for Mendes; Strabo, that it was near the sepulchre of the king that built it, which was probably Imandes. Pomponius Mela speaks of it as built by Psammitichus; but as Menes or Imandes is mentioned by several, possibly he might be one of the twelve kings

say, all that has been said of it; whoever will take the trouble to compare them, will find all the works of Greece much inferior to this, both in regard to the workmanship and expense. The temples of Ephesus and Samos may justly claim admiration, and the pyramids may individually be compared to many of the magnificent structures of Greece, but even these are inferior to the labyrinth. It is composed of twelve courts, all of which are covered; their entrances are opposite to each other, six to the north and six to the south; one wall incloses the whole; the apartments are of two kinds, there are fifteen hundred above the surface of the ground, and as many beneath, in all three thousand. Of the former I speak from my own knowledge and observation, of the latter from the information I received. The Egyptians who had the care of the subterraneous apartments would not suffer me to see them, and the reason they alleged was, that in these were preserved the sacred crocodiles, and the bodies of the kings who constructed the labyrinth: of these therefore I presume not to speak; but the upper apartments I myself examined, and I pronounce them among the greatest efforts of human industy and art. The almost infinite number of winding passages through the different courts, excited my warmest admiration: from spacious halls I passed through smaller apartments, and from them again to large and magnificent courts, almost without end. The ceilings and walls are all of marble, the latter richly adorned with the finest sculpture; around each court are pillars of the whitest and most polished marble: at the point where the labyrinth terminates stands a pyramid one hundred and sixty cubits high, having large figures of animals engraved on its outside, and the entrance to it is by a subterraneous path.

CXLIX. Wonderful as this labyrinth is, the lake Mœris,[1] near which it stands, is

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of greatest influence and authority, who might have the chief ordering and direction of this great building, and as a peculiar honour might have his sepulchre apart from the others.

It was such an extraordinary building, that it was said Dædalus came to Egypt on purpose to see it, and built the labyrinth in Crete for king Minos on the model of this. See a minute description of the labyrinth and temple of the labyrinth by Pococke.

Amidst the ruins of the town of Caroun, the attention is particularly fixed by several narrow, low, and very long cells, which seem to have had no other use than of containing the bodies of the sacred crocodiles: these remains can only correspond with the labyrinth. Strabo, Herodotus, and Ptolemy, all agree in placing the labyrinth beyond the city Arsinoe, towards Libya, on the bank of the lake Mœris, which is the precise situation of these ruins.

Strabo's account of this place does not exactly accord with that of Herodotus, but it confirms it in general: Strabo describes winding and various passages so artfully contrived, that it was impossible to enter any one of the palaces, or to leave it when entered, without a guide.—*Savary.*

The architect who should be employed to make a plan of the labyrinth, from the description of Herodotus, would find himself greatly embarrassed. We cannot form an idea of the parts which composed it; and as the apartments were then so differently formed from ours, what was not obscure in the time of our author, is too much so for us at present. M. Larcher proceeds in an attempt to describe its architecture; and informs the reader, that he conceives the courts must have been in the style of the hotel de Soubise.

There were anciently four celebrated labyrinths; one in Egypt, a second in Crete, a third at Lemnos, and a fourth erected at Porsenna in Tuscany. That at Lemnos is described in very high terms by Pliny.

Labyrinth, in its original sense, means any perplexed and twisted place. Suidas adds λεγεται δε επι των ϲλυαρων, and it is used of prating silly people: in its figurative sense it is applied to any obscure or complicated question, or to any argument which leaves us where we first set out.

The construction of the labyrinth has been imputed to many different persons, on which account the learned have supposed, that there were more labyrinths than one. That this was not the case is satisfactorily proved by Larcher in a very elaborate note.—*T.*

1 *The lake Mœris.*]—That the reader may compare what modern writers and travellers have said on this subject, I shall place before them, from Larcher, Pococke, Norden, Savary, &c. what to me seems most worthy of attention.

I shall first remark, that Herodotus, Diodorus and Pomponius Mela, differ but little in opinion concerning its extent: according to the former it was four hundred and fifty miles in circumference, the latter says it was five hundred; the former assert also that in some places it was three hundred feet deep. The design of it was probably to hinder the Nile from overflowing the country too much, which was effected by drawing off such a quantity of water, when it was apprehended that there might be an inundation sufficient to hurt the land. The water, Pococke observes, is of a disagreeable muddy taste and almost as salt as the sea, which quality it probably contracts from the nitre that is in the earth, and the salt which is every year left in the mud.

The circumference of the lake at present is no more than fifty leagues. Larcher says we must distinguish betwixt the lake itself, and the canal of communication from the Nile; that the former was the work of nature, the latter of art. This canal, a most stupendous effort of art, is still entire; it is called Bahr Yousoph, the river of Joseph, according to Savary forty leagues in length. There were two other canals with sluices at their mouths, from the lake to the river; which were alternately shut and opened when the Nile increased or decreased. This work united every advantage, and supplied the deficiencies of a low inundation, by retaining water which would uselessly have been expended in the sea. It was still more beneficial when the increase of the Nile was too great, by receiving that superfluity which would have prevented seed-time.

Were the canal of Joseph cleansed, the ancient mounds

still more extraordinary; the circumference of this is three thousand six hundred stadia or sixty schœni, which is the length of Egypt about the coast. This lake stretches itself from north to south, and in its deepest parts is two hundred cubits; it is entirely the produce of human industry, which indeed the work itself testifies, for in its centre may be seen two pyramids, each of which is two hundred cubits above and as many beneath the water; upon the summit of each is a colossal statue of marble, in a sitting attitude. The precise altitude of these pyramids is consequently four hundred cubits; these four hundred cubits, or one hundred orgyiæ, are adapted to a stadium of six hundred feet; an orgyia is six feet, or four cubits, for a foot is four palms, and a cubit six.

The waters of the lake are not supplied by springs; the ground which it occupies is of itself remarkably dry, but it communicates by a secret channel with the Nile; for six months the lake empties itself into the Nile, and the remaining six the Nile supplies the lake. During the six months in which the waters of the lake ebb, the fishery[2] which is here carried on furnishes the royal treasury with a talent of silver[3] every day; but as soon as the Nile begins to pour its waters into the lake, it produces no more than twenty minæ.

CL. Of this lake the inhabitants affirm, that it has a subterraneous passage inclining inland towards the west of the mountains above Memphis, where it discharges itself into the Libyan sands. I was anxious to know what became of the earth,[4] which must somewhere have necessarily been heaped up in digging this lake: as my search after it was fruitless, I made inquiries concerning it of those who lived nearer the lake. I was the more willing to believe them, when they told me where it was carried, as I had before heard of a similar expedient used at Nineveh, an Assyrian city. Some robbers, who were solicitous to get possession of the immense treasures of Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, which were deposited in subterraneous apartments, began from the place where they lived to dig under ground, in a direction towards them. Having taken the most accurate measurement, they continued their mine to the palace of the king; as night approached they regularly emptied the earth into the Tigris, which flows near Nineveh, and at length accomplished their purpose. A plan entirely similar was executed in Egypt, except that the work was here carried on not by night but by day; the Egyptians threw the earth into the Nile, as they dug it from the trench; thus it was regularly dispersed, and this, as they told me, was the process of the lake's formation.

CLI. These twelve kings were eminent for the justice of their administration. Upon a certain occasion they were offering sacrifice in the temple of Vulcan, and on the last day of the festival were about to make the accustomed libation;[5] for this purpose the chief priest handed to them the golden cups used on these solemnities, but he mistook the number, and instead of twelve gave only eleven. Psammitichus,[6] who was the last of them, not having a

repaired; and the sluices restored, this lake might again serve the same purposes.—The pyramids described by Herodotus no longer subsist, neither are they mentioned by Strabo.

When it is considered that this was the work of an individual, and that its object was the advantage and comfort of a numerous people, it must be agreed, with M. Savary, that Mœris, who constructed it, performed a far more glorious work than either the pyramids or the labyrinth.—*T.*

2 *The fishery.*]—Diodorus Siculus informs us, that in this lake were found twenty-two different sorts of fish, and that so great a quantity were caught, that the immense number of hands perpetually employed in salting them were hardly equal to the work.—*T.*

3 *Talent of silver.*]—The silver which the fishery of this lake produced was appropriated to find the queen with clothes and perfumes.—*Larcher.*

4 *What became of the earth.*]—Herodotus, when he viewed this lake, might well be surprised at the account they gave him, that it was made by art; and had reason to ask them what they did with the earth they dug out. But he seems to have too much credulity in being satisfied when they told him that they carried the earth to the Nile, and so it was washed away by the river; for it was very extraordinary to carry such a vast quantity of earth above ten miles from the nearest part of the lake, and fifty or sixty from the further parts, even though they might contrive water-carriage for a great part of the way. This I should imagine a thing beyond belief, even if the lake were no larger than it is at present, that is, it may be fifty miles long and ten broad.—*Pococke.*

5 *To make the accustomed libation.*]—As the kings were also priests, they did not before the time of Psammitichus drink wine; and if sometimes they made libations to the gods with this liquor, it was not that they believed it agreeable to them, but that they considered it as the blood of the gods who had formerly fought against them: they thought that their bodies, incorporated with the earth, had produced the vine.—*Plutarch, de Iside & Osiride.*

6 *Psammitichus.*]—In the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of Manasseh, the twelve confederated kings of Egypt, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling out among themselves, expelled Psammitichus, one of their number, out of his share which he had hitherto had with them in the government of the kingdom, and drove him into banishment; whereupon flying

cup took off his helmet,[1] which happened to be of brass, and from this poured his libation. The other princes wore helmets in common, and had them on the present occasion, so that the circumstance of this one king having and using his was accidental and innocent. Observing, however, this action of Psammitichus, they remembered the prediction of the oracle, "that he among them who should pour a libation from a brazen vessel, should be sole monarch of Egypt." They minutely investigated the matter, and being satisfied that this action of Psammitichus was entirely the effect of accident, they could not think him worthy of death; they nevertheless deprived him of a considerable part of his power, and confined him to the marshy parts of the country, forbidding him to leave this situation, or to communicate with the rest of Egypt.

CLII. This Psammitichus had formerly fled to Syria, from Sabacus the Ethiopian, who had killed his father Necos; when the Ethiopian, terrified by the vision, had abandoned his dominions, those Egyptians who lived near Sais had solicited Psammitichus to return. He was now a second time driven into exile amongst the fens, by the eleven kings, from this circumstance of the brazen helmet. He felt the strongest resentment for the injury, and determined to avenge himself on his persecutors: he sent therefore to the oracle of Latona, at Butos,[2] which has among the Egyptians the highest character for veracity. He was informed that the sea should avenge his cause, by producing brazen figures of men. He was little inclined to believe that such a circumstance could ever occur; but some time afterwards, a body of Ionians and Carians,[3] who had been engaged in a voyage of plunder, were compelled by distress to touch at Egypt: they landed in brazen armour. Some Egyptians hastened to inform Psammitichus in his marshes of this incident; and as the messenger had never before seen persons so armed, he said, that some brazen men had arisen from the sea, and were plundering the country. He instantly conceived this to be the accomplishment of the oracle's prediction, and entered into alliance with the strangers, engaging them by splendid promises to assist him; with them and his Egyptian adherents he vanquished the eleven kings.

CLIII. After he thus became sole sovereign of Egypt, he built at Memphis the vestibule of the temple of Vulcan, which is towards the south: opposite to this he erected an edifice for Apis, in which he is kept when publicly exhibited; it is supported by colossal figures twelve cubits high, which serve as columns; the whole of the building is richly decorated with sculpture. Apis in the language of Greece, is Epaphus.

CLIV. In acknowledgment of the assistance he had received, Psammitichus conferred on the Ionians and Carians certain lands, which were termed the camp, immediately opposite to each other, and separated by the Nile; he fulfilled also his other engagements with them, and intrusted to their care some Egyptian children, to be instructed in the Greek language, from whom come those who in Egypt act as interpreters. This district, which is near the sea, somewhat below Bubastis, at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, was inhabited by

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into the fens near the sea he lay hid there, till having gotten together, out of the Arabian free-booters and the pirates of Caria and Ionia, such a number of soldiers as with the Egyptians of his party made a considerable army, he marched with it against the other eleven; and having overthrown them in battle, slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the land, and thereon seizing the whole kingdom to himself reigned over it in great prosperity fifty-and-four years.—*Prideaux.*

1 *His helmet.*]—It is certain that the ancients made use of their helmets on various occasions; whenever any thing was to be decided by lots, the lots were cast into a helmet; and as they appear very obvious for such a purpose, so many instances in ancient writers occur of soldiers drinking out of them, as we may now do occasionally out of our hats.—*T.*

2 *Latona, at Butos.*]—This goddess, one of the eight most ancient divinities of the country, was called Buto, and particularly honoured in the city of that name; she had been the nurse of Apollo and Diana, that is to say, of Orus and Bubastis, whom she had preserved from the fury of Typhon; the mole was sacred to her. Antoninus Liberalis says, that she assumed the form of this little animal to elude the pursuit of Typhon. Plutarch says, that the Egyptians rendered divine honours to the mole on account of its blindness; darkness, according to them, being more ancient than light. M. Larcher adds as a remark upon the observations of Plutarch, what indeed the researches of natural historians have made manifest, that the mole is not blind, but has eyes, though very minute.

3 *Ionians and Carians.*]—See Prideaux's note in the preceding chapter.—*T.*

Psammitichus destroyed Tementhes king of Egypt. The god Ammon had cautioned Tementhes, who consulted him, to beware of cocks. Psammitichus being intimately acquainted with Pignes the Carian, learned from him that the Carians were the first who wore crests upon their helmets; he instantly comprehended the meaning of the oracle, and engaged the assistance of a large body of Carians: these he led towards Memphis, and fixed his camp near the temple of Isis; here he engaged and conquered his adversary.—*Polyænus.*

the Ionians and Carians for a considerable time. At a succeeding period Amasis, to avail himself of their assistance against the Egyptians, removed them to Memphis. Since the time of their first settlement in Egypt, they have preserved a constant communication with Greece, so that we have a perfect knowledge of Egyptian affairs from the reign of Psammitichus. They were the first foreigners whom the Egyptians received among them; within my remembrance, in the places which they formerly occupied, the docks for their ships, and vestiges of their buildings, might be seen.

CLV. Of the Egyptian oracle I have spoken already, but it so well deserves attention, that I shall expatiate still farther on the subject. It is sacred to Latona, and, as I have before said, in a large city called Butos, at the Sebennitic mouth of the Nile, as approached from the sea. In this city stands a temple of Apollo and Diana; that of Latona, whence the oracular communications are made, is very magnificent, having porticos forty cubits high. What most excited my admiration, was the shrine of the goddess;[4] it was of one solid stone,[5] having equal sides; the length of each was forty cubits; the roof was of another solid stone, no less than four cubits in thickness.

CLVI. Of all the things which here excite attention, this shrine is, in my opinion, the most to be admired. Next to this is the island of Chemmis, which is near the temple of Latona, and stands in a deep and spacious lake, the Egyptians affirm it to be a floating island;[6] I did not witness the fact, and was astonished to hear that such a thing existed. In this island is a large edifice sacred to Apollo, having three altars, and surrounded by palms, the natural produce of the soil. There are also great varieties of other plants, some of which produce fruit, others are barren. The circumstance of this island's floating the Egyptians thus explain: it was once fixed and immoveable, when Latona, who has ever been esteemed one of the eight primary divinities, dwelt at Butos. Having received Apollo in trust from Isis, she consecrated and preserved him in this island, which, according to their account, now floats. This happened when Typhon, earnestly endeavouring to discover the son of Osiris, came hither. Their tradition says, that Apollo and Diana were the offspring of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo, Ceres, and Diana, the Egyptians respectively call Isis, Orus, and Bubastis. From this alone, Æschylus,[7] son of Euphorion, took his account, the first poet who represented Diana as the daughter of Ceres, and referred to this the circumstance of the island's floating.

CLVII. Psammitichus reigned in Egypt fifty-four years, twenty-nine of which he consumed in the siege of a great city of Syria, which he afterwards took; the name of this place was Azotus.[8] I know not that any town ever sustained so long and obstinate a siege.

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4 *Shrine of the goddess.*]—This enormous rock, two hundred and forty feet in circumference, was brought from a quarry in the isle of Philæ, near the cataracts, on rafts, for the space of two hundred leagues, to its destined place, and without contradiction was the heaviest weight ever moved by human power. Many thousand workmen, according to history, were three years employed in taking it to its place of destination.—*Savary.*

5 *One solid stone.*]—About this isle (Elephantine) there are several smaller islands, as two to the west, and four to the south, which are high above the water, and also several large rocks of red granite. Two of them appear to have been worked as quarries, as well as the south end of Elephantine. Out of one of these islands probably that entire room was cut of one stone, that was carried to Sais, taking, it may be, the advantage of the situation of the rock, so as to have only the labour of separating the bottom of it from the quarry, and having first probably hollowed the stone into a room of the dimensions described when I spoke of Sais.—*Pococke.*

The grand and sublime ideas which the ancients entertained on subjects of architecture, and other monuments of art, almost exceed our powers of description. This before us is a most extraordinary effort of human industry and power; but it appears minute and trifling, compared with an undertaking of a man named Stesicrates, proposed to Alexander, and recorded by Plutarch. He offered to convert Mount Athos into a statue of that prince. This would have been in circumference no less than one hundred and twenty miles, in height, ten. The left arm of Alexander was to be the base of a city, capable of containing ten thousand inhabitants. The right arm was to hold an urn, from which a river was to empty itself into the sea.—*T.*

6 *Floating island.*]—I am ignorant whether Chemmis has ever been a floating island. The Greeks pretend that Delos floated. I am persuaded they only invented that fable from the recital of Egyptians settled amongst them; and that they attributed to Delos, the birth-place of Apollo, what the Egyptians related of Chemmis, the place of retreat to their Apollo. A rock two thousand toises long could not float upon the waves; but the Greeks, who dearly loved the marvellous, did not examine things so closely.—*Larcher.*

7 *Æschylus.*]—This was doubtless in some piece not come down to us. Pausanias says also, that Æschylus, son of Euphorion, was the first who communicated to the Greeks the Egyptian history; that Diana was the daughter of Ceres, and not of Latona.—*Larcher.*

The same remark is made by Valcnaer, in Wesseling's edition of Herodotus. But all are united in the opinion, that Pausanias made his remark from this passage of Herodotus.—*T.*

8 *Azotus.*]—The modern name of this place is Ezdoud, of which Volney remarks, that it is now famous only for its scorpions. It was one of the five satrapies of the

CLVIII. Psammitichus had a son, whose name was Necos, by whom he was succeeded in his authority. This prince first commenced that canal[1] leading to the Red Sea, which Darius, king of Persia, afterwards continued. The length of this canal is equal to a four days' voyage, and it is wide enough to admit two triremes abreast. The water enters it from the Nile, a little above the city Bubastis: it terminated in the Red Sea, not far from Patumos, an Arabian town. They began to sink this canal in that part of Egypt which is nearest Arabia. Contiguous to it is a mountain which stretches towards Memphis, and contains quarries of stone. Commencing at the foot of this, it extends from west to east, through a considerable tract of country, and where a mountain opens to the south, is discharged into the Arabian gulf. From the northern to the southern, or as it is generally called, the Red Sea, the shortest passage is over Mount Casius, which divides Egypt from Syria, from whence to the Arabian gulf is a thousand stadia. The way by the canal on account of the different circumflexions, is considerably longer. In the prosecution of this work, under Necos, no less than one hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished. He at length desisted from his untertaking, being admonished by an oracle, that all his labour would turn to the advantage of a barbarian; and it is to be observed, that the Egyptians term all barbarians who speak a language different from their own.

CLIX. As soon as Necos discontinued his labours with respect to the canal, he turned all his thoughts to military enterprizes. He built vessels of war, both on the Northern Ocean, and in that part of the Arabian gulf which is near the Red Sea. Vestiges of his naval undertakings are still to be seen. His fleets were occasionally employed, but he also by land conquered the Syrians in an engagement near the town of Magdolum,[2] and after his victory obtained possession of Cadytis,[3] a Syrian city. The vest which he wore when he got this victory he consecrated to Apollo, and sent to the Milesian Branchidæ. After a reign of seventeen years, he died, leaving the kingdom to his son Psammis.

CLX. During the reign of this prince, some ambassadors arrived in Egypt from the Eleans. This people boasted that the establishment of the Olympic games possessed every excellence, and was not surpassed even by the Egyptians, though the wisest of mankind. On their arrival, they explained the motives of their journey; in consequence of which the prince called a meeting of the wisest of his subjects: at this assembly the Eleans described the particular regulations they had established; and desired to know if the Egyptians could recommend any improvement. After some deliberation, the Egyptians inquired whether their fellow citizens were permitted to contend at these games. They were informed in reply, that all the Greeks without distinction were suffered to contend. The Egyptians observed that this must of course lead to injustice, for it was impossible not to favour their fellow-citizens

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Philistines, who kept here the idol of their god Dagon. Its Scriptural name was Ashdod. When the Philistines took the ark from the Jews, they placed it in the temple of Dagon, at Ashdod. See 1 Samuel, chap. v. 2, 3.

"When the Philistines took the ark of God, they brought it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon.

"And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the earth before the ark of the Lord," &c.

This place is also mentioned in the Acts. Philip, having baptized the eunuch of Candace, was caught away by the Spirit of the Lord, and found at Azotus. There is still in this place an old structure, with fine marble pillars, which the inhabitants say was the house which Samson pulled down.—*T.*

1 *That canal.*]—The account given by Diodorus Siculus is this:—The canal reaching from the Pelusian mouth of the Nile to the Sinus Arabicus and the Red Sea, was made by hands. Necos, the son of Psammitichus, was the first that attempted it, and after him Darius the Persian carried on the work something farther, but left it at length unfinished; for he was informed by some, that in thus digging through the isthmus he would cause Egypt to be deluged, for they showed him that the Red Sea was higher than the land of Egypt. Afterwards Ptolemy Second finished the canal, and in the most proper place contrived a sluice for confining the water, which was opened when they wanted to sail through, and was immediately closed again, the use of it answering extremely well the design. The river flowing through this canal is called the Ptolemæan, from the name of its author. Where it discharges itself into the sea it has a city named Arsinoe. Of this canal Norden remarks, that he was unable to discover the smallest trace, either in the town of Kieni, or the adjacent parts. Indeed I am myself strongly inclined to believe that no such junction ever took place.

2 *Magdolum.*]—The battle here mentioned was against Josias, king of Judah. It did not take place at Magdolum, a place in Lower Egypt, but at Magiddo. The resemblance of the names deceived Herodotus.—*Larcher*

3 *Cadytis.*]—The city of Cadytis could be no other than Jerusalem. Herodotus afterwards describes this to be a mountainous city in Palestine, of the bigness of Sardis. There could be no other equal to Sardis, but Jerusalem. It is certain from Scripture, that after this battle Necos did take Jerusalem, for he was there when he made Jehoiakim king.—*See Prideaux, Connect.* i. 56—7.

D'Anville also considers Cadytis as Jerusalem, though some authors dissent.

in preference to strangers. If, therefore, the object of their voyage to Egypt was to render their regulations perfect, they should suffer only strangers to contend in their games, and particularly exclude the Eleans.

CLXI. Psammis reigned but six years; he made an expedition to Ethiopia, and died soon afterwards. He was succeeded by his son Apries,[4] who, next to his grandfather Psammitichus, was fortunate[5] beyond all his predecessors, and reigned five-and-twenty years.[6] He made war upon Sidon, and engaged the king of Tyre in battle by sea. I shall briefly mention in this place the calamities which afterwards befell him; but I shall discuss them more fully[7] when I treat of the Libyan affairs. Apries having sent an army against the Cyreneans, received a severe shock. This misfortune the Egyptians ascribed to his own want of conduct: and imagining themselves marked out for destruction, revolted from his authority. They supposed his views were, by destroying them, to secure his tyranny over the rest of their country. The friends, therefore, of such as had been slain, with those who returned in safety, openly rebelled.

CLXII. On discovery of this, Apries sent Amasis to soothe the malcontents. Whilst this officer was persuading them to desist from their purpose, an Egyptian standing behind him placed an helmet on his head,[8] saying that by this act he had made him king. The sequel proved that Amasis was not averse[9] to the deed; for as soon as the rebels had declared him king, he prepared to march against Apries; on intelligence of this event, the king sent Patarbemis, one of the most faithful of those who yet adhered to him, with directions to bring Amasis alive to his presence. Arriving where he was, he called to Amasis. Amasis was on horseback, and lifting up his leg, he broke wind, and bade him carry that to his master. Patarbemis persisted in desiring him to obey the king; this, Amasis replied, he had long determined to do, that Apries should have no reason to complain of him, for he would soon be with him, and bring others also. Of the purport of this answer Patarbemis was well aware; taking, therefore, particular notice of the hostile preparations of the rebels, he returned, intending instantly to inform the king of his danger. Apries, when he saw him, without hearing him speak, as he did not bring Amasis, ordered his nose and ears to be cut off. The Egyptians of his party, incensed at this treatment of a man much and deservedly respected, immediately went over to Amasis.

CLXIII. Apries on this put himself at the head of his Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, who were with him to the amount of thirty thousand men, and marched against the Egyptians. Departing from Sais, where he had a magnificent palace, he proceeded against his subjects; Amasis also prepared to meet his master and the foreign mercenaries. The two armies met at Momemphis, and made ready for battle.

CLXIV. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes.[10] These are the priests, the military, the herdsmen, swineherds, tradesmen, interpreters, and pilots. They take their names from their professions. Egypt is divided into provinces, and the soldiers, from those which they inhabit, are called Calasiries and Hermotybies.

CLXV. The Hermotybian district contains Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, Papremis, the island of Prosopis, and part of Natho; which places, at the highest calculation, furnish one hundred and sixty thousand Hermotybians. These, avoi-

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4 *Apries.*]—This is the same who in Scripture is called Pharaoh Hophra. It was at this period that Ezekiel was carried to Jerusalem, and shown the different kinds of idolatry then practised by the Jews, which makes up the subject of the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters of his prophecies.—See *Prideaux.*

5 *Was fortunate.*]—Herodotus in this place seemingly contradicts himself: how could he be termed most fortunate, who was dethroned and strangled by his subjects? He probably, as M. Larcher also observes, means to be understood of the time preceding the revolt.—*T.*

6 *Five-and-twenty years.*]—Diodorus Siculus says he reigned twenty-two years; Syncellus, nineteen.

7 *Discuss them more fully.*]—This refers to book the fourth, chap. clix. of our author; but Herodotus probably forgot the engagement here made, for no particulars of the misfortunes of Apries are there mentioned.—*T.*

8 *Helmet on his head.*]—The helmet in Egypt was the distinction of royalty.

9 *Was not averse.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that Amasis, so far from making any great effort to bring back those who had abandoned Apries according to the orders he had received from his master, encouraged them to persist in their rebellion, and joined himself to them.

10 *Seven classes.*]—I have remarked on this subject, chap. cxli. from Diodorus, that the division of the Egyptians was in fact but into three classes, the last of which was subdivided into others.

The Indians are divided into four principal casts, each of which is again subdivided.—Bramins, the military, labourers, and artizans.—*T.*

It is observable of the Iberians, that they were divided into different casts, each of which had its proper function. The rank and office of every tribe were hereditary and unchangeable. This rule of invariable distinction prevailed no where else except in India and in Egypt.—*Bryant.*

ding all mercantile employments, follow the profession of arms.[1]

CLXVI. The Calasirians inhabit Thebes, Bubastis, Apthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennis, Athribis, Pharbæthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, and Mycephoris, which is an island opposite to Bubastis. In their most perfect state of population, these places furnish two hundred and fifty thousand men. Neither must these follow mechanic employments, but the son regularly succeeds the father[2] in a military life.

CLXVII. I am not able to decide whether the Greeks borrowed this last-mentioned custom from the Egyptians, for I have also seen it observed in various parts of Thrace, Scythia, Persia, and Lydia. It seems, indeed, to be an established prejudice, even among nations the least refined, to consider mechanics and their descendants in the lowest rank of citizens, and to esteem those as the most noble who were of no profession, annexing the highest degrees of honour to the exercise of arms. This idea prevails throughout Greece, but more particularly at Lacedæmon; the Corinthians, however, do not hold mechanics in disesteem.

CLXVIII. The soldiers and the priests are the only ranks in Egypt which are honourably distinguished; these each of them receive from the public a portion of ground of twelve acres, free from all taxes. Each acre contains a hundred Egyptian cubits, which are the same as so many cubits of Samos. Besides this, the military enjoy in their turn other advantages: one thousand Calasirians and as many Hermotybians are every year on duty as the king's guards: whilst on this service, in addition to their assignments of land, each man has a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two of beef, with four arusteres[3] of wine.

CLXIX. Apries with his auxiliaries, and Amasis at the head of the Egyptians, met and fought at Momemphis. The mercenaries displayed great valour, but, being much inferior in number, were ultimately defeated. Of the permanence of his authority Apries is said to have entertained so high an opinion, that he conceived it not to be in the power even of a deity to dethrone him. He was, however, conquered and taken prisoner; after his captivity he was conducted to Sais, to what was formerly his own, but then the palace of Amasis. He was here confined for some time, and treated by Amasis with much kindness and attention. But the Egyptians soon began to reproach him for

1 *Profession of arms.*]—With the following remark of M. Larcher, the heart of every Englishman must be in unison. To hear a native of France avow an abhorrence of despotism, and a warm attachment to liberty, has, till within a late period, been a most unusual circumstance. On the subject of standing armies, nothing, perhaps, has been written with greater energy and effect than by Mr. Moyle.

"Every country," says M. Larcher, "which encourages a standing army of foreigners, and where the profession of arms is the road to the highest honours, is either enslaved, or on the point of being so. Foreign soldiers in arms, are never so much the defenders of the citizens, as the attendants of the despot. Patriotism, that passion of elevated souls, which prompts us to noble actions, weakens and expires. The interest which forms an union betwixt the prince and his subjects, ceases to be the same, and the real defence of the state can no longer be vigorous. Of this Egypt is a proof: its despots, not satisfied with the national troops, always ready for service, had recourse to foreign mercenaries. They were depressed, and passed with little difficulty under the dominion of the Persians, afterwards under that of Greece and Rome, of the Mamelukes, and the Turks. The tyrant could not be loved by his slaves, and without the love of his subjects, the prince totters on his throne, and is ready to fall when he thinks his situation the most secure."

"Amongst men," says Æschines, "there are three sorts of governments, monarchic, oligarchic, and republican. Monarchies and oligarchies are governed by the caprice of those who have the management of affairs, republics by established laws. Know then, Oh Athenians! that a free people preserve their liberty and lives by the laws, monarchies and oligarchies by tyranny and a standing army."

To the above I cannot resist the inclination I have to add from Mr. Moyle the underwritten.

"The Israelites, Athenians, Corinthians, Achaians, Lacedæmonians, Thebans, Samnites, and Romans, none of them, when they kept their liberty, were ever known to maintain any soldier in constant pay within their cities, or ever suffered any of their subjects to make war their profession, well knowing that the sword and sovereignty always march hand in hand."—*T.*

2 *Regularly succeeds the father.*]—We know very well, that nothing is more injurious to the police or municipal constitution of any city or colony, than the forcing of a particular trade; nothing more dangerous than the overpeopling any manufacture, or multiplying the traders and dealers of whatever vocation, beyond their natural proportion, and the public demand. Now it happened of old in Egypt, the mother land of superstition, that the sons of certain artists were by law obliged always to follow the same calling with their father.—See *Lord Shaftesbury's Miscellaneous Reflections.*

Before the invention of letters, mankind may be said to have been perpetually in their infancy, as the arts of one age or country generally died with their possessors. Whence arose the policy which still continues in Indostan, of obliging the son to practise the profession of his father.—See notes to a poem, called *The Loves of the Plants*, p. 58.

The resemblance between the ancient Egyptians and the Hindoos is manifest from various circumstances. See Dr. Robertson's Disquisition on India, Appendix I. on the four orders of the Hindoos.

3 *Arusteres.*]—Hesychius makes the word αρυστηρ synonymous with κοτυλη which is a measure somewhat less than a pint.—*T.*

preserving a person who was their common enemy, and he was induced to deliver up Apries to their power. They strangled,[4] and afterwards buried him in the tomb of his ancestors, which stands in the temple of Minerva, on the left side of the vestibule. In this temple the inhabitants of Sais buried all the princes who were of their province, but the tomb of Amasis is more remote from the building than that of Apries and his ancestors.

CLXX. In the area before this temple stands a large marble edifice, magnificently adorned with obelisks, in the shape of palm-trees, with various other ornaments; in this are two doors, forming an entrance to the monument. They have also at Sais the tomb of a certain personage, whom I do not think myself permitted to specify. It is behind the temple of Minerva, and is continued the whole length of the wall of that building. Around this are many large obelisks, near which is a lake, whose banks are lined with stone; it is of a circular form, and, as I should think, as large as that of Delos, which is called Trochoeides.

CLXXI. Upon this lake are represented by night the accidents which happened to him whom I dare not name; the Egyptians call them their mysteries.[5] Concerning these, at the same time that I confess myself sufficiently informed, I feel myself compelled to be silent. Of the ceremonies also in honour of Ceres, which the Greeks call Thesmophoria,[6] I may not venture to speak, further than the obligations of religion will allow me. They were brought from Egypt by the daughters of Danaus, and by them revealed to the Pelasgian women. But when the tranquillity of the Peloponnese was disturbed by the Dorians, and the ancient inhabitants expelled, these rites were insensibly neglected or forgotten. The Arcadians, who retained their original habitations, were the only people who preserved them.

CLXXII. Such being the fate of Apries, Amasis, who was of the city of Siuph, in the district of Sais, succeeded to the throne. At the commencement of his reign the Egyptians, remembering his plebeian[7] origin, held him in contempt; but his mild conduct and political sagacity afterwards conciliated their affections. Among other valuables which he possessed, was a gold vessel, in which he and his guests

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4 *They strangled, &c.*]—It is to this prince, whom, as I have before mentioned, the Scriptures denote by the name of Pharaoh Hophra, that the following passages allude.

"The land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste, and they shall know that I am the Lord: because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made it.

"Behold, therefore, I am against thee, and against thy rivers, and I will make the land of Egypt utterly waste and desolate." Ezekiel xxix. 9, 10.

"Thus saith the Lord, I will give Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life." Jeremiah xliv. 9.

See also Jeremiah xliii. xliv. xlv. Ezekiel xxix. xxx. xxxi. xxxii. In the person of Apries all these prophecies were accomplished. See also *Prideaux, Connect.* i. 39.—*T.*

"Apryes was perswaded that neither God nor the divell coulde have joynted his nose of the empyre."—*Herodotus his second booke, entituled Euterpe.*

5 *Their mysteries.*]—How very sacred the ancients deemed their mysteries, appears from the following passage of Apollonius Rhodius.

> To Samothrace, Electra's isle, they steer,
> That there initiated in rights divine
> Safe might they sail the navigable brine.
> But, muse, presume not of those rites to tell:
> Farewell, dread isle, dire deities, farewell!
> Let not my verse those mysteries explain,
> To name is impious, to reveal profane.

6 *Thesmophoria.*]—These mysteries were celebrated at stated seasons of the year, with solemn shows, and a great pomp of machinery, which drew a mighty concourse to them from all countries. L. Crassus, the great orator, happened to come two days after they were over, and would gladly have persuaded the magistrates to renew them; but not being able to prevail, left the city in disgust. This shows how cautious they were of making them too cheap. The shows are supposed to have represented heaven, hell, elysium, purgatory, and all that related to the future state of the dead: being contrived to inculcate more sensibly, and exemplify the doctrines delivered to the initiated. As they were a proper subject for poetry, so they are frequently alluded to by the ancient poets. This confirms also the probability of that ingenious comment which the author of the Divine Legation has given in the sixth book of the Æneid, where Virgil, as he observes, in describing the descent into hell, is but tracing out in their genuine order the several scenes of the Eleusinian shows.—*Middleton's Life of Cicero.*

These feasts were celebrated in honour of Ceres, with respect to her character as a lawgiver:

> Prima Ceres unco glebam dimovit aratro;
> Prima dedit fruges, alimentaque mitia terris;
> Prima dedit leges. Cereris sunus omnia munus.

Θισμος, according to Hesychius, signifies a divine law, νομος θειος.

The men were not allowed to be present, and only women of superior rank. The sacred books were carried by virgins. According to Ovid, they continued nine days, during which time the women had no connection with their husbands.

> Festa piæ Cereris celebrabant annua matres
> Illa, quibus nivea velatæ corpora veste
> Primitias frugum dant spicea serta suarum:
> Perque novem noctes Venerem tactusque viriles
> In vetitis numerant.—

7 *Plebeian origin.*]—We are told in Athenæus, that the rise of Amasis was owing to his having presented Apries on his birth-day with a beautiful chaplet of flowers. The king was so delighted with this mark of his attention that he invited him to the feast, and received him amongst the number of his friends.—*T.*

were accustomed to spit, make water, and wash their feet: of the materials of this he made a statue of some god, which he placed in the most conspicuous part of the city. The Egyptians assembling before it, paid it divine honours: on hearing which the king called them together, and informed them that the image they thus venerated was made of a vessel of gold which he and they had formerly used for the most unseemly purposes. He afterwards explained to them the similar circumstances of his own fortune, who, though formerly a plebeian, was now their sovereign, and entitled to their reverence. By such means he secured their attachment, as well as their submissive obedience to his authority.

CLXXIII. The same prince thus regulated his time; from the dawn of the day to such time as the public square of the city was filled with people, he gave audience to whoever required it. The rest of the day he spent at the table; where he drank, laughed and diverted himself with his guests, indulging in every species of licentious conversation. Upon this conduct some of his friends remonstrated:—"Sir," they observed, "do you not dishonour your rank by these excessive and unbecoming levities? From your awful throne you ought to employ yourself in the administration of public affairs, and by such conduct increase the dignity of your name, and the veneration of your subjects. Your present life is most unworthy of a king." "They," replied Amasis, "who have a bow, bend it only at the time they want it; when not in use, they suffer it to be relaxed, it would otherwise break, and not be of service when exigence required. It is precisely the same with a man; if without some intervals of amusement, he applied himself constantly to serious pursuits, he would imperceptibly lose his vigour both of mind and body. It is the conviction of this truth which influences me in the division of my time."

CLXXIV. Of this Amasis[1] it is asserted that whilst he was in a private condition he avoided every serious avocation, and gave himself entirely up to drinking and jollity. If at any time he wanted money for his expensive pleasures, he had recourse to robbery. By those who suspected him as the author of their loss, he was frequently, on his protesting himself innocent, carried before the oracle by which he was frequently condemned, and as often acquitted. As soon as he obtained the supreme authority, such deities as had pronounced him innocent, he treated with the greatest contumely, neglecting their temples, and never offering them either presents or sacrifice; this he did by way of testifying his dislike of their false declarations. Such, however, as decided on his guilt, in testimony of their truth and justice, he reverenced as true gods, with every mark of honour and esteem.

CLXXV. In honour of Minerva this prince erected at Sais a magnificent portico, exceeding every thing of the kind in size and grandeur. The stones of which it was composed were of a very uncommon size and quality, and decorated with a number of colossal statues, and androsphynges[2] of enormous magnitude. To re-

1 *This Amasis.*]—The conduct of this prince may properly be compared to that of our English Harry, who, when young, gave himself up to all manner of excesses, but who, when he succeeded to the crown, supported his honours with the truest dignity. The subsequent behaviour of Amasis to the oracles, in like manner, may be contrasted with that of the English monarch to the lord chief justice, who committed him to prison for striking him:

> You did commit me:
> For which I do commit into your hand
> Th' unstain'd sword that you have used to bear,
> With this remembrance, that you use the same
> With the like bold, just, and impartial spirit,
> As you have done 'gainst me. There is my hand.

2 *Androsphynges.*]—This was a monstrous figure, with the body of a lion, and face of a man. The artists of Egypt, however, commonly represented the sphinx with the body of a lion, and the face of a young woman. These were generally placed at the entrance of temples, to serve as a type of the enigmatic nature of the Egyptian theology.—*Larcher.*

"Les sphinx des Egyptiens ont les deux sexes, c'est a dire, qu'ils sont femelles par devant, ayant une tete de femme, et males derriere, ou les testicules sont apparentes. C'est une remarque que personne n'avoit encore faite:

"Il resulte de l'inspection de quelques monumens que les artistes Grecs donnoient aussi des natures composees a ces etres mixtes, et qu'ils faisoient meme des sphinx barbu, comme le prouve un bas relief en terre cuite conserve a la Farnesina. Lorsque Herodote nomme les sphinx des androsphynges, il a voulu designer par cette expression la duplicite de leur sexe. Les sphinx qui sont aux quatre faces de la pointe de l'obelisque du soleil, sont remarquables par leur mains d'hommes armees d'ongles crochus, commes les griffes des betes feroces."—*Winkelmann.*

Dr. Pococke observes that this sphinx is cut out of a solid rock. This extraordinary monument is said to have been the sepulchre of Amasis, though I think it is mentioned by none of the ancient authors, except Pliny.

M. Maillet is of opinion, that the union of the head of a virgin with the body of a lion, is a symbol of what happens in Egypt when the sun is in the signs of Leo and Virgo, and the Nile overflows.—*See Norden's Travels.*

Opposite the second pyramid, eastward, is the enormous sphinx, the whole body of which is buried in the sand, the top of the back only to be seen, which is above

pair this temple he also collected stones of an amazing thickness, part of which he brought from the quarries of Memphis, and part from the city of Elephantine, which is distant from Sais a journey of about twenty days. But what, in my opinion, is most of all to be admired, was an edifice which he brought from Elephantine, constructed of one entire stone. The carriage of it employed two thousand men, all of whom were pilots, an entire period of three years. The length of this structure on the outside is twenty-one cubits, it is fourteen wide, and eight high; in the inside the length of it is twenty-two cubits and twenty digits, twelve cubits wide, and five high. It is placed at the entrance of the temple; the reason it was carried no further is this: the architect, reflecting upon his long and continued fatigue, sighed deeply, which incident Amasis construed as an omen, and obliged him to desist. Some, however, affirm that one of those employed to move it by levers, was crushed by it, for which reason it was advanced no farther.

CLXXVI. To other temples also, Amasis made many and magnificent presents. At Memphis, before the temple of Vulcan, he placed a colossal recumbent figure, which was seventy-five feet long. Upon the same pediment are two other colossal figures, formed out of the same stone, and each twenty feet high. Of the same size, and in the same attitude, another colossal statue may be seen at Sais. This prince built also at Memphis the temple of Isis, the grandeur of which excites universal admiration.

CLXXVII. With respect to all those advantages which the river confers upon the soil, and the soil on the inhabitants, the reign of Amasis was fortunate for the Egyptians, who under this prince could boast of twenty thousand cities[3] well inhabited. Amasis is further remarkable for having instituted that law which obliges every Egyptian once in the year to explain to the chief magistrate of his district, the means by which he obtains his subsistence. The refusal to comply with this ordinance, or the not being able to prove that a livelihood was procured by honest means, was a capital offence. This law Solon[4] borrowed from Egypt, and established at Athens, where it still remains in force, experience having proved its wisdom.

CLXXVIII. The king was very partial to the Greeks, and favoured them upon every occasion. Such as wished to have a regular communication with Egypt, he permitted to have a settlement at Naucratis. To others, who did not require a fixed residence, as being only engaged in occasional commerce, he assigned certain places for the construction of altars, and the performance of their religious rites. The most spacious and celebrated temple which the Greeks have, they call Hellenium. It was built at the joint expense of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phocea, and Clazomenæ; of the Dorians of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis; of the Æolians of Mitylene only. Hellenium is the common property of all these cities, who also appoint proper officers for the regulation of their commerce: the claims of other cities to these distinctions and privileges is absurd and false. The Æginetæ, it must be observed, constructed by themselves a temple to Jupiter, as did the Samians to Juno, and the Milesians to Apollo.

CLXXIX. Formerly Naucratis was the sole emporium of Egypt; whoever came to

a hundred feet long, and is of a single stone, making part of the rock on which the pyramids rest. Its head rises about seven-and-twenty feet above the sand. Mahomet has taught the Arabs, to hold all images of men or animals in detestation, and they have disfigured the face with their arrows and lances.

M. Pauw says, these sphinxes, the body of which is half a virgin, half a lion, are images of the deity, whom they represent as an hermaphrodite.—*Savary.*

3 *Twenty thousand cities.*]—This country was once the most populous of the known world, and now it does not appear inferior to any. In ancient times it had eighteen thousand as well considerable towns as cities, as may be seen by the sacred registers. In the time of Ptolemy Lagus there were three thousand, which still remain. In a general account once taken of the inhabitants, they amounted to seven millions, and there are no less than three millions at present.—*Diod. Siculus.*

Ancient Egypt supplied food to eight millions of inhabitants, and to Italy and the neighbouring provinces likewise. At present the estimate is not one half. I do not think, with Herodotus and Pliny, that this kingdom contained twenty thousand cities in the time of Amasis. but the astonishing ruins every where to be found, and in uninhabited places, prove they must have been thrice as numerous as they are.—*Savary.*

It is impracticable to form a just estimate of the population of Egypt. Nevertheless, as it is known that the number of towns and villages does not exceed two thousand three hundred, and the number of inhabitants in each them, one with another, including Cairo itself, is not more than a thousand, the total cannot be more than two millions three hundred thousand.—*Volney.*

4 *This law Solon.*]—It should rather seem that this law was established in Athens by Draco, and that Solon commuted the punishment of death to that of infamy, against all those who had thrice offended.

any other than the Canopian mouth of the Nile, was compelled to swear that it was entirely accidental, and was in the same vessel obliged to go thither. Naucratis was held in such great estimation, that if contrary winds prevented a passage, the merchant was obliged to move his goods on board the common boats of the river, and carried them round the Delta to Naucratis.

CLXXX. By some accident the ancient temple of Delphi was once consumed by fire, and the Amphictyons voted a sum of three hundred talents to be levied for the purpose of rebuilding it. A fourth part of this was assigned to the Delphians, who, to collect their quota, went about to different cities, and obtained a very considerable sum from Egypt. Amasis presented them[1] with a thousand talents of alum. The Greeks who resided in Egypt made a collection of twenty minæ.

CLXXXI. This king made a strict and amicable confederacy with the Cyrenians; to cement which, he determined to take a wife of that country, either to show his particular attachment to the Cyrenians, or his partiality to a woman of Greece. She whom he married is reported by some to have been the daughter of Battus, by others of Arcesilaus, or, as some say, of Critobulus. She was certainly descended of an honourable family, and her name was Ladice. When the nuptials came to be consummated, the king found himself afflicted with an imbecility which he experienced with no other woman. The continuance of this induced him thus to address his wife: "You have certainly practised some charm to my injury; expect not therefore to escape, but prepare to undergo the most cruel death." When the woman found all expostulations ineffectual, she vowed, in the temple of Venus, "that if on the following night her husband should be able to enjoy her, she would present a statue to her at Cyrene." Her wishes were accomplished, Amasis found his vigour restored, and ever afterwards distinguished her by the kindest affection. Ladice performed her vow, and sent a statue to Venus; it has remained to my time, and may be seen near the city of Cyrene. This same Ladice, when Cambyses afterwards conquered Egypt, was, as soon as he discovered who she was, sent back without injury to Cyrene.

CLXXXII. Numerous were the marks of liberality which Amasis bestowed on Greece To Cyrene he sent a golden statue of Minerva, with a portrait of himself.[2] To the temple of

1 *Amasis presented them.*]—Different species of animals were the deities of the different sects among the Egyptians; and the deities being in continual war, engaged their votaries in the same contention. The worshippers of dogs could not long remain in peace with the adorers of cats and wolves. But where that reason took not place, the Egyptian superstition was not so incompatible as is commonly imagined, since we learn from Herodotus, that very large contributions were given by Amasis towards rebuilding the temple of Delphi.—*Hume.*

2 *Portrait of himself.*]—The art of painting was probably known in Egypt in the first ages, but they do not seem to have succeeded in this art better than in sculpture. Antiquity does not mention any painter or sculptor of Egypt, who had acquired celebrity.—*Savary.*

At what period we may venture to date the first origin of painting, is a subject involved in great difficulty. Perhaps we are not extravagant in saying, that it was known in the time of the Trojan war. The following note is to be found in Servius, Annot. ad Æneid. ii. ver. 392. "Scutis Græcorum Neptunus, Trojanorum fuit Minerva depicta."

With respect to the Egyptians, it is asserted by Tacitus, that they knew the art of designing before they were acquainted with letters. "Prima per figuras animalium Egyptii sensus mentis effingebant, et antiquissima monumenta memoriæ humanæ impressa saxis cernuntur." Annal. lib. x. cap. 14.

It is ingeniously remarked by Webb, in favour of the antiquity of painting, that when the Spaniards first arrived in America, the news was sent to the emperor in painted expresses, they not having at that time the use of letters.

Mr. Norden says, that in the higher Egypt to this day may be seen amongst the ruins of superb edifices, marbles artificially stained, so exquisitely fresh in point of colour, that they seem recently dismissed from the hand of the artist. Winkelmann says, that in the Egyptian mummies which have been minutely examined, there are apparent the six distinct colours of white, black, blue, red, yellow, and green; but these, in point of effect, are contemptible, compared with the columns alluded to above, seen and described by Norden. Pococke also tells us, that in the ruins of the palaces of the kings of Thebes, the picture of the king is painted full length on stone. Both the sides and ceilings of the room in which this is to be seen are cut with hieroglyphics of birds and beasts, and some of them painted, being as fresh as if they were but just finished, though they must be above two thousand years old.

The ancient heathens were accustomed to paint their idols of a red colour, as appears from the following extract from the Wisdom of Solomon:

"The carpenter carved it diligently when he had nothing else to do, and formed it by the skill of his understanding, and fashioned it to the shape of a man, or made it like some vile beast, laying it over with vermilion, and with paint colouring it red, and covering every spot therein."

It seems rather a far-fetched explanation, to say that this was done because the first statues were set up in memory of warriors, remarkable for shedding much blood. Yet it is so interpreted in Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture. Of ancient painting the relics are indeed but few; but those extolled by Pococke and Norden, and the beautiful specimens which have at different times been dug up at Herculaneum, are sufficient to show that the artists possessed

Minerva at Lindus he gave two marble statues, with a linen corselet, which well deserves inspection. Two figures of himself, carved in wood, he presented to the temple of Juno at Samos; they were placed immediately behind the gates, where they still remain. His kindness to Samos was owing to the hospitality[3] which subsisted between him and Polycrates, the son of Æaces. He had no such motive of attachment to Lindus, but was moved by the report that the temple of Minerva there was erected by the daughters of Danaus, when they fled from the sons of Egyptus.—Such was the munificence of Amasis, who was also the first person that conquered Cyprus, and compelled it to pay him tribute.

extraordinary excellence. That in particular of Chiron and Achilles, which many ingenious men have not scrupled to ascribe to Parrhasius, is said to be remarkably beautiful.

The great founder of the art of painting in ancient Greece was Zeuxis, as was Michael Angelo amongst the moderns.—*T.*

3 *Hospitality.*]—That tie amonst the ancients, which was ratified by particular ceremonies, and considered as the most sacred of all engagements: nor dissolved except with certain solemn forms, and for weighty reasons.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK III.

THALIA.[1]

I. AGAINST this Amasis, Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, led an army, composed as well of his other subjects, as of the Ionic and Æolic Greeks. His inducements were these: by an ambassador whom he despatched for this purpose into Egypt, he demanded the daughter of Amasis, which he did at the suggestion of a certain Egyptian who had entertained an enmity against his master. This man was a physician, and when Cyrus had once requested of Amasis the best medical advice which Egypt could afford for a disorder in his eyes, the king had forced him, in preference to all others, from his wife and family, and sent him into Persia. In revenge for which treatment this Egyptian instigated Cambyses to require the daughter of Amasis, that he might either suffer affliction from the loss of his child, or by refusing to send her, provoke the resentment of Cambyses. Amasis both dreaded and detested the power of Persia, and was unwilling to accept, though fearful of refusing the overture. But he well knew that his daughter was meant to be not the wife but the concubine of Cambyses, and therefore he determined on this mode of conduct: Apries, the former king, had left an only daughter: her name was Nitetis,[2] and she was possessed of much elegance and beauty. The king, having decorated her with great splendour of dress, sent her into Persia as his own child. Not long after, when Cambyses occasionally addressed her as the daughter of Amasis, "Sir," said she, "you are greatly mistaken, and Amasis has deceived you; he has adorned my person, and sent me to you as his daughter, but Apries was my father, whom he with his other rebellious subjects dethroned and put to death." This speech and this occasion

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1 *Thalia.*]—On the commencement of his observations on this book, M. Larcher remarks, that the names of the muses were only affixed to the books of Herodotus at a subsequent and later period. Porphyry does not distinguish the second book of our historian by the name of Euterpe, but is satisfied with calling it the book which treats of the affairs of Egypt. Athenæus also says, the first or the second book of the histories of Herodotus.

I am nevertheless rather inclined to believe that these names were annexed to the books of Herodotus from the spontaneous impulse of admiration which was excited amongst the first hearers of them at the Olympic games.

According to Pausanias, there were originally no more than three Muses, whose names were Melete, Mneme, and Aoide. Their number was afterwards increased to nine, their residence confined to Parnassus, and the direction or patronage of them, if these be not improper terms, assigned to Apollo. Their contest for superiority with the nine daughters of Evippe, and consequent victory, is agreeably described by Ovid. Met. book v. Their order and influence seem in a great measure to have been arbitrary. The names of the books of Herodotus have been generally adopted as determinate with respect to their order. This was, however, without any assigned motive, perverted by Ausonius, in the subjoined epigram:

Clio gesta canens, transactis tempora reddit.
Melpomene tragico proclamat mœsta boatu.
Comica lascivo gaudet sermone Thalia.
Dulciloquos calamos Euterpe flatibus urget.
Terpsichore affectus citharis movet, imperat, auget.
Plectra gerens Erato saltat pede, carmine vultu.
Carmina Calliope libris heroica mandat.
Urania cœli motus scrutatur et astra.
Signat cuncta manu, loquitur Polyhymnia gestu.
Mentis Apollineæ vis has movet undique musas,
In medio residens complectitur omnia Phœbus.—*T.*

2 *Nitetis.*]—Cambyses had not long been king, ere he resolved upon a war with the Egyptians, by reason of some offence taken against Amasis their king. Herodotus tells us it was because Amasis, when he desired of him one of his daughters to wife, sent him a daughter of Apries instead of his own. But this could not be true, because Apries having been dead about forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough to be acceptable to Cambyses.—So far Prideaux; but Larcher endeavours to reconcile the apparent improbability, by saying that there is great reason to suppose that Apries lived a prisoner many years after Amasis dethroned him and succeeded to his power; and that there is no impossibility in the opinion that Nitetis might, therefore, be no more than twenty or twenty-two years of age when she was sent to Cambyses.—*T.*

immediately prompted Cambyses in great wrath, to commence hostilities against Egypt.—Such is the Persian account of the story.

II. The Egyptians claim Cambyses as their own, by asserting that this incident did not happen to him, but to Cyrus,[1] from whom, and from this daughter of Apries, they say he was born.[2] This, however, is certainly not true. The Egyptians are of all mankind the best conversant with the Persian manners, and they must have known that a natural child could never succeed to the throne of Persia, whilst a legitimate one was alive. And it was equally certain that Cambyses was not born of an Egyptian woman, but was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspe, of the race of the Achæmenides. This story, therefore, was invented by the Egyptians, that they might from this pretence claim a connection with the house of Cyrus.

III. Another story also is asserted, which to me seems improbable. They say that a Persian lady once visiting the wives of Cyrus, saw standing near their mother the children of Cassandane, whom she complimented in high terms on their superior excellence of form and person. "Me," replied Cassandane, "who am the mother of these children, Cyrus neglects and despises, all his kindness is bestowed on this Egyptian female." This she said from resentment against Nitetis. They add that Cambyses, her eldest son, instantly exclaimed, "Mother, as soon as I am a man, I will effect the utter destruction of Egypt."[3] These words, from a prince who was then only ten years of age, surprised and delighted the woman; and as soon as he became a man, and succeeded to the throne, he remembered the incident, and commenced hostilities against Egypt.

IV. He had another inducement to this undertaking. Among the auxiliaries of Amasis was a man named Phanes, a native of Halicarnassus, and greatly distinguished by his mental as well as military accomplishments. This person being, for I know not what reason, incensed against Amasis, fled in a vessel from Egypt to have a conference with Cambyses. As he possessed great influence amongst the auxiliaries, and was perfectly acquainted with the affairs of Egypt, Amasis ordered him to be rigorously pursued, and for this purpose equipped, under the care of the most faithful of his eunuchs, a three-banked galley. The pursuit was successful, and Phanes was taken in Lydia, but he was not carried back to Egypt, for he circumvented his guards, and by making them drunk effected his escape. He fled instantly to Persia: Cambyses was then meditating the expedition against Egypt, but was deterred by the difficulty of marching an army over the deserts, where so little water was to be procured. Phanes explained to the king all the concerns of Amasis; and to obviate the above difficulty, advised him to send and ask of the king of the Arabs a safe passage through his territories.

V. This is indeed the only avenue by which Egypt can possibly be entered. The whole country, from Phœnicia to Cadytis, a city which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, and in my opinion equal to Sardis, together with all the commercial towns as far as Jenysus,[4]

1 *But to Cyrus.*]—They speak with more probability, who say it was Cyrus, and not Cambyses, to whom this daughter of Apries was sent.—*Prideaux.*

2 *They say he was born.*]—Polyænus, in his Stratagemata, relates the affair in this manner:—Nitetis, who was in reality the daughter of Apries, cohabited a long time with Cyrus as the daughter of Amasis. After having many children by Cyrus, she disclosed to him who she really was; for though Amasis was dead, she wished to revenge herself on his son Psammenitus. Cyrus acceded to her wishes, but died in the midst of his preparations for an Egyptian war. This, Cambyses was persuaded by his mother to undertake, and revenged on the Egyptians the cause of the family of Apries.—*T.*

3 *I will effect the utter destruction of Egypt.*]—Literally, I will turn Egypt upside down.

M. Larcher enumerates, from Athenæus, the various and destructive wars which had originated on account of women; he adds, what a number of illustrious families had, from a similar cause, been utterly extinguished. The impression of this idea, added to the vexations which he had himself experienced in domestic life, probably extorted from our great poet, Milton, the following energetic lines:

> Oh, why did God,
> Creator wise, that peopled highest heaven,
> With spirits masculine, create at last
> This novelty on earth, this fair defect
> Of nature, and not fill the world at once
> With men as angels, without feminine,
> Or find some other way to generate
> Mankind? This mischief had not then befall'n,
> And more that shall befall, innumerable
> Disturbances on earth through female snares!—*T.*

4 *Jenysus.*]—Stephanus Byzantinus calls this city Inys, for that is manifestly the name he gives it, if we take away the Greek termination. But Herodotus from whom he borrows, renders it Jenis. It would have been more truly rendered Dorice Janis, for that was nearer to the real name. The historian, however, points it out plainly by saying, that it was three days' journey from mount Casius, and that the whole way was through the Arabian desert.—*Bryant.*

belong to the Arabians. This is also the case with that space of land which from the Syrian Jenysus extends to the lake of Serbonis, from the vicinity of which mount Casius[5] stretches to the sea. At this lake, where, as was reported, Typhon was concealed, Egypt commences. This tract, which comprehends the city Jenysus, mount Casius, and the lake of Serbonis, is of no trifling extent; it is a three days' journey over a very dry and parched desert.

VI. I shall now explain what is known to very few of those who travel into Egypt by sea. Twice in every year there are exported from different parts of Greece to Egypt, and from Phœnicia in particular, wine secured in earthen jars, not one of which jars is afterwards to be seen. I shall describe to what purpose they are applied: the principal magistrate of every town is obliged to collect all the earthen vessels imported to the place where he resides, and send them to Memphis. The Memphians fill them with water,[6] and afterwards transport them to the Syrian deserts. Thus all the earthen vessels carried into Egypt, and there carefully collected, are continually added to those already in Syria.

VII. Such are the means which the Persians have constantly adopted to provide themselves with water in these deserts, from the time that they were first masters of Egypt. But as, at the time of which we speak, they had not this resource, Cambyses listened to the advice of his Halicarnassian guest, and solicited of the Arabian prince, a safe passage through his territories; which was granted, after mutual promises of friendship.

VIII. These are the ceremonies which the Arabians observe when they make alliances, of which no people in the world are more tenacious.[7] On these occasions some one connected with both parties stands betwixt them, and with a sharp stone opens a vein of the hand, near the middle finger, of those who are about to contract. He then takes a piece of the vest of each person, and dips it in their blood, with which he stains several stones purposely placed in the midst of the assembly, invoking during the process Bacchus and Urania. When this is finished, he who solicits the compact to be made, pledges his friends for the sincerity of his engagements to the stranger or citizen, or whoever it may happen to be; and all of them conceive an indispensable necessity to exist, of performing what they promise. Bacchus and Urania are the only deities whom they venerate. They cut off their hair round their temples, from the supposition that Bacchus wore his in that form; him they call Urotalt; Urania, Alilat.[8]

IX. When the Arabian prince had made an alliance with the messengers of Cambyses, he ordered all his camels to be laden with camel-skins filled with water, and to be driven to the deserts, there to wait the arrival of Cambyses and his army. Of this incident the above seems to me the more probable narrative. There is

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Mr. Bryant is certainly mistaken with respect to the situation of this place. It was an Arabian town, on this side lake Serbonis compared with Syria, on the other compared with Egypt. When Herodotus says that this place was three days' journey from mount Casius, he must be understood as speaking of the Syrian side; if otherwise, Cambyses could not have been so embarrassed from want of water, &c.—See Larcher farther on this subject.

5 *Mount Casius.*]—This place is now called by seamen mount Tenere; here anciently was a temple sacred to Jupiter Casius; in this mountain also was Pompey the great buried, as some affirm, being murdered at its foot. This, however, is not true, his body was burnt on the shore by one of his freedmen, with the planks of an old fishing-boat, and his ashes being conveyed to Rome, were deposited privately by his wife Cornelia in a vault of his Alban villa.—*See Middleton's Life of Cicero.*—*T.*

6 *With water.*]—The water of the Nile never becomes impure, whether reserved at home, or exported abroad. On board the vessels which pass from Egypt to Italy, this water, which remains at the end of the voyage, is good, whilst what they happen to take in during their voyage corrupts. The Egyptians are the only people we know who preserve this water in jars, as others do wine. They keep it three or four years, and sometimes longer, and the age of this water is with them an increase of its value, as the age of wine is elsewhere.—*Aristides Orat. Egyptian.*

Modern writers and travellers are agreed about the excellence of the water of the Nile; but the above assertion, with respect to its keeping, wants to be corroborated. Much the same is said respecting the water of the Thames.

7 *Tenacious.*]—How faithful the Arabs are at this day, when they have pledged themselves to be so, is a topic of admiration and of praise with all modern travellers. They who once put themselves under their protection have nothing afterwards to fear, for their word is sacred. Singular as the mode here described of forming alliances may appear to an English reader, that of taking an oath by putting the hand under the thigh, in use among the patriarchs, was surely not less so.

"Abraham said unto the eldest servant of his house that ruled over all that he had, Put, I pray thee, thy hand under my thigh." Gen. xxiv. 2.—*T.*

8 *Alilat.*]—According to Selden, in his treatise de Diis Syris, the Mitra of the Persians is the same with the Alitta or Alilat of the Arabians. In this term Alilat we doubtless recognise the ALLAH of the modern Arabians.

also another, which, however I may disbelieve, I think I ought not to omit. In Arabia is a large river called Corys, which loses itself in the Red Sea: from this river the Arabian is said to have formed a canal of the skins of oxen and other animals sewed together, which was continued to the above-mentioned deserts, where he also sunk a number of cisterns to receive the water so introduced. From the river to the desert is a journey of twelve days; and they say that the water was conducted by three distinct canals into as many different places.

X. At the Pelusian mouth of the Nile Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, was encamped, and expected Cambyses in arms. Amasis himself, after a reign of forty-four years, died before Cambyses had advanced to Egypt, and during the whole enjoyment of his power he experienced no extraordinary calamity. At his death his body was embalmed, and deposited in a sepuchre which he had erected for himself in the temple of Minerva.[1] During the reign of his son Psammenitus, Egypt beheld a most remarkable prodigy; there was rain at the Egyptian Thebes, a circumstance which never happened before, and which, as the Thebans themselves assert, has never occurred since. In the higher parts of Egypt it never rains, but at that period we read it rained at Thebes in distinct drops.[2]

XI. The Persians having passed the deserts fixed their camp opposite to the Egyptians, as with the design of offering them battle. The Greeks and Carians, who were the confederates of the Egyptians, to show their resentment against Phanes, for introducing a foreign army against Egypt, adopted this expedient: his sons, whom he had left behind, they brought into the camp, and in a conspicuous place, in the sight of their father, they put them one by one to death upon a vessel brought thither for that purpose. When they had done this, they filled the vase which had received the blood with wine and water: having drank which,[3] all the auxiliaries immediately engaged the enemy. The battle was obstinately disputed, but after considerable loss on both sides, the Egyptians fled.

XII. By the people inhabiting the place where this battle was fought a very surprising thing was pointed out to my attention. The bones of those who fell in the engagement were soon afterwards collected, and separated into two distinct heaps. It was observed of the Persians, that their heads were so extremely soft as to yield to the slight impression even of a pebble: those of the Egyptians, on the contrary, were so firm, that the blow of a large stone could hardly break them. The reason which they gave for this was very satisfactory—the Egyptians from a very early age shave their heads,[4] which by being constantly exposed to the action of the sun, become firm and hard: this treatment also prevents baldness, very few instances of which are ever to be seen in Egypt. Why the skulls of the Persians were so soft may be explained from their being from their infancy accustomed to shelter them from the sun, by the constant use of turbans. I saw the very same fact at Papremis, after examining the bones of those who, under the conduct of Achæmenes,[5] son of Darius, were defeated by Inarus, the African.

XIII. The Egyptians after their defeat fled in great disorder to Memphis. Cambyses despatched a Persian up the river in a Mitylenian vessel to treat with them; but as soon as they saw the vessel enter Memphis, they rushed in a crowd from the citadel, destroyed

1 *Temple of Minerva.*]—This is not expressed in the original text, but it is evident that it was in the temple of Minerva, from chap. clxix. of the second book.—*T.*

2 *In distinct drops.*]—Herodotus is perhaps thus particular, to distinguish rain from mist.

It is a little remarkable that all the mention which Herodotus makes of the ancient Thebes, is in this passage, and in this slight manner. In book ii. chap. xv. he informs us that all Egypt was formerly called Thebes.—*T.*

3 *Having drank which.*]—They probably swore at the same time to avenge the treason of Phanes, or perish. The blood of a human victim mixed with wine accompanied the most solemn forms of execration among the ancients. Catiline made use of this superstition to bind his adherents to secrecy: "He carried round," says Sallust, "the blood of a human victim, mixed with wine; and when all had tasted it, after a set form of execration (sicut in solennibus sacris fieri consuevit) he imparted his design."—*T.*

4 *Shave their heads.*]—The same custom still subsists: I have seen every where the children of the common people, whether running in the field, assembled round the village, or swimming in the waters, with their heads shaved and bare. Let us but imagine the hardness a skull must acquire thus exposed to the scorching sun, and we shall not be astonished at the remark of Herodotus.—*Savary.*

5 *Achæmenes.*]—Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus say, that it was Achæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, and uncle of Artaxerxes, the same who before had the government of Egypt in the beginning of the reign of Xerxes, that had the conduct of this war; but herein they were deceived by the similitude of names; for it appears by Ctesias, that he was the son of Hamestris, whom Artaxerxes sent with his army into Egypt.—*Prideaux.*

the vessel, tore the crew in pieces,[6] and afterwards carried them into the citadel. Siege was immediately laid to the place, and the Egyptians were finally compelled to surrender. Those Africans who lived nearest to Egypt, apprehensive of a similar fate, submitted without contest, imposing a tribute on themselves, and sending presents to the Persians. Their example was followed by the Cyreneans and Barceans, who were struck with the like panic. The African presents Cambyses received very graciously, but he expressed much resentment at those of the Cyreneans, as I think, on account of their meanness. They sent him five hundred minæ of silver, which, as soon as he received, with his own hands he threw amongst his soldiers.

XIV. On the tenth day after the surrender of the citadel of Memphis, Psammenitus, the Egyptian king, who had reigned no more than six months, was by order of Cambyses ignominiously conducted, with other Egyptians, to the outside of the walls, and by way of trial of his disposition, thus treated: his daughter, in the habit of a slave, was sent with a pitcher to draw water; she was accompanied by a number of young women clothed in the same garb, and selected from families of the first distinction. They passed, with much and loud lamentation, before their parents, from whom their treatment excited a correspondent violence of grief. But when Psammenitus beheld the spectacle, he merely declined his eyes upon the ground; when this train was gone by, the son of Psammenitus, with two thousand Egyptians of the same age, were made to walk in procession with ropes round their necks, and bridles in their mouths. These were intended to avenge the death of those Mitylenians, who, with their vessel, had been torn to pieces at Memphis. The king's counsellors had determined that for every one put to death on that occasion, ten of the first rank of the Egyptians should be sacrificed. Psammenitus observed these as they passed, but although he perceived that his son was going to be executed, and whilst all the Egyptians around him wept and lamented aloud, he continued unmoved as before. When this scene also disappeared, he beheld a venerable personage, who had formerly partaken of the royal table, deprived of all he had possessed, and in the dress of a mendicant asking charity through the different ranks of the army. This man stopped to beg an alms of Psammenitus, the son of Amasis, and the other noble Egyptians who were sitting with him; which when Psammenitus beheld, he could no longer suppress his emotions, but calling on his friend by name, wept aloud,[7] and beat his head. This the spies, who were placed near him to observe his conduct on each incident, reported to Cambyses; who, in astonishment at such behaviour, sent a messenger, who was thus directed to address him. "Your lord and master, Cambyses, is desirous to know why, after beholding with so much indifference your daughter treated as a slave, and your son conducted to death, you expressed so lively a concern for that mendicant, who, as he has been informed, is not at all related to you;" Psammenitus made this reply: "Son of Cyrus, my domestic misfortunes were too great to suffer me to shed tears,[8] but it was consistent that I should weep for my friend, who, from a station of honour and of wealth, is in the last stage of life reduced to penury." Cambyses heard and was satisfied with his answer. The Egyptians say that Crœsus, who attended Cambyses in this Egyptian expedition, wept at the incident. The Persians also who were present were exceedingly moved, and Cambyses himself yielded so far to compassion,

6 *Tore the crew in pieces.*]—They were two hundred in number; this appears from a following paragraph, where we find that for every Mitylenian massacred on this occasion ten Egyptians were put to death, and that two thousand Egyptians thus perished.—*Larcher.*

7 *Wept aloud.*]—A very strange effect of grief is related by Mr. Gibbon, in the story of Gelimer, king of the Vandals, when after an obstinate resistance he was obliged to surrender himself to Belisarius. "The first public interview," says our historian, "was in one of the suburbs of Carthage; and when the royal captive accosted his conqueror, he burst into a fit of laughter. The crowd might naturally believe that extreme grief had deprived Gelimer of his senses; but in this mournful state unseasonable mirth insinuated to more intelligent observers that the vain and transitory scenes of human greatness are unworthy of a serious thought."

8 *Shed tears.*]—This idea of extreme affliction or anger tending to check the act of weeping, is expressed by Shakspeare with wonderful sublimity and pathos. It is part of a speech of Lear:

> You see me here, ye gods, a poor old man,
> As full of grief as age, wretched in both.
> If it be you that stir these daughters' hearts
> Against their father, fool me not so much
> To bear it tamely: Touch me with noble anger,
> And let not woman's weapons, water drops,
> Stain my man's cheeks. No, you unnatural hags,
> I will have such revenges on you both
> That all the world shall———I will do such things,
> What they are yet I know not, but they shall be
> The terrors of the earth.———You think I'll weep—
> No, I'll not weep. I have full cause of weeping;
> But this heart shall break into a hundred thousand flaws
> Or e'er I weep.—*T.*

that he ordered the son of Psammenitus to be preserved out of those who had been condemned to die, and Psammenitus himself to be conducted from the place where he was, to his presence.

XV. The emissaries employed for the purpose found the young prince had suffered first, and was already dead; the father they led to Cambyses, with whom he lived, and received no farther ill treatment; and could he have refrained from ambitious attempts, would probably have been intrusted with the government of Egypt. The Persians hold the sons of sovereigns in the greatest reverence, and even if the fathers revolt, they will permit the sons to succeed to their authority; that such is really their conduct, may be proved by various examples. Thannyras the son of Inarus,[1] received the kingdom which his father governed; Pausiris also, the son of Amyrtæus, was permitted to reign after his father, although the Persians had never met with more obstinate enemies than both Inarus and Amyrtæus. Psammenitus revolted and suffered for his offence: he was detected in stirring up the Egyptians to rebel; and being convicted by Cambyses, was made to drink a quantity of bullock's blood,[2] which immediately occasioned his death.—Such was the end of Psammenitus.

XVI. From Sais, Cambyses proceeded to Memphis, to execute a purpose he had in view. As soon as he entered the palace of Amasis, he ordered the body[3] of that prince to be removed from his tomb. When this was done, he commanded it to be beaten with rods, the hair to be plucked out, and the flesh to be goaded with sharp instruments, to which he added other marks of ignominy. As the body was embalmed, their efforts made but little impression; when therefore they were fatigued with these outrages, he ordered it to be burned. In this last act Cambyses paid no regard to the religion of his country, for the Persians venerate fire as a divinity.[4] The custom of burning the dead does not prevail in either of the two nations; for the reason above-mentioned, the Persians do not use it, thinking it profane to feed a divinity with human carcasses; and the Egyptians abhor it, being fully persuaded that fire is a voracious animal, which devours whatever it can seize, and when saturated finally expires with what it has consumed. They hold it unlawful to expose the bodies of the dead[5] to any animals, for which reason they embalm them, fearing lest, after interment, they might become the prey of worms. The Egyptians assert, that the above indignities were not inflicted upon the body of Amasis, but that the Persians were deceived, and perpetrated these insults on some other Egyptian of the same age with that prince. Amasis, they say, was informed by an oracle of the injuries intended against his body,

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1 *Inarus.*]—The revolt of Inarus happened in the first year of the 80th Olympiad, 460 before the Christian era. He rebelled against Artaxerxes Longimanus, and with the assistance of the Athenians defied the power of Persia for nearly five years. After he was reduced, Amyrtæus held out for some time longer in the marshy country.—The particulars may be found in the first book of Thucydides, chap. civ. &c.

2 *Bullock's blood.*]—Bull's blood, taken fresh from the animal, was considered by the ancients as a powerful poison, and supposed to act by coagulating in the stomach. Themistocles, and several other personages of antiquity, were said to have died by taking it.—See Plut. in Themist. and Pliny, book xxviii. ch. ix. Aristophanes, in the Ἱππεῖς, also alludes to this account of the death of Themistocles.

Βέλτιστον ἡμῖν αἷμα ταύρειον πιεῖν, χ χ
Ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ θάνατος αἱρετώτερος.

3 *He ordered the body.*]—A similar example of taking a preposterous but cruel vengeance on the body of a deceased enemy, occurs in the story of Achilles, with respect to Hector, and of Alexander the Great, who, on the most minute and frivolous occasions, affected to imitate that hero. See Quintus Curtius.

4 *Venerate fire as a divinity.*]—This expression must not be understood in too rigorous a sense. Fire was certainly regarded by the Persians as something sacred, and perhaps they might render it some kind of religious worship, which in its origin referred only to the deity of which this element was an emblem. But it is certain that this nation did not believe fire to be a deity, otherwise how would they have dared to have extinguished it throughout Persia, on the death of the sovereign, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus?—See an epigram of Dioscorides, Brunk's Analecta, vol. i. 503.—*Larcher.*

5 *Bodies of the dead.*]—We learn from Xenophon, that the interment of bodies was common in Greece; and Homer tells us that the custom of burning the dead was in use before the Trojan war. It is therefore probable that both customs were practised at the same time; this was also the case at Rome, as appears from many ancient monuments: the custom, however, of interment, seems to have preceded that of burning. "At mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturæ genus id fuisse videtur quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum et situm quasi operimento matris obducitur." *Cicero de legibus*, lib. ii. 22.

"That seems to me to have been the most ancient kind of burial, which, according to Xenophon, was used by Cyrus. For the body is returned to the earth, and so placed as to be covered with the veil of its mother." The custom of burning at Rome, according to Montfaucon ceased about the time of Theodosius the younger.

Sylla was the first of the Cornelian family whose body was burned, whence some have erroneously advanced that he was the first Roman; but both methods were mentioned in the laws of the twelve tables, and appear to have been equally prevalent. After Sylla, burning became general.—*T.*

to prevent which he ordered the person who really sustained them, to be buried at the entrance of his tomb, whilst he himself, by his own directions, given to his son, was placed in some secret and interior recess of the sepulchre. These assertions I cannot altogether believe, and am rather inclined to impute them to the vanity of the Egyptians.

XVII. Cambyses afterwards determined to commence hostilities against three nations at once, the Carthaginians, the Ammonians, and the Macrobian[6] Ethiopians, who inhabit that part of Libya, which lies to the southern ocean. He accordingly resolved to send against the Carthaginians a naval armament; a detachment of his troops was to attack the Ammonians by land; and he sent spies into Ethiopia, who, under pretence of carrying presents to the prince, were to ascertain the reality of the celebrated table of the sun,[7] and to examine the condition of the country.

XVIII. What they called the table of the sun was this:—A plain in the vicinity of the city, was filled to the height of four feet with the roasted flesh of all kinds of animals, which was carried there in the night, under the inspection of the magistrates; during the day whoever pleased was at liberty to go and satisfy his hunger. The natives of the place affirm, that the earth spontaneously produces all these viands: this, however, is what they term the table of the sun.

XIX. As soon as Cambyses had resolved on the measures he meant to pursue, with respect to the Ethiopians, he sent to the city of Elephantine for some of the Icthyophagi who were skilled in their language. In the meantime he directed his naval forces to proceed against the Carthaginians; but the Phenicians refused to assist him in this purpose, pleading the solemnity of their engagements with that people, and the impiety of committing acts of violence against their own descendants:—Such was the conduct of the Phenicians, and the other armaments were not powerful enough to proceed. Thus, therefore, the Carthaginians escaped being made tributary to Persia, for Cambyses did not choose to use compulsion with the Phenicians, who had voluntarily become his dependents, and who constituted the most essential part of his naval power. The Cyprians had also submitted without contest to the Persians, and had served in the Egyptian expedition.

XX. As soon as the Icthyophagi arrived from Elephantine, Cambyses despatched them to Ethiopia. They were commissioned to deliver, with certain presents, a particular message to the prince. The presents consisted of a purple vest, a gold chain for the neck, bracelets, an alabaster box of perfumes,[8] and a cask of palm wine. The Ethiopians to whom Cambyses sent, are reported to be superior to all other men in the perfections of size and beauty: their manners and customs, which differ also from those of all other nations, have besides this singular distinction; the supreme authority is given to him who excels all his fellow citizens[9] in size and proportionable strength.

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6 *i. e.* long-lived.

7 *Table of the sun.*]—Solinus speaks of this table of the sun as something marvellous, and Pomponius Mela seems to have had the same idea. Pausanias considers what was reported of it as fabulous. "If," says he, "we credit all these marvels on the faith of the Greeks, we ought also to receive as true what the Ethiopians above Syene relate of the table of the sun." In adhering to the recital of Herodotus, a considerable portion of the marvellous disappears.—*Larcher.*

8 *Alabaster box of perfumes.*]—It seems probable that perfumes in more ancient times were kept in shells. Arabia is the country of perfumes, and the Red Sea throws upon the coast a number of large and beautiful shells, very convenient for such a purpose.—See Horace:

Funde capacibus
Unguenta de conchis.

That to make a present of perfumes was deemed a mark of reverence and honour in the remotest times amongst the orientals, appears from the following passage in Daniel.

"Then the king Nebuchadnezzer fell upon his face, and worshipped Daniel, and commanded that they should offer an oblation and sweet odours to him."

See also St. Mark, xiv. 3:

"There came a woman having an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard, very precious; and she brake the box, and poured it on his head."

See also Matth. xxvi. 7.

To sprinkle the apartments and the persons of the guests with rose water, and other aromatics, still continues in the east to be a mark of respectful attention.

Alabastron did not properly signify a vessel made of the stone now called alabaster, but one without handles, μη εχον λαβας.

Alabaster obtained its name from being frequently used for this purpose; the ancient name for the stone was *alabastrites*, and perfumes were thought to keep better in it than in any other substance. Pliny has informed us of the shape of these vessels, by comparing to them the pearls called elenchi, which are known to have been shaped like pearls, or, as he expresses it, fastigiata longitudine, alabastrorum figura, in pleniorem orbem desinentes. lib. ix. cap. 35.

9 *Who excels all his fellow citizens, &c.*]—That the quality of strength and accomplishments of person were in the first institution of society the principal recommendations to honour, is thus represented by Lucretius:

XXI. The Ichthyophagi on their arrival offered the presents, and thus addressed the king: "Cambyses, sovereign of Persia, from his anxious desire of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us to communicate with you, and to desire your acceptance of these presents, from the use of which he himself derives the greatest pleasure." The Ethiopian prince, who was aware of the object they had in view, made them this answer—"The king of Persia has not sent you with these presents, from any desire of obtaining my alliance; neither do you speak the truth, who, to facilitate the unjust designs of your master, are come to examine the state of my dominions: if he were influenced by principles of integrity, he would be satisfied with his own, and not covet the possessions of another; nor would he attempt to reduce those to servitude from whom he has received no injury. Give him therefore this bow, and in my name speak to him thus: The king of Ethiopia sends this counsel to the king of Persia—when his subjects shall be able to bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then with a superiority of numbers he may venture to attack the Macrobian Ethiopians. In the meantime let him be thankful to the gods, that the Ethiopians have not been inspired with the same ambitious views of extending their possessions."

XXII. When he had finished, he unbent the bow and placed it in their hands: after which, taking the purple vest, he inquired what it was, and how it was made: the Ichthyophagi properly explained to him the process by which the purple tincture was communicated; but he told them that they and their vests were alike deceitful. He then made similar enquiries concerning the bracelets and the gold chain for the neck: upon their describing the nature of these ornaments, he laughed, and conceiving them to be chains,[1] remarked, that the Ethiopians possessed much stronger. He proceeded lastly to ask them the use of the perfumes; and when they informed him how they were made and applied, he made the same observation as he had before done of the purple robe.[2] When he came to the wine, and learned how it was made, he drank it with particular satisfaction; and inquired upon what food the Persian monarch subsisted, and what was the longest period of a Persian's life. The king, they told him, lived chiefly upon bread; and they then described to him the properties of corn: they added that the longest period of life in Persia was about eighty years. "I am not at all surprised," said the Ethiopian prince, "that, subsisting on dung, the term of life is so short among them; and unless," he continued, point-

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Condere cœperunt urbeis, arcemque locare
Præsidium reges ipsi sibi perfugiumque:
Et pecudes et agros divisere atque dedere
Pro facie cujusque, et viribus ingenioque,
Nam facies multum valuit, viresque vigebant.—*T.*

1 *Conceiving them to be chains.*]—We learn from a passage in Genesis xxiv. 22, that the bracelets of the Orientals were remarkably heavy; which seems in some measure to justify the sentiment of the Ethiopian prince, who thought them chains simply because they were made of gold, which was used for that purpose in his country.—See chap. xxiii.

"And it came to pass as the camels had done drinking, that the man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands, of ten shekels weight of gold."

That the bracelet was formerly an ensign of royalty amongst the Orientals, Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, infers from the circumstance of the Amalekite's bringing to David the bracelet which he found on Saul's arm, along with his crown. That it was a mark of dignity there can be little doubt: but it by no means follows that it was a mark of royalty, though the remark is certainly ingenious. If it was, there existed a peculiar propriety in making it the part of a present from one prince to another. By the Roman generals they were given to their soldiers, as a reward of bravery. Small chains were also in the remotest times worn round the neck, not only by women but by the men. That these were also worn by princes appears from Judges viii. 26.

"And the weight of the golden ear-rings that he requested, was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold; beside ornaments, and *collars*, and purple raiment that was on the kings of Midian; and beside the chains that were about the camels' necks." Which last circumstance tends also to prove that they thus also decorated the animals they used, which fashion is to this day observed by people of distinction in Egypt.—*T.*

2 *Purple robe.*]—It is a circumstance well known at present that on the coast of Guayaquil, as well as on that of Guatima, are found those snails which yield the purple dye so celebrated by the ancients, and which the moderns have supposed to have been lost. The shell that contains them is fixed to rocks that are watered by the sea; it is of the size of a large nut. The juice may be extracted from the animal in two ways; some persons kill the animal after they have taken it out of the shell, they then press it from the head to the tail with a knife, and separating from the body that part in which the liquor is collected, they throw away the rest. When this operation, repeated upon several of the snails, hath yielded a certain quantity of the juice, the thread that is to be died is dipped in it, and the business is done. The colour, which is at first as white as milk, becomes afterwards green, and does not turn purple till the thread is dry.

We know of no colour that can be compared to the one we have been speaking of, either in lustre or in permanency.—*Raynal.*

Pliny describes the *purpura* as a turbinated shell like the buccinum, but with spines upon it; which may lead us to suspect the Abbe's account of the *snails* of a little inaccuracy.—*T.*

ing to the wine, "they mixed it with this liquor, they would not live so long;" for in this he allowed that they excelled the Ethiopians.

XXIII. The Ichthyophagi in their turn questioned the prince concerning the duration of life in Ethiopia, and the kind of food there in use:—They were told, that the majority of the people lived to the age of[3] one hundred and twenty years, but that some exceeded even that period; that their meat was baked flesh, their drink milk. When the spies expressed astonishment at the length of life in Ethiopia, they were conducted to a certain fountain, in which having bathed, they became shining as if anointed with oil, and diffused from their bodies the perfume of violets. But they asserted that the water of this fountain was of so insubstantial a nature, that neither wood, nor any thing still lighter than wood, would float upon its surface, but every thing instantly sunk to the bottom. If their representation of this water was true, the constant use of it may probably explain the extreme length of life which the Ethiopians attain. From the fountain they were conducted to the public prison, where all that were confined were secured by chains of gold; for among these Ethiopians brass is the rarest of all the metals. After visiting the prison they saw also what is called the table of the sun.

XXIV. Finally they were shown their coffins,[4] which are said to be constructed of crystal, and in this manner:—After all the moisture is exhausted from the body, by the Egyptian or some other process, they cover it totally with a kind of plaster, which they decorate with various colours, and make it convey as near a resemblance as may be, of the person of the deceased. They then inclose it in a hollow pillar of crystal,[5] which is dug up in great abundance, and of a kind that is easily worked. The deceased is very conspicuous through the crystal, has no disagreeable smell, nor any thing else that is offensive. This coffin the nearest relations keep for a twelvemonth in their houses, offering before it different kinds of victims, and the first fruits of their lands; these are afterwards removed and set up round the city.

XXV. The spies, after executing their com-

3 *Lived to the age of, &c.*]—"We travelled all the night, as far as Bacras, a large borough, the lord of which was a venerable old man, of a hundred and thirty years old, and who appeared to us strong and vigorous, as if he had not been above forty."—*Poncet's Voyage to Ethiopia.*

4 *Coffins.*]—Coffins, though anciently used in the East, and considered as marks of distinction, are not now there applied to the dead either by Turks or Christians.

"With us," says Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture, "the poorest people have their coffins: if the relations cannot afford them, the parish is at the expense. In the East, on the contrary, they are not now at all made use of. Turks and Christians, Thevenot assures us, agree in this. The ancient Jews probably buried their dead in the same manner: neither was the body of our Lord, it should seem, put into a coffin, nor that of Elisha, whose bones were touched by the corpse that was let down a little after into his sepulchre. 2 Kings xiii. 21. That they, however, were anciently made use of in Egypt, all agree; and antique coffins, of stone and sycamore wood, are still to be seen in that country, not to mention those said to be made of a kind of pasteboard, formed by folding and glewing cloth together a great number of times, which were curiously plastered, and then painted with hieroglyphics. Its being an ancient Egyptian custom, and its not being used in the neighbouring countries, were doubtless the cause that the sacred historian expressly observes of Joseph, that he was not only embalmed, but put into a coffin too, both being managements peculiar in a manner to the Egyptians."—*Observations on Passages of Scripture*, vol. ii. 154.

Mr. Harmer's observation in the foregoing note is not strictly true. The use of coffins might very probably be unknown in Syria, from whence Joseph came; but that they were used by all nations contiguous on one side at least to Egypt, the passage before us proves sufficiently. I have not been able to ascertain at what period the use of coffins was introduced in this country, but it appears from the following passage of our celebrated antiquary Mr. Strutt, that from very remote times our ancestors were interred in some kind of coffin. "It was customary in the Christian burials of the Anglo Saxons to leave the head and shoulders of the corpse uncovered till the time of burial, that relations, &c. might take a last view of their deceased friend." We have also the following in Durant, "Corpus totum at sudore obvolutum ac locuto conditum veteres in cœnaculis, seu triclinilis exponebant."

We learn from a passage in Strabo, that there was a temple at Alexandria, in which the body of Alexander was deposited, in a coffin of gold; it was stolen by Seleucus Cybiosactes, who left a coffin of glass in its place. This is the only author, except Herodotus, in whom I can remember to have seen mention made of a coffin of glass. The urns of ancient Rome, in which the ashes of the dead were deposited, were indifferently made of gold, silver, brass, alabaster, porphyry, and marble; these were externally ornamented according to the rank of the deceased. A minute description of these, with a multitude of specimens, may be seen in Montfaucon.—*T.*

5 *Pillar of crystal.*]—"Our glass," says M. Larcher, "is not the production of the earth, it must he manufactured with much trouble." According to Ludolf, they find in some parts of Ethiopia large quantities of fossil salt, which is transparent, and which indurates in the air: this is perhaps what they took for glass.

We have the testimony of the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that ὕαλος, though afterwards used for glass, signified anciently crystal: as therefore Herodotus informs us that this substance was digged from the earth, why should we hesitate to translate it crystal?—*T.*

mission, returned; and Cambyses was so exasperated at their recital, that he determined instantly to proceed against the Ethiopians, without ever providing for the necessary sustenance of his army, or reflecting that he was about to visit the extremities of the earth. The moment that he heard the report of the Ichthyophagi, like one deprived of all the powers of reason, he commenced his march with the whole body of his infantry, leaving no forces behind but such Greeks as had accompanied him to Egypt. On his arrival at Thebes, he selected from his army about fifty thousand men, whom he ordered to make an incursion against the Ammonians, and to burn the place from whence the oracles of Jupiter were delivered; he himself with the remainder of his troops marched against the Ethiopians. Before he had performed the fifth part of his intended expedition, the provisions he had with him were totally consumed. They proceeded to eat the beasts which carried the baggage, till these also failed. If after these incidents Cambyses had permitted his passions to cool, and had led his army back again, notwithstanding his indiscretion, he still might have deserved praise. Instead of this, his infatuation continued, and he proceeded on his march. The soldiers, as long as the earth afforded them any sustenance, were content to feed on vegetables; but as soon as they arrived among the sands and the deserts, some of them were prompted by famine to proceed to the most horrid extremities. They drew lots, and every tenth man was destined to satisfy the hunger of the rest.[1] When Cambyses received intelligence of this fact, alarmed at the idea of devouring one another, he abandoned his designs upon the Ethiopians, and returning homeward arrived at length at Thebes, after losing a considerable number of his men. From Thebes he proceeded to Memphis, from whence he permitted the Greeks to embark.—Such was the termination of the Ethiopian expedition.

XXVI. The troops who were despatched against the Ammonians left Thebes with guides, and penetrated, as it should seem, as far as Oasis. This place is distant from Thebes about a seven days' journey over the sands, and is said to be inhabited by Samians, of the Æschryonian tribe. The country is called in Greek, "The happy Island." The army is reported to have proceeded thus far; but what afterwards became of them it is impossible to know, except from the Ammonians, or those whom the Ammonians have instructed on this head. It is certain that they never arrived among the Ammonians, and that they never returned.[2] The Ammonians affirm, that as they were marching forwards from Oasis through the sands, they halted at some place of middle distance, for the purpose of taking repast, which while they were doing, a strong south wind arose, and overwhelmed them beneath a mountain of sand,[3] so that they were seen no more.

1 *Satisfy the hunger of the rest.*]—The whole of this narrative is transcribed by Seneca, with some little variation, in his treatise *de Ira;* who at the conclusion adds, though we know not from what authority, that notwithstanding these dreadful sufferings of his troops, the king's table was served with abundance of delicacies. Servabantur interim illi generosæ aves et instrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur.

Perhaps the most horrid example on record of suffering from famine, is the description given by Josephus of the siege of Jerusalem. Eleven thousand prisoners were starved to death after the capture of the city, during the storm. Whilst the Romans were engaged in pillage, on entering several houses they found whole families dead, and the houses crammed with starved carcases; but what is still more shocking, it was a notorious fact, that a mother killed, dressed, and eat her own child.—*T.*

2 *Never returned.*]—The route of the army makes it plain that the guides, who detested the Persians, led them astray amidst the deserts; for they should have departed from the lake Mareotis to this temple, or from the environs of Memphis. The Egyptians, intending the destruction of their enemies, led them from Thebes to the great Oasis, three days' journey from Abydus; and having brought them into the vast solitudes of Libya, they no doubt abandoned them in the night, and delivered them over to death.—*Savary.*

3 *Mountain of sand.*]—What happens at present in performing this journey, proves the event to be very credible. Travellers, departing from the fertile valley lying under the tropic, march seven days before they come to the first town in Ethiopia. They find their way in the day-time by looking at marks, and at night by observing the stars. The sand-hills they had observed on the preceding journey having often been carried away by the winds, deceive the guides; and if they wander the least out of the road, the camels, having passed five or six days without drinking, sink under their burden, and die: the men are not long before they submit to the same fate, and sometimes, out of a great number, not a single traveller escapes; at others the burning winds from the south raise vortexes of dust, which suffocate man and beast, and the next caravan sees the ground strewed with bodies totally parched up.—*Savary.*

"We set forward on the second of October, early in the morning, and from that very day we entered a frightful desert. These deserts are extremely dangerous, because the sands, being moving, are raised by the least wind; they darken the air, and falling afterwards in clouds, passengers are often buried in them, or at least lose the route which they ought to keep."—*Poncet.*

So where our wide Numidian wastes extend,
Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes descend,
Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play,
Tear up the sands, and sweep whole plains away;

—Such, as the Ammonians relate, was the fate of this army.

XXVII. Soon after the return of Cambyses to Memphis, the god Apis appeared, called by the Greeks, Epaphus.[4] Upon this occasion the Egyptians clothed themselves in their richest apparel, and made great rejoicings. Cambyses took notice of this, and imagined it was done on account of his late unfortunate projects. He ordered, therefore, the magistrates of Memphis to attend him; and he asked them why they had done nothing of this kind when he was formerly at Memphis, and had only made rejoicings now that he had returned with the loss of so many of his troops. They told him that their deity[5] had appeared to them, which after a long absence it was his custom to do; and that when this happened, it was customary for all the Egyptians to hold a solemn festival. Cambyses disbelieved what they told him, and condemned them to death as guilty of falsehood.

XXVIII. As soon as they were executed, he sent for the priests, from whom he received the same answer. "If," said he, "any deity has shown himself familiarly in Egypt, I must see and know him." He then commanded them to bring Apis before him, which they prepared to do. This Apis, or Epaphus, is the calf of a cow which can have no more young. The Egyptians say, that on this occasion the cow is struck with lightning, from which she conceives and brings forth Apis. The young one so produced, and thus named, is known by certain marks: The skin is black, but on its forehead is a white star, of a triangular form. It has the figure of an eagle on the back, the tail[6] is divided, and under the tongue[7] it has an insect like a beetle.

XXIX. When the priests conducted Apis to his presence, Cambyses was transported with rage. He drew his dagger, and endeavouring to stab him in the belly, wounded him in the thigh; then turning to the priests with an insulting smile, "Wretches," he exclaimed, "think ye that gods are formed of flesh and blood, and thus susceptible of wounds? This,

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The helpless traveller, with wild surprise,
Sees the dry desert all around him rise,
And smothered in the dusty whirlwind dies.
Addison.

"These lines," says Mr. Bruce, who quotes them, "are capital, and are a fine copy, which can only appear true by the original having been before our eyes, painted by the great master, the creator and ruler of the world."

4 *Epaphus.*]—Epaphus was the son of Io, the daughter of Inachus. The Greeks pretend he was the same person as the god Apis; this the Egyptians rejected as fabulous, and asserted that Epaphus was posterior to Apis by many centuries.

5 *Their deity.*]—It was probable that Apis was not always considered as a deity; perhaps they regarded him as a symbol of Osiris, and it was from this that the Egyptians were induced to pay him veneration. Others assert confidently that he was the same as Osiris; and some have said, that Osiris having been killed by Typhon, Isis inclosed his limbs in a heifer made of wood. Apis was sacred to the moon, as was the bull Mnevis to the sun. Others supposed that both were sacred to Osiris, who is the same with the sun. When he died, there was an universal mourning in Egypt. They sought for another, and having found him, the mourning ended. The priests conducted him to Nilopolis, where they kept him forty days. They afterwards removed him in a magnificent vessel to Memphis, where he had an apartment ornamented with gold. During the forty days above mentioned the women only were suffered to see him. They stood round him, and lifting up their garments, discovered to him what modesty forbids us to name. Afterwards the sight of the god was forbidden them.

Every year they brought him a heifer, which had also certain marks. According to the sacred books, he was only permitted to live a stipulated time; when this came, he was drowned in a sacred fountain.—*Larcher.*

A few other particulars concerning this Apis may not be unacceptable to an English reader.

The homage paid him was not confined to Egypt; many illustrious conquerors and princes of foreign nations, Alexander, Titus, and Adrian, bowed themselves before him. Larcher says that he was considered as sacred to the moon; but Porphyry expressly says, that he was sacred to both sun and moon. The following passage is from Plutarch: "The priests affirm that the moon sheds a generative light, with which should a cow wanting the bull be struck, she conceives Apis, who bears the sign of that planet." Strabo says, that he was brought out from his apartment to gratify the curiosity of strangers, and might always be seen through a window. Pliny relates with great solemnity that he refused food from the hand of Germanicus, who died soon after; and one ancient historian asserts, that during the seven days when the birth of Apis was celebrated, crocodiles forgot their natural ferocity, and became tame.

The bishop of Avranches, M. Huet, endeavoured to prove that Apis was a symbol of the patriarch Joseph.

It has been generally allowed, that Osiris was reverenced in the homage paid to Apis. Osiris introduced agriculture, in which the utility of the bull is obvious; and this appears to be the most rational explanation that can be given of this part of the Egyptian superstition.—*See Savary, Pococke, &c.*—*T.*

6 *The tail.*]—The scholiast of Ptolemy says, but I know not on what authority, that the tail of the bull increased or diminished according to the age of the moon.—*Larcher.*

7 *Under the tongue.*]—In all the copies of Herodotus it is επι δε τῃ γλωσσῃ 'upon the tongue,' but it is plain from Pliny and Eusebius that it ought to be υπο 'under.' The former explains what it was, Nodus sub lingua quem cantharum appellant, "a knot under the tongue, which they call cantharus, or the beetle," viii. 46. The spot on the forehead is also changed by the commentators from quadrangular to triangular. Pliny mentions also a mark like a crescent on the right side, and is silent about the eagle. The beetle was considered as an emblem of the sun.—*T.*

indeed, is a deity worthy of Egyptians; but you shall find that I am not to be mocked with impunity." He then called the proper officers, and commanded the priests to be scourged: he directed also that whatever Egyptian was found celebrating this festival, should be put to death. The priests were thus punished, and no farther solemnities observed. Apis himself languished and died in the temple, from the wound of his thigh, and was buried [1] by the priests without the knowledge of Cambyses.

XXX. The Egyptians affirm, that in consequence of this impiety, Cambyses became immediately insane,[2] who indeed did not before appear to have had the proper use of his reason. The first impulse of his fury was directed against Smerdis his own brother, who had become the object of his jealousy, because he was the only Persian who had been able to bend the bow, which the Ichthyophagi brought from Ethiopia, the breadth of two fingers. He was therefore ordered to return to Persia, where as soon as he came, Cambyses saw this vision: a messenger appeared to arrive from Persia, informing him that Smerdis, seated on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. Cambyses was instantly struck with the apprehension that Smerdis would kill him, and seize his dominions; to prevent which he despatched Prexaspes, a Persian, and one of his most faithful adherents, to put him to death. He arrived at Susa, and destroyed Smerdis, some say, by taking him aside whilst engaged in the diversion of the chase: others believe that he drowned him in the Red Sea; this, however, was the commencement of the calamities of Cambyses.

XXXI. The next victim of his fury was his sister who had accompanied him into Egypt. She was also his wife, which thing he thus accomplished: before this prince, no Persian had ever been known to marry his sister;[3] but Cambyses, being passionately fond of one of his, and knowing that there was no precedent to justify his making her his wife, assembled those who were called the royal judges; of them he desired to know whether there was any law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, if he thought proper to do so. The royal judges in Persia are men of the most approved integrity, who hold their places for life, or till they shall be convicted of some crime.[4] Every thing is referred to their decision, they are the interpreters of the laws, and determine all private disputes. In answer to the inquiry of Cambyses, they replied shrewdly, though with truth, that although they could find no law which would permit a brother to marry his sister, they had discovered one which enabled a monarch of Persia to do what he pleased. In this answer, the awe of Cambyses prevented their adopting literally the spirit of the Persian laws; and to secure their persons, they took care to discover what would justify him, who wished to marry his sister. Cambyses, therefore, instantly married the sister whom he loved,[5] and not long afterwards a second.[6] The younger of these, who accompanied him to Egypt, he put to death.

XXXII. The manner of her death, like that of Smerdis,[7] is differently related. The Greeks say that Cambyses made the cub of a lioness, and a young whelp engage each other, and that this princess was present at the combat; and when this latter was vanquished,

1 *Buried by the priests.*]—This account is contradicted by Plutarch, who tells us, that Apis having been slain by Cambyses, was by his order exposed and devoured by dogs.—*T.*

2 *Immediately insane.*]—Amongst the ancients, madness was considered and termed a sacred disease, inflicted on those individuals who had been guilty of impiety. Orestes was stricken with madness for this reason:

"Quem Jupiter vult perdere dementat prius."

3 *Marry his sister.*]—Ingenious and learned men of all ages have amused themselves with drawing a comparison between the laws of Solon and Lycurgus. The following particularity affords ample room for conjecture and discussion: At Athens a man was suffered to marry his sister by the father, but forbidden to marry his sister by the mother. At Lacedæmon things were totally reversed, a man was allowed to marry his sister by the mother, and forbidden to marry his sister by the father.—See what Bayle says on the circumstance of a man's marrying his sister, article *Sarah.*—*T.*

4 *Of some crime.*]—An appointment like this, manifestly leading to corruption, and the perversion of justice, prevailed in this country with respect to judges, till the reign of George the Third, when a law was passed, the wisdom of which cannot be sufficiently admired, making the judges independent of the king, his ministers, and successors. Yet, however this provision may in appearance diminish the strength of the executive power, the riot-act, combined with the assistance of the standing army, which is always kept up in this country, add as much to the influence of the crown, as it may at first sight seem to have lost in prerogative. Such, however, was the opinion of judge Blackstone.—*T.*

5 *Whom he loved.*]—Her name, according to the scholiast of Lucian, was Attossa, who next married Smerdis, one of the magi, and afterwards Darius, son of Hystaspes.—*Larcher.*

6 *Afterwards a second.*]—If Libalnus may be credited, the name of this lady was Meroe.—*Wesseling.*

7 *Smerdis.*]—It is perhaps not unworthy of remark that the same personage who is here called Smerdis, Æschylus, in his Persæ, called Merdis.

another whelp of the same litter broke what confined it, and flew to assist the other, and that both together were too much for the young lion. Cambyses seeing this, expressed great satisfaction; but the princess burst into tears. Cambyses observed her weep, and inquired the reason: she answered, that seeing one whelp assist another of the same brood, she could not but remember Smerdis, whose death she feared nobody would revenge. For which saying, the Greeks affirm, that Cambyses put her to death. On the contrary, if we may believe the Egyptians, this princess was sitting at table with her husband, and took a lettuce in her hand, dividing it leaf by leaf: "Which," said she, "seems in your eyes most agreeable, this lettuce whole, or divided into leaves?" He replied, "When whole." "You," says she, "resemble this lettuce, as I have divided it, for you have thus torn in sunder the house of Cyrus." Cambyses was so greatly incensed, that he threw her down, and leaped upon her; and being pregnant, she was delivered before her time, and lost her life.

XXXIII. To such excesses in his own family was Cambyses impelled, either on account of his impious treatment of Apis, or from some other of those numerous calamities which afflict mankind. From the first hour of his birth, he laboured under what by some is termed the sacred disease. It is, therefore, by no means astonishing that so great a bodily infirmity should at length injure the mind.

XXXIV. His phrenzy, however, extended to the other Persians. He once made a remarkable speech to Prexaspes, for whom he professed the greatest regard, who received all petitions to the king, and whose son enjoyed the honourable office of royal cup-bearer. "What," says he, upon some occasion, "do the Persians think of me, or in what terms do they speak of me?" "Sir," he replied, "in all other respects they speak of you with honour; but it is the general opinion that you are too much addicted to wine." "What!" returned the prince in anger, "I suppose they say that I drink to excess, and am deprived of reason; their former praise, therefore, could not be sincere." At some preceding period he had asked of those whom he used most familiarly, and of Crœsus among the rest, whether they thought he had equalled the greatness of his father Cyrus. In reply they told him, that he was the greater of the two, for that to all which Cyrus had possessed, he had added the empire of Egypt and of the ocean. Crœsus, who was present, did not assent to this. "Sir," said he to Cambyses, "in my opinion you are not equal to your father; you have not such a son as he left behind him." Which speech of Crœsus was highly agreeable to Cambyses.

XXXV. Remembering this, he turned with great anger to Prexaspes: "You," said he, "shall presently be witness of the truth or falsehood of what the Persians say. If I hit directly through the heart[8] of your son, who stands yonder, it will be evident that they speak of me maliciously; if I miss my aim, they will say true in affirming that I am mad." No sooner had he spoken, than he bent his bow and struck the young man. When he fell, the king ordered his body to be opened, and the wound to be examined. He was rejoiced to find that the arrow had penetrated his heart; and turning to the father with a malicious smile, "You observe," said he, "that it is not I that am mad, but the Persians who are foolish. Tell me," he continued, "if you ever saw a man send an arrow surer to its mark?" Prexaspes, seeing he was mad, and fearing for himself, replied, "I do not think, Sir, that even a deity could have aimed so well."—Such was his treatment of Prexaspes. At another time, without the smallest provocation, he commanded twelve Persians of distinction to be interred alive.

XXXVI. Whilst he was pursuing these extravagancies, Crœsus gave him this advice: "Do not, Sir, yield thus intemperately to the warmth of your age and of your temper. Restrain yourself, and remember that moderation

8 *Through the heart.*]—The story of William Tell, the great deliverer of the Swiss cantons from the yoke of the Germans, may be properly introduced in this place. Grisler governed Switzerland for the emperor Albert. He ordered William Tell, a Swiss of some importance, for a pretended offence, to place an apple on the head of one of his children, and to hit it, on pain of death, with an arrow. He was dexterous enough to do so, without hurting his child. Grisler, when the affair was over, took notice that Tell had another arrow concealed under his cloak, and asked him what it was for? "I intended," replied Tell, "to have shot you to the heart, if I had killed my child." The governor ordered Tell to be hanged: but the Swiss, defending their countryman, flew to arms, destroyed their governor, and made themselves independent. See this historical anecdote referred to by Smollett, in his sublime Ode to Independence

> Who with the generous rustics sate
> On Uri's rock, in close divan,
> And wing'd that arrow, sure as fate.
> Which ascertain'd the sacred rights of man.—*T.*

is the part of a wise man, and it becomes every one to weigh the consequences of his actions. Without any adequate offence you destroy your fellow citizens, and put even children to death. If you continue these excesses, the Persians may be induced to revolt from you. In giving you these admonitions, I do but fulfil the injunctions which the king your father repeatedly laid upon me, to warn you of whatever I thought necessary to your welfare." Kind as were the intentions of Crœsus, he received this answer from Cambyses: "I am astonished at your presumption in speaking to me thus, as if you had been remarkable either for the judicious government of your own dominions, or for the wise advice which you gave my father. I cannot forget, that instead of waiting for the attack of the Massagetæ, you counselled him to advance and encounter them in their own territories. By your misconduct you lost your own dominions, and by your ill advice were the cause of my father's ruin. But do not expect to escape with impunity; indeed I have long wished for an opportunity to punish you." He then eagerly snatched his bow,[1] intending to pierce Crœsus with an arrow, but by an expeditious flight he escaped. Cambyses instantly ordered him to be seized and put to death; but as his officers were well acquainted with their prince's character, they concealed Crœsus,[2] thinking that if at any future period he should express contrition, they might by producing him obtain a reward; but if no farther inquiries were made concerning him, they might then kill him. Not long afterwards Cambyses expressed regret for Crœsus, which when his attendants perceived, they told him that he was alive. He expressed particular satisfaction at the preservation of Crœsus, but he would not forgive the disobedience of his servants, who were accordingly executed.

XXXVII. Many things of this kind did he perpetrate against the Persians and his allies, whilst he stayed at Memphis: neither did he hesitate to violate the tombs, and examine the bodies of the dead. He once entered the temple of Vulcan, and treated the shrine of that deity with much contempt. The statue of this god exceedingly resembles the Pataici, which the Phœnicians place at the prow of their triremes: they who have not seen them, may suppose them to resemble the figure of a pigmy. Cambyses also entered the temple of the Cabiri,[3] to which access is denied to all but the priests. He burned their statues, after exercising upon them his wit and raillery. These statues resemble Vulcan, whose sons the Cabiri are supposed to be.

XXXVIII. For my own part I am satisfied that Cambyses was deprived of his reason; he would not otherwise have disturbed the sanctity of temples, or of established customs. Whoever had the opportunity of choosing for their own observance, from all the nations of the world, such laws and customs as to them seemed the best, would, I am of opinion, after the most careful examination, adhere to their own. Each nation believes that their own laws are by far the most excellent; no one therefore, but a madman, would treat such prejudices with contempt. That all men are really thus tenacious of their own customs, appears from this, amongst other instances: Darius once sent for such of the Greeks as were dependent on his power, and asked them what reward would induce them to eat the bodies of their deceased parents; they replied that no sum could prevail on them to commit such a deed. In the presence of the same Greeks, who by an interpreter were informed of what had passed, he sent also for the Callatiæ, a people of India known to eat the bodies of their parents. He asked them for what sum they would consent to burn the bodies of their parents. The Indians were disgusted at the question, and intreated him to forbear such language.—Such is the force of custom; and Pindar[4] seems to me to have spoken with peculiar propriety, when he observed that custom[5] was the universal sovereign.

1 *Snatched his bow.*]—The mental derangement under which Saul laboured, previous to the elevation of David, bears some resemblance to the character here given of Cambyses; and the escape of the son of Jesse from the javelin of the king of Israel, will admit of a comparison with that of Crœsus from the arrow of Cambyses.

2 *Crœsus.*]—Spenser, canto v. stanza 48, represents Crœsus in the dungeon, among the captives of pride.

There also was king Crœsus, that enhaunst
His heart too high through his great riches store

3 *Cabiri.*]—Concerning these see book ii. chap. li.

4 *Pindar.*]—The passage in Pindar which is here referred to, is preserved in the Scholia ad Nem. ix. 35. It is this:—Νομος ὁ παντων βασιλευς θνατων τε και αθανατων αγει δικαιων το βιαιοτατον ὑπερτατῳ χειρι.—"Custom is the sovereign of mortals and of gods; with its powerful hand it regulates things the most violent."

5 *Custom.*]—Many writers on this subject appear not to have discriminated accurately betwixt custom and habit: the sovereign power of both must be confessed; but it will not be found, on due deliberation, that custom has reference to the action, and habit to the actor. That the Athenians, the most refined and polished

XXXIX. Whilst Cambyses was engaged in his Egyptian expedition, the Lacedæmonians were prosecuting a war against Polycrates, the son of Æaces, who had forcibly possessed himself of Samos. He had divided it into three parts, assigning one severally to his brothers Pantagnotus, and Syloson. He afterwards, having killed Pantagnotus, and banished Syloson, who was the younger, seized the whole. Whilst he was thus circumstanced, he made a treaty of alliance with Amasis, king of Egypt, which was cemented by various presents on both sides. His fame had so increased, that he was celebrated through Ionia and the rest of Greece. Success attended all his military undertakings; he had a hundred fifty-oared vessels, and a thousand archers. He made no discriminations in the objects of his attacks, thinking that he conferred a greater favour[6] even on a friend, by restoring what he had violently taken, than by not molesting him at all. He took a great number of islands, and became master of several cities on the continent. The Lesbians, who with all their forces were proceeding to assist the Milesians, he attacked and conquered in a great sea-fight. Those whom he made prisoners he put in chains, and compelled to sink the trench[7] which surrounds the walls of Samos.

XL. The great prosperity of Polycrates excited both the attention and anxiety of Amasis. As his success continually increased, he was induced to write and send this letter to Samos:

AMASIS TO POLYCRATES.

"THE success of a friend and an ally fills me with particular satisfaction; but as I know the invidiousness of fortune,[8] your extraordinary prosperity excites my apprehensions. If I might determine for myself, and for those whom I regard, I would rather have my affairs sometimes flattering, and sometimes perverse. I would wish to pass through life with the alternate experience of good and evil, rather than with uninterrupted good fortune. I do not remember to have heard of any remarkable for a constant succession of prosperous events, whose end has not been finally calamitous. If, therefore, you value my counsel, you will provide this remedy against the excess of your prosperity:—Examine well what thing it is which you deem of the highest consequence to your happiness, and the loss of which would

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nation of the world, could bear to see human sacrifices represented on their theatres, could listen with applause and with delight to the misery of Œdipus, and the madness of Orestes, is to be accounted for alone from the powerful operation of their national customs. The equally forcible sway of habit, referring to an individual, was never perhaps expressed with so much beauty as in the following lines of our favourite Shakspeare:

How use doth breed a habit in a man!
This shadowy desert, unfrequented woods,
I better brook than flourishing peopled towns
Here I can sit alone, unseen of any,
And to the nightingale's complaining notes
Tune my distresses and record my woes.—*T.*

6 *A greater favour.*]—This sentiment is false, and Libanius seems to me to have spoken with truth, when, in a discourse which is not come down to us, he says, "An instance of good fortune never gives a man so much satisfaction as the loss of it does uneasiness."—*Larcher.*

7 *Sink the trench.*]—It would be an interesting labour to investigate, from ages the most remote, and nations the most barbarous, the various treatment which prisoners of war have experienced: from the period, when every species of oppression and cruelty was put in practice against unfortunate captives, to the present period, when the refinement of manners, and the progress of the milder virtues, soften the asperity, and take much from the horrors of war.—*T.*

8 *Invidiousness of fortune.*]—Three very distinct qualities of mind have been imputed to the three Greek historians, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, with respect to their manner of reflecting on the facts which they relate. Of the first, it has been said that he seems to have considered the deity as viewing man with a jealous eye, as only promoting his successes to make the catastrophe of his fate the more calamitous. This is pointed out by Plutarch with the severest reprehension. Thucydides, on the contrary, admits of no divine interposition in human affairs, but makes the good or ill fortune of those whose history he gives us to depend on the wisdom or folly of their own conduct. Xenophon, in distinction from both, invariably considers the kindness or the vengeance of heaven as influencing the event of human enterprizes. "That is," says the Abbe Barthelemy, "according to the first, all sublunary things are governed by a fatality; according to the second, by human prudence; according to the last, by the piety of the individual."—The inconstancy of fortune is admirably described in the following passage from Horace, and with the sentiment with which the lines conclude, every ingenuous mind must desire to be in unison.

Fortuna sævo læta negotio, et
Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax,
Transmutat incertos honores
Nunc mihi, nunc aliis benigna.
Laudo manentem: si celeres quatit
Pennas, resigno quæ dedit, et mea
Virtute me involvo, probamque
Pauperiem sine dote quæro.

It would be inexcusable not to insert Dryden's version, or rather paraphrase, of the above passage.

Fortune, that with malicious joy
Does man her slave oppress,
Proud of her office to destroy,
Is seldom pleased to bless:
Still various, and inconstant still,
But with an inclination to be ill,
Promotes, degrades, delights in strife,
And makes a lottery of life.
I can enjoy her while she's kind,
But when she dances in the wind,
And shakes the wings, and will not stay,
I puff the prostitute away:
The little or the much she gave is quietly resign'd,
Content with poverty, my soul I arm,
And virtue, tho' in rags, will keep me warm.—*T.*

most afflict you. When you shall have ascertained this, banish it from you, so that there may be no possibility of its return. If after this your good fortune still continue without diminution or change, you will do well to repeat the remedy I propose."

XLI. Polycrates received this letter, and seriously deliberated on its contents. The advice of Amasis appeared sagacious, and he resolved to follow it. He accordingly searched among his treasures, for something, the loss of which would most afflict him. He conceived this to be a seal-ring,[1] which he occasionally wore; it was an emerald set in gold, and the workmanship of Theodorus the Samian, the son of Telecles. Of this determining to deprive himself, he embarked in a fifty-oared vessel, with orders to be carried into the open sea; when he was at some distance from the island, in the presence of all his attendants, he took the ring from his finger and cast it into the sea; this done he sailed back again.

XLII. Returning home, he regretted his loss; but in the course of five or six days this accident occurred: a fisherman caught a fish of such size and beauty that he deemed it a proper present for Polycrates. He went therefore to the palace, and demanded an audience; being admitted, he presented the fish to Polycrates, with these words: "Although, Sir, I live by the produce of my industry, I could not think of exposing this fish, which I have taken, to sale in the market-place, believing it worthy of you to accept, which I hope you will." The king was much gratified, and made him this reply: "My good friend, your present and your speech are equally acceptable to me; and I beg that I may see you at supper."[2] The fisherman, delighted with his reception, returned to his house. The servants proceeding to open the fish, found in its paunch the ring of Polycrates; with great eagerness and joy they hastened to carry it to the king, telling him where they had met with it. Polycrates concluded that this incident bore evident marks of divine interposition; he therefore wrote down every particular of what had happened, and transmitted it to Egypt.

XLIII. Amasis after perusing the letter of his friend, was convinced that it was impossible for one mortal to deliver another from the destiny which awaited him: he was satisfied that Polycrates could not terminate his days in tranquillity, whose good fortune had never suffered interruption, and who had even recovered what he had taken pains to lose. He sent therefore a herald to Samos, to disclaim all future connection;[3] his motive for doing which, was the apprehension, that in any future calamity which might befall Polycrates he as a friend and ally might be obliged to bear a part.

XLIV. Against this Polycrates,[4] in all

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1 *A seal-ring.*]—This ring has been the subject of some controversy among the learned, both as to what it represented, and of what precious stone it was formed.

Clemens Alexandrinus says it represented a lyre. Pliny says it was a sardonyx; and that in his time there existed one in the temple of Concord, the gift of Augustus, affirmed to be this of Polycrates. Solinus asserts also, that it was a sardonyx; but Herodotus expressly tells us, it was an emerald. At this period the art of engraving precious stones must have been in its infancy, which might probably enhance the value of his ring to Polycrates. It is a little remarkable that the moderns have never been able to equal the ancients in the exquisite delicacy and beauty of their performances on precious stones. Perhaps it may not be too much to add, that we have never attained the perfection with which they executed all works in miniature. Pliny says, that Cicero once saw the Iliad of Homer written so very finely, that it might have been contained 'in nuce,' in a nut-shell. Aulus Gellius mentions a pigeon made of wood, which imitated the motions of a living bird; and Ælian speaks of an artist, who wrote a distich in letters of gold, which he inclosed in the rind of a grain of corn. Other instances of a similar kind are collected by the learned Mr. Dutens, in his inquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns.—*T.*

2 *See you at supper.*]—The circumstance of a sovereign prince asking a common fisherman to sup with him, seems at first sight so entirely repugnant, not only to modern manners, but also to consistency, as to justify disgust and provoke suspicion. But let it be remembered, that in ancient times the rights of hospitality were paid without any distinction of person; and the same simplicity of manners, which would allow an individual of the meanest rank to solicit and obtain an audience of his prince, diminishes the act of condescension which is here recorded, and which to a modern reader may appear ridiculous.—*T.*

3 *Future connection.*]—This may be adduced as one amongst numerous other instances, to prove, that where the human mind has no solid hopes of the future, nor any firm basis of religious faith, the conduct will ever be wayward and irregular; and although there may exist great qualities, capable of occasionally splendid actions, there will also be extraordinary weaknesses, irreconcileable to common sense, or common humanity. Diodorus Siculus, however, gives a very different account of the matter, and ascribes the behaviour of Amasis to a very different motive:—"The Egyptian," says he, "was so disgusted with the tyrannical behaviour of Polycrates, not only to his subjects but to strangers, that he foresaw his fate to be unavoidable, and therefore was cautious not to be involved in his ruin."—*T.*

4 *Polycrates.*]—This personage has the discredit of having filled Greece with the ministers and contrivers of voluptuousness (δημιουργων); and a cook of Laura was held in esteem amongst the nobility of Athens. See Athenæus, page 540.

things so prosperous, the Lacedæmonians undertook an expedition, to which they were induced by those Samians who afterwards built the city of Cydon in Crete.[5] To counteract this blow, Polycrates sent privately to Cambyses, who was then preparing for hostilities against Egypt, entreating him to demand supplies and assistance of the Samians. With this Cambyses willingly complied, and sent to solicit, in favour of Polycrates, some naval force to serve in his Egyptian expedition. Those whose principles and intentions he most suspected, the Samian prince selected from the rest, and sent in forty triremes to Cambyses, requesting him by all means to prevent their return.

XLV. There are some who assert, that the Samians sent by Polycrates, never arrived in Egypt, but that as soon as they reached the Carpathian sea, they consulted together, and determined to proceed no further. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that they did arrive in Egypt, but that they escaped from their guards, and returned to Samos: they add, that Polycrates met and engaged them at sea, where he was defeated; but that, landing afterwards on the island, they had a second engagement by land, in which they were totally routed, and obliged to fly to Lacedæmon. They who assert that the Samians returned from Egypt, and obtained a victory over Polycrates, are in my opinion mistaken; for if their own force was sufficient to overcome him, there was no necessity for their applying to the Lacedæmonians for assistance. Neither is it at all consistent with probability, that a prince who had so many forces under his command, composed as well of foreign auxiliaries as of archers of his own, could possibly be overcome by the few Samians who were returning home. Polycrates, moreover, had in his power the wives and children of his Samian subjects: these were all assembled and confined in his different harbours, and he was determined to destroy them by fire, and the harbours along with them, in case of any treasonable conjunction between the inhabitants and the Samians who were returning.

XLVI. The Samians who were expelled by Polycrates immediately on their arrival at Sparta obtained an audience of the magistrates, and in the language of suppliants spoke a great while. The answer which they first received informed them, that the commencement of their discourse was not remembered, and the conclusion not understood. At the second interview they simply produced a bread-basket, and complained it contained no bread; even to this the Lacedæmonians replied, that their observation was unnecessary;[6]—they determined nevertheless to assist them.

XLVII. After the necessary preparations, the Lacedæmonians embarked with an army against Samos: if these Samians may be credited, the conduct of the Lacedæmonians in this business was the effect of gratitude, they themselves having formerly received a supply of ships against the Messenians. But the Lacedæmonians assert that they engaged in this expedition not so much to satisfy the wishes of those Samians who had sought their assistance, as to obtain satisfaction for an injury which they had formerly received. The Samians had violently taken away a goblet which the Lacedæmonians were carrying to Crœsus, and a corselet,[7] which was given them by Amasis king of Egypt. This latter incident took place at the interval of a year after the former; the corselet was made of linen, but there were interwoven in the piece a great number of animals richly embroidered with cotton and gold; every part of it deserved admiration; it was composed of chains, each of which contained three hundred and sixty

5 *Cydon in Crete.*]—This place is now called Canea: some say it was at first called Apollonia, because built by Cydon the son of Apollo. Pausanias says, it was built by Cydon, son of Tegetes. It was once a place of great power, and the largest city in the island; for a description of its present condition, see *Savary's Letters on Greece.*—*T.*

6 *Observation was unnecessary.*]—The Spartans were always remarkable for their contempt of oratory, and eloquence. The following curious examples of this are recorded in Sextus Empiricus:—"A young Spartan went abroad, and endeavoured to accomplish himself in the art of speaking; on his return he was punished by the Ephori, for having conceived the design of deluding his countrymen. Another Spartan was sent to Tissaphernes, a Persian satrap, to engage him to prefer the alliance of Sparta to that of Athens; he said but little, but when he found the Athenians employed great pomp and profusion of words, he drew two lines, both terminating in the same point, but one was straight, the other very crooked; pointing these out to Tissaphernes, he merely said, "Choose." The story here related of the Samians, by Herodotus, is found also in Sextus Empiricus, but is by him applied on a different occasion, and to a different people.—*T.*

7 *A corselet.*]—Some fragments of this were to be seen in the time of Pliny, who complains that so curious a piece of workmanship should be spoiled, by its being unravelled by different people to gratify curiosity, or to ascertain the fact here asserted.—*T.*

threads distinctly visible. Amasis presented another corselet, entirely resembling this, to the Minerva of Lindus.

XLVIII. To this expedition against Samos the Corinthians also contributed with considerable ardour. In the age which preceded, and about the time in which the goblet had been taken, they had been affronted by the Samians. Periander,[1] the son of Cypselus, had sent to Alyattes, at Sardis, three hundred children of the principal families of the Corcyreans to be made eunuchs. They were intrusted to the care of certain Corinthians, who by distress of weather were compelled to touch at Samos. The Samians soon learned the purpose of the expedition, and accordingly instructed the children to fly for protection to the temple of Diana, from whence they would not suffer the Corinthians to take them. But as the Corinthians prevented their receiving any food, the Samians instituted a festival on the occasion, which they yet observe. At the approach of night, as long as the children continued as suppliants in the temple, they introduced a company of youths and virgins, who in a kind of religious dance, were to carry cakes made of honey and flour[2] in their hands. This was done that the young Corcyreans, by snatching them away, might satisfy their hunger, and was repeated till the Corinthians who guarded the children departed. The Samians afterwards sent the children back to Corcyra.[3]

XLIX. If after the death of Periander there had existed any friendship betwixt the Corinthians and the Corcyreans, it might be supposed they would not have assisted in this expedition against Samos. But notwithstanding these people had the same origin (the Corinthians having built Corcyra) they had always lived in a state of enmity. The Corinthians, therefore, did not forget the affront which they had received at Samos; and it was in resentment of injuries formerly received from the Corcyreans, that Periander had sent to Sardis these three hundred youths of the first families of Corcyra, with the intention of their being made eunuchs.

L. When Periander had put his wife Melissa to death, he was involved in an additional calamity. By Melissa he had two sons, one of whom was seventeen, the other eighteen years old: Procles, their grandfather by the mother's side, had sent for them to Epidaurus, of which place he was prince; and had treated them with all the kindness due to the children of his daughter. At the time appointed for their departure, he took them aside, and asked them if they knew who had killed their mother. To these words the elder brother paid no attention; but the younger, whose name was Lycophron, took it so exceedingly to heart, that at his return to Corinth, he would neither salute his father, converse with, nor answer him; in indignation at which behaviour, Periander banished him his house.

LI. After the above event, Periander asked his elder son, what their grandfather had said to them. The youth informed him, that their grandfather had received them very affectionately, but as he did not remember, he could not relate the words he had used to them at parting. The father, however, continued to press him; saying, it was impossible that their grandfather should dismiss them without some advice. This induced the young man more seriously to re-

1 *Periander.*]—The life of Periander is given by Diogenes Laertius; from which I have extracted such particulars as seem most worthy the attention of the English reader.

He was of the family of the Heraclidæ; and the reason of his sending the young Corcyreans, with the purpose mentioned by Herodotus, was on account of their having killed his son, to whom he wished to resign his power. He was the first prince who used guards for the defence of his person. He was by some esteemed one of the seven wise men; Plato, however, does not admit him amongst them. His celebrated saying was, that "Perseverance might do every thing."

In an epigram inserted in Stephens' Anthologia, and translated by Ausonius, χολου κρατειν is the maxim attributed to Periander, "Restrain your anger:" of which rule he must have severely felt the necessity, if, as Laertius relates, he killed his wife Melissa in a transport of passion, by kicking her or throwing a chair at her when pregnant. Her name, according to the same author was Lyside; Melissa was probably substituted through fondness, certain nymphs and departed human souls being called *Melissæ.*—*Melange.*—*T.*

2 *Honey and flour.*]—The cakes of Samos were very famous.—See *Athenæus*, book xiv. c. 13.

3 *Back to Corcyra.*]—Plutarch, in his treatise on the Malignity of Herodotus, says, "that the young Corcyreans were not preserved by the Samians, but by the Cnidians."—This assertion is examined and refuted by Larcher.

Pliny says that the fish called echines stopped the vessel going swift before the wind, on board of which were messengers of Periander, having it in command to castrate the sons of the Cnidian noblemen; for which reason these shells were highly reverenced in the temple of Venus at Cnidos. M. Larcher, avowedly giving the reader the above passage from Pliny, is guilty of a misquotation: "these shells," says he, "arreterent le vaisseau ou etoient ces enfans;" whereas the words of Pliny (see Gronovius' edition, vol. i. page 609.) are these, "Quibus inhærentibus stetisse navem portantem nuncios a Periandro ut castrarentur nobiles pueri."—*T.*

flect on what had passed; and he afterwards informed his father of every particular. Upon this, Periander was determined not at all to relax from his severity, but immediately sent to those who had received his son under their protection, commanding them to dismiss him. Lycophron was thus driven from one place to another, and from thence to a third, and from this last also the severity of Periander expelled him. Yet fearful as people were to entertain him, he still found an asylum, from the consideration of his being the son of Periander.

LII. Periander at length commanded it to be publicly proclaimed, that whoever harboured his son, or held any conversation with him, should pay a stipulated fine for the use of Apollo's temple. After this no person presumed either to receive or converse with him, and Lycophron himself acquiesced in the injunction by retiring to the public portico. On the fourth day, Periander himself observed him in this situation, covered with rags and perishing with hunger: his heart relenting he approached, and thus addressed him; "My son, which do you think preferable, your present extremity of distress, or to return to your obedience, and share with me my authority and riches? You who are my son, and a prince of the happy Corinth, choose the life of a mendicant, and persevere in irritating him who has the strongest claims upon your duty. If the incident which induces you to think unfavourably of my conduct has any evil resulting from it, the whole is fallen upon myself; and I feel it the more sensibly, from the reflection that I was myself the author of it. Experience has taught you how much better it is to be envied than pitied,[4] and how dangerous it is to provoke a superior and a parent—return therefore to my house." To this speech Periander received no other answer from his son, than that he himself, by conversing with him, had incurred the penalty which his edict had imposed. The king, perceiving the perverseness of his son to be immutable, determined to remove him from his sight; he therefore sent him in a vessel to Corcyra, which place also belonged to him. After this, Periander made war upon his father-in-law Procles, whom he considered as the principal occasion of what had happened. He made himself master of Epidaurus,[5] and took Procles prisoner; whom nevertheless he preserved alive.

LIII. In process of time, as Periander advanced in years, he began to feel himself inadequate to the cares of government; he sent therefore for Lycophron to Corcyra, to take upon him the administration of affairs; his eldest son appeared improper for such a situation, and was indeed dull and stupid. Of the messenger who brought him this intelligence Lycophron disdained to take the smallest notice. But Periander, as he felt his affection for the young man to be unalterable, sent to him his sister, thinking her interposition most likely to succeed. When she saw him, "Brother," said she, "will you suffer the sovereign authority to pass into other hands, and the wealth of your family to be dispersed, rather than return to enjoy them yourself? Let me intreat you to punish yourself no more; return to your country and your family: obstinacy like yours is but an unwelcome guest, it only adds one evil to another. Pity is by many preferred to justice; and many from their anxiety to fulfil their duty to a mother, have violated that which a father might expect. Power, which many so assiduously court, is in its nature precarious. Your father is growing old, do not therefore resign to others honours which are properly your own." Thus instructed by her father, she used every

4 *Envied than pitied.*]—Of this M. Larcher remarks, that it is a proverbial expression in the French language: it is no less so in our own. The same sentiment in Pindar is referred to by the learned Frenchman; which is thus beautifully translated by Mr. West.

Nor less distasteful is excessive fame
 To the sour palate of the envious mind;
Who hears with grief his neighbour's goodly name,
 And hates the fortune that he ne'er shall find;
Yet in thy virtue, Hiero, persevere,
 Since to be envied is a nobler fate
Than to be pitied, and let strict justice steer
 With equitable hand the helm of state,
And arm thy tongue with truth: O king! beware
Of every step; a prince can never lightly err.—*T.*

5 *Epidaurus.*]—This was a city of the Peloponnese, famous for a temple of Æsculapius. When the Romans were once afflicted by a grievous pestilence, they were ordered by the oracle to bring Æsculapius to Rome; they accordingly despatched ambassadors to Epidaurus to accomplish this. The Epidaurians refusing to part with their god, the Romans prepared to depart: as their vessel was quitting the port, an immense serpent came swimming towards them, and finally wreathed itself round the prow; the crew, thinking it to be Æsculapius himself, carried him with much veneration to Rome.—His entrance is finely described by Ovid:—

Jamque caput rerum Romanam intraverat urbem,
Erigitur serpens—summoque acclivia malo
Colla movet, sedesque sibi circumspicit aptas.

Which description, fully considered, would perhaps afford no mean subject for an historical painting.

Epidaurus was also famous for its breed of horses.—See *Virgil, Georgic.* iii, 43, 4.

Vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron
 Taygetique canes, domitrixque Epidaurus equorum.

The same fact is also mentioned by Strabo, book viii.—*T.*

argument likely to influence her brother; but he briefly answered, "that as long as his father lived he would not return to Corinth." When she had communicated this answer to Periander, he sent a third messenger to his son, informing him, that it was his intention to retire to Corcyra: but that he might return to Corinth, and take possession of the supreme authority. This proposition was accepted, and Periander prepared to depart for Corcyra, the young man for Corinth. But when the Corcyreans were informed of the business, to prevent the arrival of Periander among them, they put his son to death.—This was what induced that prince to take vengeance on the Corcyreans.

LIV. The Lacedæmonians arriving with a powerful fleet, laid siege to Samos, and advancing towards the walls, they passed by a tower which stands in the suburbs, not far from the sea. At this juncture Polycrates attacked them, at the head of a considerable force, and compelled them to retreat. He was instantly seconded by a band of auxiliaries, and a great number of Samians, who falling upon the enemy from a fort which was behind the mountain, after a short conflict effectually routed them, and continued the pursuit with great slaughter of the Lacedæmonians.

LV. If all the Lacedæmonians in this engagement had behaved like Archias and Lycopas, Samos must certainly have been taken; for these two alone entered the city, with those Samians who sought security within the walls, and having no means of retreat were there slain. I myself one day met with a person of the same name, who was the son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias above-mentioned; I saw him at Pitane,[1] of which place he was a native. This person paid more attention to Samians than to other foreigners; and he told me, that his father was called Samius, as being the immediate descendant of him, who with so much honour had lost his life at Samos. The reason of his thus distinguishing the Samians, was because they had honoured his grandfather by a public funeral.[2]

LVI. The Lacedæmonians, after remaining forty days before the place without any advantage, returned to the Peloponnese. It is reported, though absurdly enough, that Polycrates struck off a great number of pieces of lead cased with gold,[3] like the coin of the country, and that with these he purchased their departure.—This was the first expedition of the Dorians of Lacedæmon into Asia.

LVII. Those Samians who had taken up arms against Polycrates, when they saw themselves forsaken by the Lacedæmonians, and were distressed from want of money, embarked for Siphnos.[4] At this time the power of the Siphnians

1 *Pitane.*]—This proper name involves some perplexity, and has afforded exercise for much acute and ingenious criticism. Martiniere, from mistaking a passage of Pausanias, asserts that it was merely a quarter, or rather suburbs of Lacedæmon, and is consequently often confounded with it. This mistake is ably pointed out and refuted by Bellanger, in his Critique de quelques Articles du Dict. de M. la Martiniere. This word is found in Hesychius, as descriptive of a distinct tribe; in Thucydides, of a small town; and in Herodotus, of a whole people.—See book ix. chap. 52, where he speaks of the cohort of Pitane, which in the glorious battle of Platea was commanded by Amompharetus. It is certain that there were several places of this name; the one here specified was doubtless on the banks of the Eurotas, in Laconia.—See *Essais de Critique, &c.* 316.—*T.*

2 *Public funeral.*]—The manner in which the funerals of those who had died in defence of their country were solemnized at Athens, cannot fail of giving the English reader an elevated idea of that polished people.

On an appointed day a number of coffins made of cypress wood, and containing the bones of the deceased, were exposed to view beneath a large tent erected for the purpose; they who had relations to deplore, assembled to weep over them, and pay the duties dictated by tenderness, or enjoined by religion. Three days afterwards the coffins were placed upon as many cars as there were tribes, and were carried slowly through the town, to the Ceramicus, where funeral games were celebrated. The bodies were deposited in the earth, and their relations and friends paid for the last time the tribute of their tears: an orator appointed by the republic from an elevated place pronounced a funeral oration over his valiant countrymen; each tribe raised over the graves some kind of column, upon which was inscribed the names of the deceased, their age, and the place where they died.

The above solemnities were conducted under the inspection of one of the principal magistrates.

The most magnificent public funeral of which we have any account, was that of Alexander the Great; when his body was brought from Babylon to Alexandria, a minute description of which is given by Diodorus Siculus.

For a particular description of the ceremonies observed at public and private funerals, amongst the Romans, consult Montfaucon.—*T.*

3 *Lead cased with gold.*]—Similar to this artifice, was that practised on the people of Gortyna in Crete, by Hannibal, as recorded by Justin. After the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, Hannibal retired to Gortyna, carrying with him an immense treasure. This circumstance exciting an invidiousness against him, he pretended to deposit his riches in the temple of Diana, to which place he carried with much ceremony several vessels filled with lead. He soon took an opportunity of passing over into Asia with his real wealth, which he had concealed in the images of the gods he affected to worship.—*T.*

4 *Siphnos.*]—This was one of those small islands lying opposite to Attica. They were seventeen in number, and called, from their situation with respect to each other, the Cyclades: they were all eminently beautiful, and severally distinguished by some appropriate excellence.

was very considerable, and they were the richest of all the inhabitants of the islands. Their soil produced both the gold and silver metals in such abundance, that from a tenth part of their revenues they had a treasury at Delphi, equal in value to the riches which that temple possessed. Every year they made an equal distribution among themselves, of the value of their mines: whilst their wealth was thus accumulating, they consulted the oracle to know whether they should long continue in the enjoyment of their present good fortune. From the Pythian they received this answer:

When Siphnos shall a milk-white senate show,
And all her market wear a front of snow;
Him let her prize whose wit suspects the most
A scarlet envoy from a wooden host.

At this period, the prytaneum, and the forum of Siphnos, were adorned with Parian marble.

LVIII. This reply of the oracle, the Siphnians were unable to comprehend, both before and after the arrival of the Samians. As soon as the Samians touched at Siphnos, they despatched a messenger to the town in one of their vessels. According to the ancient custom, all ships were painted of a red colour; and it was this which induced the Pythian to warn the Siphnians against a wooden snare, and a red ambassador. On their arrival, the Samian ambassadors entreated the inhabitants to lend them ten talents; on being refused, they plundered the country. The Siphnians hearing of this, collected their forces, and were defeated in a regular engagement; a great number were in the retreat cut off from the town, and the Samians afterwards exacted from them a hundred talents.

LIX. Instead of money, the Samians had received of the Hermionians the island of Thyrea, adjacent to the Peloponnese: this they afterwards gave as a pledge to the Trœzenians. They afterwards made a voyage to Crete, where they built Cydonia, although their object in going there, was to expel the Zacynthians. In this place they continued five years, during which period they were so exceedingly prosperous, that they not only erected all those temples which are now seen in Cydonia, but built also the temple of Dictynna.[5] In the sixth year, from a junction being made with the Cretans by the Æginetæ, they were totally vanquished in a sea engagement, and reduced to servitude. The prows of their vessels were taken away and defaced, and afterwards suspended in the temple of Minerva at Ægina. To this conduct towards the Samians the Æginetæ were impelled in resentment of a former injury. When Amphicrates reigned at Samos, he had carried on a war against the Æginetæ, by which they materially suffered; this, however, they severely retaliated.

LX. I have been thus particular in my account of the Samians, because this people produced the greatest monuments of art[6] which are to be seen in Greece. They have a mountain which is one hundred and fifty orgyiæ in height; entirely through this, they have made a passage, the length of which is seven stadia, it is moreover eight feet high, and as many wide. By the side of this there is also an artificial canal, which in like manner goes quite through the mountain, and though only three feet in breadth, is twenty cubits deep. This, by the means of pipes, conveys to the city the waters of a copious spring.[7] This is their first work,

The marble of Paros was of inimitable whiteness, and of the finest grain; Andros and Naxos produced the most exquisite wine; Amongos was famous for a dye made from a lichen, growing there in vast abundance. The riches of Siphnos are extolled by many ancient writers; it is now called Siphanto.

The following account of the modern circumstances of Siphnos, is extracted principally from Tournefort.

It is remarkable for the purity of its air; the water, fruit, and poultry, are very excellent. Although covered with marble and granite, it is one of the most fertile islands of the Archipelago. They have a famous manufactory of straw hats, which are sold all over the Archipelago, by the name of Siphanto castors: though once so famous for its mines of gold and silver, the inhabitants can now hardly tell you where they were. They have plenty of lead, which the rains discover. The ladies of Siphanto cover their faces with linen bandages so dexterously, that you can only see their mouth, nose, and white of the eyes.—*T.*

5 *Dictynna.*]—Diana was worshipped in Crete, indifferently under the name of Dictynna and of Britomartis. *Britu*, in the Cretan language, meant sweet, and *martis*, a virgin. Britomartis was the name of a virgin greatly beloved by Diana; and what is said by Diodorus Siculus on the subject seems most worthy of attention. His story is this:—Dictynna was born in Cæron; she invented hunters' toils and nets, and thence her name. She was the daughter of Jupiter, which renders it exceedingly improbable that she should be obliged to fly from Minos, and leap into the sea, where she was caught in some fishers' nets. The Mons Dictynnæus of Pliny is now called Cape Spada.—*T.*

6 *The greatest monuments.*]—Of these monuments some vestiges are still to be seen, consult Tournefort, i. 314. Port Tigani is in form of a half-moon, and regards the south-east; its left horn is that famous Jettee which Herodotus reckoned among the three wonders of Samos. This work, at that time of day, is an evidence of the Samians' application to maritime matters.

7 *Copious spring.*]—On the left of the dale, near to the

and constructed by Eupalinus, the son of Naustrophus, an inhabitant of Megara. Their second is a mole, which projects from the harbour into the sea, and is two stadia or more in length, and about twenty orgyiæ in height. Their last performance was a temple, which exceeds in grandeur all I have seen. This structure was first commenced by a native of the country whose name was Rhœcus,[1] son of Phileus.

LXI. Whilst Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, passed his time in Egypt, committing various excesses, two magi, who were brothers, and one of whom Cambyses had left in Persia as the manager of his domestic concerns, excited a revolt against him. The death of Smerdis, which had been studiously kept secret, and was known to very few of the Persians, who in general believed that he was alive, was a circumstance to which the last-mentioned of these magi had been privy, and of which he determined to avail himself. His brother, who, as we have related, joined with him in this business, not only resembled in person[2] but had the very name of the young prince, the son of Cyrus, who had been put to death by the order of his brother Cambyses. Him, Patizithes, the other magus, publicly introduced and placed upon the royal throne, having previously instructed him in the part he was to perform. Having done this he sent messengers to different places, and one in particular to the Egyptian army, ordering them to obey Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, alone.

LXII. These orders were every where obeyed. The messenger who came to Egypt found Cambyses with the army at Ecbatana, in Syria. He entered into the midst of the troops,[3] and executed the commission which had been given him. When Cambyses heard this, he was not aware of any fallacy, but imagined

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aqueduct which crosses it, are certain caverns, the entrance of some of them artificially cut. In all appearance some of these artificial caverns were what Herodotus says were ranked among the most wonderful performances of the Greek nation. The beautiful spring which tempted them to go upon so great a work, is doubtless that of Metelinous, the best in the island, the disposition of the place proving perfectly favourable, the moment they had conquered the difficulty of boring it; but in all probability they were not exact enough in levelling the ground, for they were obliged to dig a canal of twenty cubits deep for carrying the spring to the place designed. There must have been some mistake in this passage of Herodotus.

Some five hundred paces from the sea, and almost the like distance from the river Imbrasis, to Cape Cera, are the ruins of the famous temple of the Samian Juno. But for Herodotus we should never have known the name of the architect. He employed a very particular order of columns, as may be now seen. It is indeed neither better nor worse than the Ionian order in its infancy, void of that beauty which it afterwards acquired—Thus far Tournefort.

Its ancient names were Parthenias, Anthemus, and Melamphissus. It was the birth-place of Pythagoras, and the school of Epicurus. Pococke says, that there are no remains which he could prevail upon himself to believe to belong to this canal. He adds, that the inhabitants are remarkably profligate and poor. Tournefort makes a similar remark. There are no disciples of Pythagoras, observes the Frenchman, now left in Samos; the modern Samians are no more fond of fasting, than they are lovers of silence.—*T.*

1 *Rhœcus.*]—This Rhœcus was not only a skilful architect, but he farther invented, in conjunction with Theodorus of Samos, the art of making moulds with clay, long before the Bacchiades had been driven from Corinth; they were also the first who made casts in brass of which they formed statues. Pausanias relates the same fact, with this addition, that upon a pedestal behind the altar of Diana, called Protothenia, there is a statue by Rhœcus; it is a woman in bronze, said by the Ephesians to be that of Night. He had two sons, Telecles and Theodorus, both ingenious statuaries.—*Larcher.*

2 *Resembled in person.*]—Similar historical incidents will here occur to the most common reader, there having been no state whose annals are come down to us, in which, from the similitude of person, factious individuals have not excited commotions. In the Roman government a false Pompey and a false Drusus claim our attention, because one exercised the political sagacity of Cicero, the other employed the pen of Tacitus. Neither have we in our own country been without similar impostors, the examples of which must be too familiar to require insertion here.—*T.*

3 *Into the midst of the troops.*]—It may to an English reader at first sight seem extraordinary, that any person should dare to execute such a commission as this, and should venture himself on such a business amongst the troops of a man whose power had been so long established, and whose cruelty must have been notorious. But the persons of heralds, as the functions they were to perform were the most important possible, were on all occasions sacred. Homer more than once calls them the sacred ministers of gods and men; they denounced war and proclaimed peace. It has been a matter of dispute amongst the learned from whence this sanctity was conferred on them; they were said to be descended from Cenyx, the son of Mercury, and under the protection of that god. This office, in Athens and Sparta, was hereditary. In Athens as I have observed, the heralds were said to be derived from Cenyx; in Sparta, from Talthybius, the celebrated herald of Agamemnon. They usually carried a staff of laurel in their hands, sometimes of olive, round this two serpents were twisted. To what an extreme this reverence for the persons of ambassadors or heralds was carried, will appear from the book Polyhymnia, chap. 134. It is almost unnecessary to add, that in modern times the persons of ambassadors are in like manner deemed sacred, unless the treatment which in case of war they receive at Constantinople be deemed an exception. The moment that war is declared against any foreign power, the representative of that power is seized, and sent as a prisoner to the Black Tower.—*T.*

that Prexaspes, whom he had sent to put Smerdis to death, had neglected to obey his commands. "Prexaspes," said the king, "thou hast not fulfilled my orders." "Sir," he replied, "you are certainly deceived; it is impossible that your brother should rebel against you, or occasion you the smallest trouble. I not only executed your orders concerning Smerdis, but I buried him with my own hands. If the dead can rise again, you may expect also a rebellion from Astyages the Mede; but if things go on in their usual course, you can have nothing to apprehend from your brother. I would recommend, therefore, that you send for this herald, and demand by what authority he claims our allegiance to Smerdis."

LXIII. This advice was agreeable to Cambyses: the person of the herald was accordingly seized, and he was thus addressed by Prexaspes: "You say, my friend, that you come from Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but I would advise you to be cautious, as your safety will depend upon your speaking the truth; tell me, therefore, did Smerdis himself entrust you with this commission, or did you receive it from some one of his officers?" "I must confess," replied the herald, "that since the departure of Cambyses on this Egyptian expedition, I have never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus. I received my present commission from the magus to whom Cambyses entrusted the management of his domestic affairs; he it was who told me that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, commanded me to execute this business." This was the sincere answer of the herald; upon which Cambyses thus addressed Prexaspes: "I perceive that, like a man of integrity, you performed my commands, and have been guilty of no crime: but what Persian, assuming the name of Smerdis, has revolted against me?" "Sir," answered Prexaspes, "I believe I comprehend the whole of this business: the magi have excited this rebellion against you, namely, Patizithes, to whom you entrusted the management of your household, and Smerdis, his brother,"

LXIV. As soon as Cambyses heard the name of Smerdis, he was impressed with conviction of the truth; and he immediately perceived the real signification of the dream in which he had seen Smerdis seated on the royal throne, and touching the firmament with his head. Acknowledging that without any just cause he had destroyed his brother, he lamented him with tears. After indulging for a while in the extremest sorrow, which a sense of his misfortunes prompted, he leaped hastily upon his horse, determining to lead his army instantly to Susa against the rebels. In doing this, the sheath fell from his sword,[4] which being thus naked, wounded him in the thigh. The wound was in the very place in which he had before struck Apis, the deity of the Egyptians. As soon as the blow appeared to be mortal, Cambyses anxiously inquired the name of the place where he was: they told him it was called Ecbatana. An oracle from Butos had warned him that he should end his life at Ecbatana; this he understood of Ecbatana[5] of the Medes, where all his treasures were deposited, and where he conceived he was in his old age to die. The oracle, however, spoke of the Syrian Ecbatana. When he learned the name of the town, the vexation arising from the rebellion of the magus, and the pain of his wound, restored him to his proper senses. "This," he exclaimed, remembering the oracle, "is doubtless the place in which Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is destined to die."

LXV. On the twentieth day after the above event, he convened the most illustrious of the

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4 *The sheath fell from his sword.*]—The first swords were probably made of brass; for, as Lucretius observes,

Et prior æris erat quam ferri cognitus usus.

It has been remarked, on the following passage of Virgil,

Æratæque micant peltæ, micat æneus ensis.

that the poet only uses brass poetically instead of iron; this, however, seems forced and improbable. More anciently, which indeed appears from Homer, the sword was worn over the shoulder; if, therefore, the attitude of Cymbyses, in the act of mounting his horse be considered, his receiving the wound here described does not appear at all unlikely. In contradiction to modern custom, the Romans sometimes wore two swords, one on each side: when they wore but one it was usually, though not always, on the right side. On this subject, see Montfaucon, where different specimens of ancient swords may be seen. The Persian swords were called acinaces, or scymetars.—*T.*

5 *Ecbatana.*]—Ctesias makes this prince die at Babylon; but this is not the only place in which he contradicts Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

It appears by the context, that this Ecbatana was in Syria; an obscure place, probably, and unheard of by Cambyses till this moment. A similar fiction of a prophecy occurs in our own history. Henry the Fourth had been told he was to die in Jerusalem, but died in the Jerusalem-chamber at Westminster. Which tale Shakspeare has immortalized by noticing it.

It hath been prophesied to me many years
I should not die but in Jerusalem.
Which vainly I suppos'd the Holy Land.
But bear me to that chamber, there I'll lie,
In that Jerusalem shall Harry die.

Patanæa in Palestine marks the place of this Syrian Ecbatana.—*See d'Anville.*—*T.*

Persians who were with him, and thus addressed them; "What has happened to me, compels me to disclose to you what I anxiously desired to conceal. Whilst I was in Egypt, I beheld in my sleep a vision, which I could wish had never appeared to me. A messenger seemed to arrive from home, informing me that Smerdis, sitting on the royal throne, touched the heavens with his head. It is not in the power of men to counteract destiny; but fearing that my brother would deprive me of my kingdom, I yielded to passion rather than to prudence. Infatuated as I was, I despatched Prexaspes to Susa, to put Smerdis to death. After this great crime, I lived with more confidence, believing, that Smerdis being dead, no one else would rise up against me. But my ideas of the future were fallacious; I have murdered my brother, a crime equally unnecessary and atrocious, and am nevertheless deprived of my power. It was Smerdis the magus[1] whom the divinity pointed out to me in my dream, and who has now taken arms against me. Things being thus circumstanced, it becomes you to remember that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, is actually dead, and that the two magi, one with whom I left the care of my household, and Smerdis his brother, are the men who now claim your obedience. He, whose office it would have been to have revenged on these magi any injury done to me, has unworthily perished by those who were nearest to him: but since he is no more, I must now tell you, O Persians! what I would have you do when I am dead—I entreat you all, by those gods who watch over kings, and chiefly you who are of the race of the Achæmenides, that you will never permit this empire to revert to the Medes. If by any stratagem they shall have seized it, by stratagem do you recover it. If they have by force obtained it, do you by force wrest it from them. If you shall obey my advice, may the earth give you its fruit in abundance; may you ever be free, and your wives and your flocks prolific! If you do not obey me, if you neither recover nor attempt to recover the empire, may the reverse of my wishes befall you, and may every Persian meet a fate like mine!"

LXVI. Cambyses having thus spoken, bewailed his misfortunes. When the Persians saw the king thus involved in sorrow, they tore their garments and expressed their grief aloud. After a very short interval, the bone became infected, the whole of the thigh mortified, and death ensued. Thus died Cambyses son of Cyrus, after a reign of seven years and five months,[2] leaving no offspring, male or female. The Persians who were present could not be persuaded that the magi had assumed the supreme authority, but rather believed that what Cambyses had asserted concerning the death of Smerdis, was prompted by his hatred of that prince, and his wish to excite the general animosity of the Persians against him. They were, therefore, generally satisfied that it was really Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, who had assumed the sovereignty. To which they were the more inclined, because Prexaspes afterwards positively denied that he had put Smerdis to death. When Cambyses was dead, he could not safely have confessed that he had killed the son of Cyrus.

LXVII. After the death of Cambyses, the magus, by the favour of his name, pretending

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1 *Smerdis, the magus.*]—Mr. Richardson, in his Dissertation on the Language, &c. of Eastern Nations, speaking of the disagreement between the Grecian and Asiatic history of Persia, makes the following remarks.

From this period (610 before Christ) till the Macedonian conquest, we have the history of the Persians as given us by the Greeks, and the history of the Persians as written by themselves. Between these classes of writers we might naturally expect some difference of facts, but we should as naturally look for a few great lines which might mark some similarity of story; yet from every research which I have had an opportunity to make, there seems to be nearly as much resemblance between the annals of England and Japan, as between the European and Asiatic relations of the same empire. The names and numbers of their kings have no analogy; and in regard to the most splendid facts of the Greek historians, the Persians are entirely silent. We have no mention of the great Cyrus, nor of any king of Persia who in the events of his reign can apparently be forced into a similitude. We have no Crœsus, king of Lydia; not a syllable of Cambyses, or of his frantic expedition against the Ethiopians. Smerdis Magus, and the succession of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, by the neighing of his horse, are to the Persians circumstances equally unknown, as the numerous assassinations recorded by the Greeks, &c.

To do away, at least in part, any impression to the prejudice of Grecian history, which may be made by perusing the above remarks of Mr. Richardson, the reader is presented with the following sentiments of Mr. Gibbon.

"So little has been preserved of eastern history before Mahomet, that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation."

The incident here mentioned is the victory of Sapor over Valerian the Roman emperor, who was defeated, taken prisoner, and died in captivity. This happened in the year 260 of the Christian era. Mahomet was born in the year 571 of the same era; if, therefore, Mr. Gibbon's observation be well founded, which it appears to be, Mr. Richardson's objections fall to the ground.—*T.*

2 *Seven years and five months.*]—Clemens Alexandrinus makes him reign ten years.—*Larcher.*

to be Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, reigned in security during the seven months which completed the eighth year of the reign of Cambyses. In this period he distinguished the various dependents on his power by his great munificence, so that after his death he was seriously regretted by all the inhabitants of Asia, except the Persians. He commenced his reign by publishing every where an edict which exempted his subjects for the space of three years both from tribute and military service.

LXVIII. In the eighth month he was detected in the following manner: Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, was of the first rank of the Persians, both with regard to birth and affluence. This nobleman was the first who suspected that this was not Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; and was induced to suppose who he really was, from his never quitting the citadel, and from his not inviting any of the nobles to his presence. Suspicious of the imposture, he took these measures:—He had a daughter named Phædyma, who had been married to Cambyses, and whom, with the other wives of the late king, the usurper had taken to himself. Otanes sent a message to her, to know whether she cohabited with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, or with any other person. She returned for answer, "that she could not tell, as she had never seen Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, nor did she know the person with whom she cohabited." Otanes sent a second time to his daughter: "If," says he, "you do not know the person of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, inquire of Atossa who it is with whom you and she cohabit, for she must necessarily know her brother." To which she thus replied, "I can neither speak to Atossa, nor indeed see any of the women that live with him. Since this person, whoever he is, came to the throne, the women have all been kept separate.[3]

LXIX. This reply more and more justified the suspicions of Otanes; he sent, therefore, a third time to his daughter: "My daughter," he observed, "it becomes you, who are nobly born, to engage in a dangerous enterprize, when your father commands you. If this Smerdis[4] be not the son of Cyrus, but the man whom I suspect, he ought not, possessing your person, and the sovereignty of Persia, to escape with impunity. Do this, therefore—when next you shall be admitted to his bed, and shall observe that he is asleep, examine whether he has any ears; if he has, you may be secure you are with Smerdis, the son of Cyrus; but if he has not, it can be no other, than Smerdis, one of the magi." To this Phædyma replied, "That she would obey him, notwithstanding the danger she incurred; being well assured, that if he had no ears, and should discover her in endeavouring to know this, she should instantly be put to death." Cyrus had in his life-time deprived this Smerdis of his ears[5] for some atrocious crime.

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3 *Kept separate.*]—Chardin speaking of the death of a king of Persia, and the intemperate grief of his wives, says, that the reason why the women on such occasions are so deeply afflicted, is not only for the loss of the king their husband, but for the loss of that shadow of liberty which they enjoyed during his life; for no sooner is the prince laid in his tomb, but they are all shut up in particular houses. Tournefort tells us, that after the death of the sultan at Constantinople, the women whom he honoured with his embraces, and their eldest daughters, are removed into the old seraglio at Constantinople; the younger are sometimes left for the new emperor, or are married to the bashas.

It appears that in the east from the remotest times females have been jealously secluded from the other sex. Nevertheless, we learn from modern travellers, that this is done with some restrictions, and that they are not only suffered to communicate with each other, but on certain days to leave the haram or seraglio, and take their amusements abroad.

Where a plurality of wives is allowed, each, it should seem from Tournefort, has a distinct and separate apartment. "I was extremely at a loss," says he, "how to behave to the great men of the east, when I was called in, and visited, as a physician, the apartments of their wives. These apartments are just like the dormitories of our religious, and at every door I found an arm covered with gauze, thrust out through a small loop-hole, made on purpose: at first I fancied they were arms of wood, or brass, to serve for sconces to light up candles in at night; but it surprised me when I was told that I must cure the persons to whom these arms belonged." The easterns listen with much astonishment to the familiarity prevailing betwixt the sexes in Europe. When told that no evil results from this, they answer with a proverb, "Bring butter too near the fire, and you will hardly keep it from melting."—*T.*

4 *If this Smerdis.*]—That Cambyses was the Ahasuerus, and Smerdis the Artaxerxes, that obstructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are said in scripture to be the kings of Persia that reigned between the time of Cyrus and the time of that Darius by whose decree the temple was finished; but that Darius being Darius Hystaspes, and none reigning between Cyrus and that Darius in Persia, but Cambyses and Smerdis, it must follow from hence, that none but Cambyses and Smerdis could be the Ahasuerus and Artaxerxes, who are said in Ezra to have put a stop to this work.—*Prideaux.*

5 *This Smerdis of his ears.*]—The discovery of this imposture was long celebrated in Persia as an annual festival. By reason of the great slaughter of the magians then made, it was called magophonia. It was also from this time that they first had the name of magians, which signified the cropt-eared, which was then given them on account of this impostor, who was thus cropt. Migegush signified, in the language of the country then in use, one that had his ears cropt; and from a ring-leader of

Phædyma complied in all respects with the injunctions of her father. The wives of the Persians sleep with their husbands by turns.[1] When this lady next slept with the magus, as soon as she saw him in a profound sleep, she tried to touch his ears, and being perfectly satisfied that he had none, as soon as it was day, she communicated the intelligence to her father.

LXX. Otanes instantly revealed the secret to Aspathines and Gobryas, two of the noblest of the Persians, upon whose fidelity he could depend, and who had themselves suspected the imposture. It was agreed that each should disclose the business to the friend in whom he most confided. Otanes therefore chose Intaphernes; Gobryas, Megabyzus; and Aspathines, Hydarnes. The conspirators being thus six in number, Darius, son of Hystaspes, arrived at Susa, from Persia, where his father was governor: when they instantly agreed to make him also an associate.

LXXI. These seven met,[2] and after mutual vows of fidelity consulted together. As soon as Darius was to speak, he thus addressed his confederates: "I was of opinion that the death of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and the usurpation of the magus, were circumstances known only to myself; and my immediate purpose in coming here, was to accomplish the usurper's death. But since you are also acquainted with the matter, I think that all delay will be dangerous, and that we should instantly execute our intentions." "Son of Hytaspes," replied Otanes, "born of a noble parent, you seem the inheritor of your father's virtue; nevertheless, be not precipitate, but let us enter on this business with caution: for my own part, I am averse to undertake any thing, till we shall have strengthened our party." "My friends," resumed Darius, "if you follow the advice of Otanes, your ruin is inevitable. The hope of reward will induce some one to betray your designs to the magus. An enterprize like this should be accomplished by yourselves, disdaining all assistance. But since you have revealed the secret, and added me to your party, let us this very day put our designs in execution; for I declare if this day pass without our fulfilling our intentions, no one shall to-morrow betray me; I will myself disclose the conspiracy to the magus."

LXXII. When Otanes observed the ardour of Darius; "Since," he replied, "you will not suffer us to defer, but precipitate us to the termination of our purpose, explain how we shall obtain entrance into the palace, and attack the usurpers. That there are guards regularly stationed, if you have not seen them yourself, you must have known from others; how shall we elude these?" "There are many circumstances, Otanes," returned Darius, "which we cannot so well explain by our words as by our actions. There are others which may be made very plausible by words, but are capable of no splendour in the execution. You cannot suppose that it will be difficult for us to pass the guards; who amongst them will not be impelled by reverence of our persons, or fear of our authority, to admit us? Besides this, I am furnished with an undeniable excuse; I can say that I am just arrived from Persia, and have business from my father with the king. If a falsehood must be spoken,[3] let it be so. They

that sect who was thus cropt, the author of the famous Arabic lexicon called Camus, tells us they had all this name given them; and what Herodotus and Justin, and other authors, write of this Smerdis, plainly shows that he was the man.—*Prideaux.*

1 *The wives of the Persians sleep with their husbands by turns.*]—By the Mahometan law, the Persians, Turks, and indeed all true belivers, are permitted to have wives of three different descriptions; those whom they espouse, those whom they hire, and those whom they purchase. Of the first kind they are limited to four, of the two last they may have as many as they please or can afford. Amongst the singularities sanctified by the Alcoran, the following is not the least; a woman legally espoused may insist on a divorce from her husband, if he is impotent, if he is given to unnatural enjoyment, or, to use Tournefort's expression, if he does not pay his tribute upon Thursday and Friday night, which are the times consecrated to the conjugal duties.—*T.*

2 *These seven met.*]—Mithridates, king of Pontus, who afterwards gave so much trouble to the Romans, was descended from one of these conspirators: see book vii. chap. ii.—*Larcher.*

3 *If a falsehood must be spoken.*]—This morality, says Larcher, is not very rigid; but it ought, he continues, to be remembered, that Herodotus is here speaking of falsehood which operates to no one's injury. Bryant, on the contrary, remarks, that we may rest assured these are the author's own sentiments, though attributed to another person: hence he adds, we must not wonder if his veracity be sometimes called in question. But when we remember that one of the first rudiments of Persian education was to speak the truth, the little scruple with which Darius here adopts a falsehood, must appear very remarkable. Upon this subject of sincerity, Lord Shaftesbury has some very curious remarks. "The chief of ancient critics," says he, "extols Homer above all things for understanding how to lie in perfection. His lies, according to that master's opinion and the judgment of the gravest and most venerable writers, were in themselves the justest moral truths, and exhibitive of the best doctrine and instruction in life and manners." It is well remarked by one of the ancients, though I do not remember which, that a violation of truth implies a contempt

who are sincere, and they who are not, have the same object in view. Falsehood is prompted by views of interest, and the language of truth is dictated by some promised benefit, or the hope of inspiring confidence. So that, in fact, these are only two different paths to the same end: if no emolument were proposed, the sincere man would be false, and the false man sincere. As to the guards, he who suffers us to pass shall hereafter be remembered to his advantage; he who opposes us shall be deemed an enemy: let us, therefore, now hasten to the palace, and execute our purpose."

LXXIII. When he had finished, Gobryas spake as follows: "My friends, to recover the empire will indeed be glorious; but if we fail, it will be nobler to die, than for Persians to live in subjection to a Mede, and he too deprived of his ears. You who were present at the last hours of Cambyses, cannot but remember the imprecations which he uttered against the Persians if they did not attempt the recovery of the empire. We then refused him attention, thinking him influenced by malignity and resentment; but now I at least second the proposal of Darius, nor would I have this assembly break up, but to proceed instantly against the magus." The sentiment of Gobryas gave universal satisfaction.

LXXIV. During the interval of this consultation, the two magi had together determined to make a friend of Prexaspes: they were aware that he had been injured by Cambyses, who had slain his son with an arrow; and that he alone was privy to the death of Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, having been his executioner; they were conscious also that he was highly esteemed by the Persians. They accordingly sent for him, and made him the most liberal promises; they made him swear that he would on no account disclose the fallacy which they practised on the Persians; and they promised him, in reward of his fidelity, rewards without number. Prexaspes engaged to comply with their wishes; they then told him of their intention to assemble the Persians beneath the tower[4] which was the royal residence, from whence they desired him to declare aloud that he who then sat on the throne of Persia was Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, and no other. They were induced to this measure, from a consideration of the great authority of Prexaspes, and because he had frequently declared that he had never put Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, to death, but that he was still alive.

LXXV. Prexaspes agreed to comply with all that they proposed; the magi accordingly assembled the Persians, and leading Prexaspes to the top of the tower, commanded him to make an oration. He, without paying the least attention to the promises he had made, recited the genealogy of the family of Cyrus, beginning with Achæmenes. When he came to Cyrus himself, he enumerated the services which that prince had rendered the Persians. He then made a full discovery of the truth, excusing himself for concealing it so long, from the danger which the revealing it would have incurred, but that it was now forced from him. He assured them that he actually had killed Smerdis, by the order of Cambyses, and that the magi now exercised the sovereign authority. When he had imprecated many curses[5] upon

of God and fear of man. Yet the gravest of our moralists and divines have allowed that there may be occasions in which a deviation from strict truth is venial.—*T.*

This morality is not only not very rigid, as Larcher affirms, but it contradicts one of the most important objects in the education of the Persians, the speaking truth, which we are told by Herodotus, in more places than one, was not frequently violated, though in Persian discipline strongly enforced.

4 *Beneath the tower.*]—This was the citadel. Anciently the kings lodged here for security. In chap. lxviii. Herodotus observes that the magus would not stir from the citadel; and in chap. lxxix. he says that the conspirators left behind in the citadel such of their friends as were wounded in attacking the magi.—*Larcher.*

5 *Imprecated many curses.*]—In ancient times, and amongst the Orientals in particular, these kind of imprecations were very frequent and supposed to have an extraordinary influence. The curse of a father was believed to be particularly fatal; and the furies were always thought to execute the imprecations of parents upon disobedient children: see the stories of Œdipus and Theseus. When Joshua destroyed Jericho, he imprecated a severe curse upon whoever should attempt to rebuild it. This was, however, at a distant period of time accomplished. We have two examples of solemn imprecations on record, which have always been deemed worthy of attention. The one occurred in ancient Rome: when Crassus, in defiance of the auspices, prepared to make an expedition against the Parthians. The tribune Ateius waited for him at the gates of the city with an altar, a fire, and a sacrifice ready prepared, and with the most horrid solemnity devoted him to destruction. The other example is more modern, it is the imprecation which Averroes, the famous Arabian philosopher, uttered against his son. As it is less generally known, I shall recite it at length: Averroes was one day seriously conversing with some grave friends, when his son, in a riotous manner, intruded himself, accompanied by some dissolute companions. The old man, viewing him with great indignation, spoke two verses to the following effect: "Thy own beauties could not content thee, thou hast stripped the wild goat of his beauties;

the Persians, if they did not attempt the recovery of their rights, and take vengeance upon the usurpers, he threw himself from the tower.—Such was the end of Prexaspes, a man who through every period of his life merited esteem.[1]

LXXVI. The seven Persians having determined instantly to attack the magi, proceeded, after imploring the aid of the gods, to execute their purpose. They were at first ignorant of what related to the fate of Prexaspes, but they learned it as they went along. They withdrew for a while to deliberate together; they who sided with Otanes thought that their enterprize should be deferred, at least during the present tumult of affairs. The friends of Darius, on the contrary, were averse to any delay and were anxious to execute what they had resolved immediately. Whilst they remained in this suspense, they observed seven pair of hawks,[2] which, pursuing two pair of vultures, beat and severely tore them. At this sight the conspirators came immediately into the designs of Darius; and, relying on the omen of the birds, advanced boldly to the palace.

LXXVII. On their arrival at the gates, it happened as Darius had foreseen. The guards, unsuspicious of what was intended, and awed by their dignity[3] of rank, who, in this instance, seemed to act from a divine impulse, withou any questions, permitted them to enter. As soon as they came to the interior part of the palace, they met with eunuchs, who were employed as the royal messengers; these asked their business, and at the same time threatened the guards for suffering them to enter. On their opposing their farther entrance, the conspirators drew their swords, and encouraging each other, put the eunuchs to death: from hence they instantly rushed to the inner apartments.

LXXVIII. Here the two magi happened to be, in consultation about what was to be done in consequence of the conduct of Prexaspes. As soon as they perceived the tumult, and heard the cries of the eunuchs, they ran towards them, and preparing in a manly manner to defend themselves, the one seized a bow and the other a lance. As the conspirators drew near to the attack, the bow became useless: but the other magus, who was armed with the lance, wounded Aspathines in the thigh, and deprived Intaphernes of one of his eyes, though the blow was not fatal. The magus who found his bow of no service, retreated to an adjoining apartment, into which he was followed by Darius and Gobryas. This latter seized the magus round the waist,[4] but as this happened in the dark, Darius stood in hesitation, fearing to strike, lest he should wound Gobryas. When Gobryas perceived this, he inquired why he was thus inactive: when Darius replied that it was from his fear of wounding his friend; "Strike," exclaimed

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and they who are as beautiful as thyself admire thee. Thou hast got his wanton heart, his lecherous eyes, and his senseless head: but to-morrow thou shalt find thy father will have his pushing horns. Cursed be all extravagancies: when I was young I sometimes punished my father, now I am old I cannot punish my son: but I beg of God to deprive him rather of life, than suffer him be disobedient." It is related that the young man died within ten months.—*T.*

1 *Merited esteem.*]—Upon this incident M. Larcher remarks, that this last noble action of his life but ill corresponds with the mean and dastardly behaviour which Prexaspes had before exhibited to the murderer of his son.

2 *Seven pair of hawks.*]—The superstition of the ancients, with respect to the sight or flight of birds, has often exercised the sagacity and acuteness of philosophers and scholars. Some birds furnished omens from their chattering, as crows, owls, &c.; others from the direction in which they flew, as eagles, vultures, hawks, &c. An eagle seen to the right was fortunate.—See Homer. The sight of an eagle was supposed to foretel to Tarquinius Priscus, that he should obtain the crown; it predicted also, the conquests of Alexander; and the loss of their dominions to Tarquin the proud, and Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse; innumerable other examples must here occur to the most common reader. A raven seen on the left hand was unfortunate:

Sæpe sinistra cava prædixit ab ilice cornix.—Virgil.

3 *Awed by their dignity.*]—The most memorable instance in history of the effects of this kind of impression, is that of the soldier sent into the prison to kill Caius Marius:—The story is related at length by Plutarch. When the man entered the prison with his sword drawn, "Fellow," exclaimed the stern Roman, "darest thou kill Caius Marius?" Upon which the soldier dropped his sword, and rushed out of doors. This fact, however, being no where mentioned by Cicero, who speaks very largely on the subject of Marius, has given Dr. Middleton reason to suppose, that the whole is a fabulous narration.—*T.*

4 *Round the waist.*]—Not unlike to this was the manner in which David Rizzio, the favourite of the unfortunate Mary queen of Scots, was murdered. Rizzio was at supper with his mistress, attended by a few domestics, when the king, who had chosen this place and opportunity to satisfy his vengeance, entered the apartment with Ruthven and his accomplices. The wretched favourite, conceiving himself the victim whose death was required, flew for protection to the queen, whom he seized round the waist. This attitude did not save him from the dagger of Ruthven; and before he could be dragged to the next apartment, the rage of his enemies put an end to his life, piercing his body with fifty-six wounds.—See the account in *Robertson's History of Scotland*, vol. i. 359.—*T.*

Gobryas, "though you should pierce both."—Darius instantly complied, and ran his sword through the magus.

LXXIX. Having thus slain the magi,[5] they instantly cut off their heads. Their two friends who were wounded were left behind, as well to guard the citadel, as on account of their inability to follow them. The remaining five ran out into the public street, having the heads of the magi in their hands,and making violent outcries. They called aloud to the Persians, explaining what had happened, and exposing the heads of the usurpers; at the same time, whoever of the magi appeared was instantly put to death. The Persians hearing what these seven noblemen had effected, and learning the imposture practised on them by the magi, were seized with the desire of imitating their conduct. Sallying forth with drawn swords, they killed every magus whom they met; and if night had not checked their rage, not one would have escaped. The anniversary of this day the Persians celebrate with great solemnity: the festival they observe is called the magophonia, or the slaughter of the magi. On this occasion no magus is permitted to be seen in public, they are obliged to confine themselves at home.

LXXX. When the tumult had subsided, and an interval of five days was elapsed, the conspirators met to deliberate on the situation of affairs. Their sentiments, as delivered on this occasion, however they may want credit with many of the Greeks, were in fact as follows.—Otanes recommended a republican form of government: "It does not," says he, "seem to me advisable, that the government of Persia[6] should hereafter be entrusted to any individual person, this being neither popular nor wise. We all know the extreme lengths to which the arrogance of Cambyses proceeded, and some of us have felt its influence. How can that form of government possibly be good, in which an individual with impunity may indulge his passions, and which is apt to transport

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5 *The magi.*]—It may not in this place be impertinent, to give a succinct account of the magi or magians, as selected from various writers on the subject. This sect originating in the East, abominating all images, worshipped God only by fire. Their chief doctrine was, that there were two principles, one of which was the cause of all good, the other the cause of all evil. The former is represented by light, the other by darkness, and that from these two all things in the world were made. The good god they named Yazdan or Ormund; the evil god, Ahraman; the former is by the Greeks named Oromasdes, the latter Arimanius. Concerning these two gods, some held both of them to have been from eternity; others contended the good being only to be eternal, the other created: both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two till the end of the world, when the good god shall overcome the evil god; and that afterwards each shall have his world to himself, the good god have all good men with him, the evil god all wicked men. Of this system Zoroaster was the first founder, whom Hyde and Prideaux make cotemporary with Darius Hystaspes, but whose era, as appears from Moyle, the Greek writers of the age of Darius make many hundred years before their own time. After giving a concise but animated account of the theology of Zoroaster, Mr.Gibbon has this foolish remark: "Every mode of religion, to make a deep and lasting impression on the human mind, must exercise our obedience, by enjoining practices of devotion for which we can assign no reason; and must acquire our esteem by inculcating moral duties, analogous to the dictates of our own hearts." The religion of Zoroaster was abundantly provided with the former, and possessed a sufficient portion of the latter. At the age of puberty the faithful Persian was invested with a mysterious girdle, from which moment the most indifferent action of his life was sanctified by prayers, ejaculations, and genuflexions, the omission of which was a grievous sin. The moral duties, however, were required of the disciple of Zoroaster, who wished to escape the persecution of Arimanius, or, as Mr Gibbon writes it, Ahriman, and to live with Ormund, or, Ormusd, in a blissful eternity, where the degree of felicity will be exactly proportioned to the degree of virtue and piety. In the time of Theodosius the younger, the Christians enjoyed a full toleration in Persia; but Abdas indiscreetly pulling down a temple, in which the Persians worshipped fire, a persecution against the Christians was excited, and prosecuted with unrelenting cruelty. The magi are still known in Persia, under the name of parsi or parses; their superstition is contained in three books, named Zend, Pazend, and Vestna, said by themselves to be composed by Zerdascht, whom they confound with the patriarch Abraham. The oriental Christians pretend, that the magi who adored Jesus Christ, were disciples of Zoroaster, who predicted to them the coming of the Messiah, and the new star which appeared at his birth. Upon this latter subject a modern writer has ingeniously remarked, that the presents which the magi made to Christ, indicated their esteeming him a royal child, notwithstanding his mean situation and appearance: they gave him gold, frankincense, and myrrh, such as the queen of Sheba presented to Solomon in his glory.

It seems almost unnecessary to add, that from these magi or magians the English word *magic* is derived:—See Prideaux, Gibbon, Bayle, Bibliotheque Orientale, and Harmer's Observations on passages of Scripture.—*T.*

6 *Government of Persia.*]—Machiavel, reasoning upon the conquests of Alexander the great, and upon the unresisting submission which his successors experienced from the Persians, takes it for granted, that amongst the ancient Persians there was no distinction of nobility. This, however, was by no means the case; and what Mr. Hume remarks of the Florentine secretary was undoubtedly true, that he was far better acquainted with Roman than with Greek authors:—See the Essay of Mr. Hume, where he asserts that "Politics may be reduced to a science;" with his note at the end of the volume, which contains an enumeration of various Persian noblemen of different periods, as well as a refutation of Machiavel's absurd position above stated.—*T.*

even the best of men beyond the bounds of reason? When a man, naturally envious, attains greatness, he instantly becomes insolent: Insolence and jealousy are the distinguishing vices of tyrants, and when combined lead to the most enormous crimes. He who is placed at the summit of power, ought indeed to be a stranger to envy; but we know by fatal experience, that the contrary happens. We know also, that the worthiest citizens excite the jealousy of tyrants, who are pleased only with the most abandoned: they are ever prompt to listen to the voice of calumny. If we pay them temperate respect, they take umbrage that we are not more profuse in our attentions: if the respect with which they are treated seem immoderate, they call it adulation. The severest misfortune of all is, that they pervert the institutions of their country, offer violence to our females, and put those whom they dislike to death, without the formalities of justice. But a democracy in the first place bears the honourable name of an equality;[1] the disorders which prevail in a monarchy cannot there take place. The magistrate is appointed by lot, he is accountable for his administration, and whatever is done must be with the general consent. I am, therefore, of opinion, that monarchy should be abolished, and that, as every thing depends on the people,[2] a popular government should be established." Such were the sentiments of Otanes.

LXXXI. Megabyzus, however, was inclined to an oligarchy; in favour of which he thus expressed himself: "All that Otanes has urged, concerning the extirpation of tyranny, meets with my entire approbation; but when he recommends the supreme authority to be intrusted to the people, he seems to me to err in the extreme. Tumultuous assemblies of the people are never distinguished by wisdom, always by insolence; neither can any thing be possibly more preposterous, than to fly from the tyranny of an individual to the intemperate caprice of the vulgar. Whatever a tyrant undertakes, has the merit of previous concert and design; but the people are always rash and ignorant. And how can they be otherwise, who are uninstructed, and with no internal sense[3] of what is good and right? Destitute of judgment, their actions resemble the violence of a torrent.[4] To me, a democracy seems to involve the ruin of our country: let us, therefore, intrust the government to a few individuals, selected for their talents and their virtues. Let us constitute a part of these ourselves, and from the exercise of authority so deposited, we may be justified in expecting the happiest events."

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1 *Equality.*]—The word in the original is ισονομιην, which means equality of laws. M. Larcher translates it literally isonomie; but in English as we have no authority for the use of it, isonomy would perhaps seem pedantic. The following passage from Lord Shaftesbury fully explains the word in question.—Speaking of the influence of tyranny on the arts, "The high spirit of tragedy," says he, "can ill subsist where the spirit of liberty is wanting." The genius of this poetry consists in the lively representation of the disorders and misery of the great; to the end that the people, and those of a lower condition, may be taught the better to content themselves with privacy, enjoy their safer state, and prize the *equality* and justice of their guardian laws.—*T.*

2 *Every thing depends on the people.*]—In this place the favourite adage of Vox populi vox Dei, must occur to every reader; the truth of which, as far as power is concerned, is certainly indisputable; but with respect to political sagacity, the sentiment of Horace may be more securely vindicated:

Interdum vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat.

Which Pope happily renders,

The people's voice is odd;
It is, and it is not, the voice of God.—*T.*

3 *No internal sense.*]—The original is somewhat perplexed; but the acute Valcnaer, by reading οικοθεν for οικηιον, at once removes all difficulty.—*T.*

4 *Their actions resemble the violence of a torrent.*]—Upon the subject of popular assemblies, the following remarks of M. de Lolme seem very ingenious as well as just.

"Those who compose a popular assembly are not actuated, in the course of their deliberations, by any clear or precise view of any present or positive personal interest. As they see themselves lost as it were in the crowd of those who are called upon to exercise the same function with themselves; as they know that their individual vote will make no change in the public resolution, and that to whatever side they may incline, the general result will nevertheless be the same, they do not undertake to inquire how far the things proposed to them agree with the whole of the laws already in being, or with the present circumstances of the state. As few among them have previously considered the subjects on which they are called upon to determine, very few carry along with them any opinion or inclination of their own, and to which they are resolved to adhere. As, however, it is necessary at last to come to some resolution, the major part of them are determined, by reasons which they would blush to pay any regard to on much less serious occasions: an unusual sight, a change of the ordinary place of assembly, a sudden disturbance, a rumour, are, amidst the general want of a spirit of decision, the *sufficiens ratio* of the determination of the greatest part; and from this assemblage of separate wills, thus formed, hastily and without reflection, a general will results, which is also without reflection."—*Constitution of England*, 250, 251.

Quod enim fretum, quem Euripum, tot motus, tantas et tam varias habere putatis agitationes fluctuum, quantas perturbationes et quantos æstus habet ratio comitiorum.—*Cicero Orat. pro Muræna.*

LXXXII. Darius was the third who delivered his opinion. "The sentiments of Megabyzus," he observed, "as they relate to a popular government, are unquestionably wise and just; but from his opinion of an oligarchy, I totally dissent. Supposing the three different forms of government, monarchy, democracy, and an oligarchy, severally to prevail in the greatest perfection, I am of opinion that monarchy has greatly the advantage. Indeed nothing can be better than the government of an individual eminent for his virtue. He will not only have regard to the general welfare of his subjects, but his resolutions will be cautiously concealed from the public enemies of the state. In an oligarchy, the majority who have the care of the state, though employed in the exercise of virtue for the public good, will be the subjects of mutual envy and dislike. Every individual will be anxious to extend his own personal importance, from which will proceed faction, sedition, and bloodshed. The sovereign power coming by these means to the hands of a single person, constitutes the strongest argument to prove what form of government is best. Whenever the people possess the supreme authority, disorders in the state are unavoidable; such disorders introduced in a republic, do not separate the bad and the profligate from each other, they unite them in the closest bonds of connection. They who mutually injure the state, mutually support each other: this evil exists till some individual, assuming authority, suppresses the sedition: he of course obtains popular admiration, which ends in his becoming the sovereign;[5] and this again tends to prove, that a monarchy is of all governments the most excellent. To comprehend all that can be said at once, to what are we indebted for our liberty; did we derive it from the people, an oligarchy, or an individual? For my own part, as we were certainly indebted to one man for freedom, I think that to one alone the government should be intrusted. Neither can we without danger change the customs of our country."

LXXXIII. Such were the three different opinions delivered, the latter of which was approved by four out of the seven.[6] When Otanes saw his desire to establish an equality in Persia, rejected, he spoke thus: "As it seems determined that Persia shall be governed by one person, whether chosen among ourselves by lot, or by the suffrages of the people, or by some other method, you shall have no opposition from me; I am equally averse to govern or obey. I therefore yield, on condition that no one of you shall ever reign over me, or any of my posterity." The rest of the conspirators assenting to this, he made no farther opposition, but retired from the assembly. At the present period this is the only family in Persia which retains its liberty, for all that is required of them is not to transgress the laws of the country."

LXXXIV. The remaining six noblemen continued to consult about the most equitable mode of electing a king; and they severally determined, that if the choice should fall upon any of themselves, Otanes himself and all his posterity should be annually presented with a Median habit,[7] as well as with every other

5 *Ends in his becoming the sovereign.*]—It is probable that the ascendant of one man over multitudes began during a state of war, where the superiority of courage and of genius discovers itself most visibly, where unanimity and concert are most requisite, and where the pernicious effects of disorder are most sensibly felt.—*Hume.*

6 *Four out of the seven.*]—This majority certainly decided in favour of that species of government which is most simple and natural; and which would be, if always vested in proper hands, the best: but the abuse of absolute power is so probable, and so destructive, that it is necessary by all means to guard against it. Aristotle inclines to the opinion of those, who esteem a mixed government the best that can be devised. Of this they consider the Lacedæmonian constitution a good specimen; the kings connecting it with monarchy, the senate with oligarchy, and the ephori and syssytia with democracy.—*Arist. Pol.* l. ii. cap. 4. Modern speculators on this subject, with one accord, allow the constitution of Great Britain, as it stands at present, to be a much more judicious and perfect mixture of the three powers, which are so contrived as to check and counterbalance each other, without impeding that action of the whole machine, which is necessary to the well-being of the people. The sixth book of Polybius opens with a dissertation on the different forms of government, which deserves attention.—*T.*

7 *Presented with a Median habit.*]—The custom of giving vests or robes in oriental countries, as a mark of honour and distinction, may be traced to the remotest antiquity, and still prevails. On this subject the following passage is given from a manuscript of Sir John Chardin, by Mr. Harmer, in his Observations on Passages of Scripture.

"The kings of Persia have great wardrobes, where there are always many hundreds of habits ready, designed for presents, and sorted. They pay great attention to the quality or merit of those to whom these vestments or habits are given; those that are given to the great men have as much difference as there is between the degrees of honour they possess in the state."

All modern travellers to the east speak of the same custom. We find also in the Old Testament various examples of a similar kind. Chardin also, in his account of the coronation of Solyman the Third, king of Persia, has the following passage:

"His majesty, as every grandee had paid him his submissions, honoured him with a calate or royal vest. This Persian word, according to its etymology, signifies entire, perfect, accomplished, to signify either the excel-

distinction magnificent in itself, and deemed honourable in Persia. They decreed him this tribute of respect, as he had first agitated the matter, and called them together. These were their determinations respecting Otanes: as to themselves, they mutually agreed that access to the royal palace should be permitted to each of them, without the ceremony of a previous messenger,[1] except when the king should happen to be in bed with his wife. They also resolved, that the king should marry no woman but from the family of one of the conspirators. The mode they adopted to elect a king was this:—They agreed to meet on horseback at sun-rise, in the vicinity of the city, and to make him king, whose horse should neigh the first.

LXXXV. Darius had a groom whose name was Œbares, a man of considerable ingenuity, for whom on his return home he immediately sent. "Œbares," said he, "it is determined that we are to meet at sun-rise on horseback, and that he among us shall be king, whose horse shall first neigh. Whatever acuteness you have, exert it on this occasion, that no one but myself may attain this honour." "Sir," replied Œbares, "if your being a king or not depends on what you say, be not afraid: I have a kind of charm, which will prevent any one's being preferred to yourself." "Whatever," replied Darius, "this charm may be, it must be applied without delay, as the morning will decide the matter." Œbares, therefore, as soon as evening came, conducted to the place before the city a mare, to which he knew the horse of Darius was particularly inclined: he afterwards brought the horse there, and after carrying him several times round and near the mare, he finally permitted him to cover her.

LXXXVI. The next morning as soon as it was light the six Persians assembled, as had been agreed, on horseback. After riding up and down at the place appointed, they came at length to the spot where, the preceding evening, the mare had been brought; here the horse of Darius instantly began to neigh, which, though the sky was remarkably clear, was instantly succeeded by thunder and lightning. The heavens thus seemed to favour, and indeed to act in concert with Darius. Immediately the other noblemen dismounted, and falling at his feet hailed him king.[2]

LXXXVII. Such, according to some, was the stratagem of Œbares; others, however, relate the matter differently, and both accounts prevail in Persia. These last affirm, that the groom having rubbed his hand against the private parts of the mare, afterwards folded it up in his vest, and that in the morning, as the horses were about to depart, he drew it out from his garment, and touched the nostrils of the horse of Darius, and that this scent instantly made him snort and neigh.

LXXXVIII. Darius the son of Hystaspes[3] was thus proclaimed king; and, except the Arabians, all the nations of Asia who had been subdued first by Cyrus, and afterwards by Cambyses, acknowledged his authority. The Arabians were never reduced to the subjection of

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lency of the habit, or the dignity of him that wears it; for it is an infallible mark of the particular esteem which the sovereign has for the person to whom he sends it, and that he has free liberty to approach his person; for when the kingdom has changed its lord and master, the grandees who have not received this vest dare not presume to appear before the king without hazard of their lives."

This Median habit was made of silk; it was indeed, among the elder Greeks only another name for a silken robe, as we learn from Procopius, την εσθητα—ἡν παλαι μεν Ἑλληνες Μηδικην εκαλουν, νυν δε σηρικην ονομαζουσιν. This gift is fully explained by Xenophon in the first book of the Anabasis: it consisted of a horse with a gilt bridle, a golden collar, bracelets, and a sword of the kind peculiar to Media, called acinaces, besides the silken vest. His expressions are so similar to those of Herodotus, as to satisfy us that these specific articles properly made up the gift of honour.—*T.*

1 *Previous messenger.*]—Visits to the great in eastern countries are always preceded by messengers, who carry presents, differing in value according to the dignity of the person who is to receive them. Without some present or other no visit must be made, nor favour expected.—*T.*

2 *Hailed him king.*]—Darius was about twenty years old when Cyrus died. Cambyses reigned seven years and five months; Smerdis Magus was only seven months on the throne; thus Darius was about twenty-nine years old when he came to the crown.—*Larcher.*

This circumstance of thunder and lightning from a cloudless sky, is often mentioned by the ancients, and was considered by them as the highest omen. Horace has left an ode upon it, as a circumstance which staggered his Epicurean notions, and impressed him with awe and veneration, l. i. Od. 34; and the commentators give us instances enough of similar accounts. With us there is no thunder without clouds, except such as is too distant to have much effect; it may be otherwise in hot climates, where the state of the air is much more electrical.—*T.*

3 *Darius the son of Hystaspes.*]—Archbishop Usher holdeth that it was Darius Hystaspes that was the king Ahasuerus, who married Esther; and that Atossa was the Vashti, and Antystone the Esther of the holy scriptures. But Herodotus positively tells us, that Antystone was the daughter of Cyrus, and therefore she could not be Esther; and that Atossa had four sons by Darius, besides daughters, all born to him after he was king; and therefore she could not be that queen Vashti, who was divorced from the king her husband in the third year of his reign, nor he that Ahasuerus that divorced her.—*Prideaux.*

Persia,[4] but were in its alliance; they afforded Cambyses the means of penetrating into Epypt, without which he could never have accomplished his purpose. Darius first of all married two women of Persia, both of them daughters of Cyrus, Atossa, who had first been married to Cambyses, and afterwards to the magus, and Antystone a virgin. He then married Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and that daughter of Otanes who had been the instrument in discovering the magus. Being firmly established on the throne, his first work was the erection of an equestrian statue, with this inscription: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, obtained the sovereignty of Persia by the sagacity of his horse, and the ingenuity of Œbares his groom." The name of the horse was also inserted.

LXXXIX. The next act of his authority was to divide Persia into twenty provinces, which they call satrapies, to each of which a governor was appointed. He then ascertained the tribute they were severally to pay, connecting sometimes many nations together which were near each other, under one district; and sometimes he passed over many which were adjacent, forming one government of various remote and scattered nations. His particular division of the provinces, and the mode fixed for the payment of their annual tribute, was this: They whose payment was to be made in silver, were to take the Babylonian talent[5] for their standard; the Euboic talent was to regulate those who made their payment in gold; the Babylonian talent, it is to be observed, is equal to seventy Euboic minæ. During the reign of Cyrus, and indeed of Cambyses, there were no specific tributes,[6] but presents were made to the sovereign. On account of these and similar innovations, the Persians call Darius a merchant, Cambyses a despot, but Cyrus a parent. Darius seemed to have no other object in view but the acquisition of gain; Cambyses was negligent and severe; whilst Cyrus was of a mild and gentle temper, ever studious of the good of his subjects.

XC. The Ionians and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans,[7] and Pamphylians, were comprehended under one district, and jointly paid a tribute of four hundred talents of silver; they formed the first satrapy. The second, which paid five hundred talents, was composed of the Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians.[8] A tribute of three hundred and sixty talents was paid by those who inhabit the right side of the Hellespont, by the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia, by the Paphlagonians, Mariandynians,[9] and Syrians: and these nations

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4 *Never reduced to the subjection of Persia.*]—The independence of the Arabs has always been a theme of praise and admiration, from the remotest ages to the present. Upon this subject the following animated apostrophe from Mr. Gibbon, includes all that need be said. "The arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia. The present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to provoke, and fruitless to attack. The obvious causes of their freedom are inscribed on the character and country of the Arabs; the patient and active virtues of a soldier are insensibly nursed in the habits and discipline of a pastoral life. The long memory of their independence is the firmest pledge of its perpetuity; and succeeding generations are animated to prove their descent, and to maintain their inheritance. When they advance in battle, the hope of victory is in the front, and in the rear the assurance of a retreat. Their horses and camels, who in eight or ten days can perform a march of four or five hundred miles, disappear before the conqueror: the secret waters of the desert elude his search; and his victorious troops are consumed with hunger, thirst, and fatigue, in the pursuit of an invisible foe, who scorns his efforts, and safely reposes in the heart of the burning solitude."

5 *Babylonian talent.*]—What follows on the subject of the talent, is extracted principally from Arbuthnot's tables of ancient coins.

The word *talent* in Homer, is used to signify a balance, and in general it was applied either to a weight or a sum of money, differing in value according to the age and countries in which it was used. Every talent consists of 60 minæ and every minæ of 100 drachmæ, but the talents differed in weight according to the minæ and drachmæ of which they were composed.

What Herodotus here affirms of the Babylonian talent, is confirmed by Pollux and by Ælian.

The Euboic talent was so called from the island Eubœa; it was generally thought to be the same with the Attic talent, because both these countries used the same weights; the mina Euboica, and the mina Attica, each consisted of 100 drachmæ.

According to the above, the Babylonian talent would amount in English money, to about 226*l.*; the Euboic or Attic talent to 193*l.* 15*s.*—*T.*

6 *No specific tributes.*]—This seemingly contradicts what was said above, that the magus exempted the Persians for three years from every kind of impost. It must be observed that these imposts were not for a constancy, they only subsisted in time of war and were rather a gratuity than an impost. Those imposed by Darius were perpetual; thus Herodotus does not appear at all to contradict himself.—*Larcher.*

7 *Melyeans.*]—Those people are in all probability the same with the Milyans of whom Herodotus speaks, book i. c. clxxiii. and book vii. c. clxxvii. They were sometimes called Minyans, from Minos, king of Crete.—*T.*

8 *Hygennians.*]—For Hygennians Wesseling proposes to read Obigenians.—*T.*

9 *Mariandynians.*]—These were on the coast of Bithynia, where was said to be the Acherusian cave, through which Hercules dragged up Cerberus to light.

constituted the third satrapy. The Cilicians were obliged to produce every day a white horse, that is to say, three hundred and sixty annually, with five hundred talents of silver: of these one hundred and forty were appointed for the payment of the cavalry who formed the guard of the country; the remaining three hundred and sixty were received by Darius: these formed the fourth satrapy.

XCI. The tribute levied from the fifth satrapy was three hundred and fifty talents. Under this district was comprehended the tract of country which extended from the city Posideium, built on the frontiers of Cicilia and Syria, by Amphilocus, son of Amphiaraus,[1] as far as Egypt, part of Arabia alone excluded, which paid no tribute. The same satrapy, moreover included all Phœnicia, the Syrian Palestine, and the isle of Cyprus. Seven hundred talents were exacted from Egypt, from the Africans which border upon Egypt, from Cyrene and Barce, which are comprehended in the Egyptian district. The produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris was not included in this, neither was the corn, to the amount of seven hundred talents more; one hundred and twenty thousand measures of which were applied to the maintenance of the Persians and their auxiliary troops garrisoned within the white castle of Memphis: this was the sixth satrapy. The seventh was composed of the Satgagydæ, the Dadicæ and Aparyitæ, who together paid one hundred and seventy talents. The eighth satrapy furnished three hundred talents, and consisted of Susa and the rest of the Cissians.

XCII. Babylon and the other parts of Assyria constituted the ninth satrapy, and paid a thousand talents of silver, with five hundred young eunuchs. The tenth satrapy furnished four hundred and fifty talents, and consisted of Ecbatana, the rest of Mediá, the Parycanii, and the Orthocorybantes. The Caspians, the Pausicæ, the Pantimathi, and the Daritæ, contributed amongst them two hundred talents, and formed the eleventh satrapy. The twelfth produced three hundred and sixty talents, and was composed of the whole country from the Bactrians to Æglos.

XCIII. From the thirteenth satrapy four hundred talents were levied; this comprehended Pactyica, the Armenians with the contiguous nations; as far as the Euxine. The fourteenth satrapy consisted of the Sangatians, the Sarangæans, the Thamanæans, Utians, and Menci, with those who inhabit the islands of the Red Sea, where the king sends those whom he banishes;[2] these jointly contributed six hundred talents. The Sacæ and Caspii formed the fifteenth satrapy, and provided two hundred and fifty talents. Three hundred talents were levied from the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians, who were the sixteenth satrapy.

XCIV. The Paricanii and Ethiopians of Asia paid four hundred talents, and formed the seventeenth satrapy. The eighteenth was taxed at two hundred talents, and was composed of the Matieni, the Saspires, and the Alarodians. The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynœci, and Mardians, provided three hundred talents,

whose foam then produced aconite. Thus Dionysius Periegetes, l. 788.

That sacred plain where erst, as fablers tell,
The deep-voiced dog of Pluto, struggling hard
Against the potent grasp of Hercules,
With foamy drops impregnating the earth,
Produced dire poison to destroy mankind.

1 *Amphilochus, son of Amphiaraus.*]—For an account of Amphiaraus, see book the first, chap. xlvi. The name of the mother of Amphilochus, according to Pausanias, was Eriphyle. He appears to have obtained an esteem and veneration equal to that which was paid to his father. He had an oracle at Mallus, in Cilicia, which place he built; he had also an altar erected to his honour at Athens. His oracle continued in the time of Plutarch, and the mode of consulting it was this:—The person who wished an answer to some inquiry passed a night in the temple, and was sure to have a vision, which was to be considered as the reply. There is an example in Dion Cassius of a picture which was painted in the time of Commodus, descriptive of an answer communicated by this oracle.—*T.*

2 *Whom he banishes.*]—Banishment seems to have been adopted as a punishment at a very early period of the world; and it may be supposed that in the infancy of society, men, reluctant to sanguinary measures, would have recourse to the expulsion of mischievous or unworthy members, as the simpler and less odious remedy. When we consider the effect which exile has had upon the minds of the greatest and wisest of mankind, and reflect on that attractive sweetness of the natal soil, which whilst we admire in poetic description we still feel to be *ratione valentior omni*, it seems wonderful that banishment should not more frequently supersede the necessity of sanguinary punishments. That Ovid, whose mind was enervated by licentious habits, should deplore, in strains the most melancholy, the absence of what alone could make life supportable, may not perhaps be thought wonderful; but that Cicero, whose whole life was a life of philosophic discipline, should so entirely lose his firmness, and forget his dignity, may justify our concluding of the punishment of exile, that human vengeance need not inflict a more severe calamity. In opposition to what I have asserted above, some reader will perhaps be inclined to cite the example of Lord Bolingbroke, his conduct, and his reflections upon exile; but I think I can discern through that laboured apology, a secret chagrin and uneasiness, which convinces me at least, that whilst he acted the philosopher and the stoic, he had the common feelings and infirmities of man.—*T.*

and were the nineteenth satrapy. The Indians, the most numerous nation of whom we have any knowledge, were proportionally taxed; they formed the twentieth satrapy, and furnished six hundred talents in golden ingots.

XCV. If the Babylonian money be reduced to the standard of the Euboic talent, the aggregate sum will be found to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty talents in silver; and estimating the gold at thirteen times[3] the value of silver, there will be found, according to the Euboic talent, four thousand six hundred and eighty of these talents. The whole being estimated together, it will appear that the annual tribute[4] paid to Darius was fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents, omitting many trifling sums not deserving our attention.

XCVI. Such was the sum which Asia principally, and Africa in some small proportion, paid to Darius. In process of time the islands also were taxed, as was that part of Europe which extends to Thessaly. The manner in which the king deposited these riches in his treasury, was this:—The gold and silver was melted and poured into earthen vessels; the vessel, when full, was removed, leaving the metal in a mass. When any was wanted, such a piece was broken off as the contingence required.

XCVII. We have thus described the different satrapies, and the impost on each. Persia is the only province which I have not mentioned as tributary. The Persians are not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but they present a regular gratuity. The Ethiopians who border upon Egypt, subdued by Cambyses in his expedition against the Ethiopian Macrobians, are similarly circumstanced, as are also the inhabitants of the sacred town of Nyssa, who have festivals in honour of Bacchus. These Ethiopians, with their neighbours, resemble in their customs the Calantian Indians: they have the same rites of sepulture,[5] and their dwellings are subterraneous. Once in every three years these two nations present to the king two chœnices of gold unrefined, two hundred blocks of ebony, twelve large elephants' teeth, and five Ethiopian youths, which custom has been continued to my time. The people of Colchos[6] and their neighbours, as far as mount Caucasus, imposed upon themselves the payment of a gratuity. To this latter place the Persian authority extends; northward of this their name inspires no regard. Every five years the nations above-mentioned present the king with an hundred youths and an hundred virgins,[7] which also has been continued within my remembrance. The Arabians contribute every year frankincense to the amount of a thousand talents. Independent of the tributes before specified, these were the presents which the king received.

XCVIII. The Indians procure the great number of golden ingots, which, as I have observed, they present as a donative to the king, in this manner:—That part of India which lies towards the east is very sandy; and indeed, of all nations concerning whom we have any authentic accounts, the Indians are the people of Asia who are nearest the east, and the place of the rising sun. The part most eastward, is a perfect desert, from the sand. Under the

3 *Thirteen times the value of silver.*]—The proportion of gold to silver varied at different times, according to the abundance of these two metals. In the time of Darius it was thirteen to one; in the time of Plato twelve, and in the time of Menander, the comic poet, it was ten. —*Larcher.*

In the time of Julius Cæsar, the proportion of gold to silver at Rome was no more than nine to one. This arose from the prodigious quantity of gold which Cæsar had obtained from the plunder of cities and temples. It is generally supposed amongst the learned, that in the gold coin of the ancients one fiftieth part was alloy.—*T.*

4 *The annual tribute.*]—The comparison of two passages in Herodotus (book i. chap. cxcii. and book iii. chaps. lxxxix. xcvi.) reveals an important difference between the *gross* and the *net* revenue of Persia, the sums paid by the provinces, and the gold or silver deposited in the royal treasury. The monarch might annually save three millions six hundred thousand pounds of the seventeen or eighteen millions raised upon the people.—*Gibbon.*

5 *The same rites of sepulture.*]—The word in the text is σπερματι, which means 'grains:' to say of two different nations that they use the same grain, seems ridiculous enough. Valcnaer proposes to read σηματι, which seems obvious and satisfactory.—*T.*

6 *The people of Colchos.*]—It was the boast of the Colchians, that their ancestors had checked the victories of Sesostris, but they sunk without any memorable effort under the arms of Cyrus, followed in distant wars the standard of the great king, and presented him every fifth year with a hundred boys and as many virgins, the fairest produce of the land. Yet he accepted this *gift* like the gold and ebony of India, the frankincense of the Arabs, and the negroes and ivory of Ethiopia; The Colchians were not subject to the dominion of a satrap, and they continued to enjoy the name as well as substance of national independence.—*Gibbon.*

7 *Hundred virgins.*]—The native race of Persians is small and ugly, but it has been improved by the perpetual mixture of Circassian blood. This remark Mr. Gibbon applies to the Persian women in the time of Julian. Amongst modern travellers, the beauties of the Persian ladies is a constant theme of praise and admiration.—*T.*

name of Indians many nations are comprehended, using different languages; of these some attend principally to the care of cattle, others not: some inhabit the marshes, and live on raw fish, which they catch in boats made of reeds, divided at the joint, and every joint[1] makes one canoe. These Indians have cloth made of rushes,[2] which having mowed and cut, they weave together like a mat, and wear in the manner of a cuirass.

XCIX. To the east of these are other Indians, called Padæi,[3] who lead a pastoral life, live on raw flesh,[4] and are said to observe these customs:—If any man among them be diseased, his nearest connections put him to death, alleging in excuse that sickness would waste and injure his flesh. They pay no regard to his assertions that he is not really ill, but without the smallest compunction, deprive him of life. If a woman be ill, her female connections treat her in the same manner. The more aged among them are regularly killed and eaten; but there are very few who arrive at old age, for in case of sickness they put every one to death.

C. There are other Indians, who differing in manners from the above put no animal to death,[5] sow no grain, have no fixed habitations, and live solely upon vegetables. They have a particular grain, nearly of the size of millet, which the soil spontaneously produces, which is protected by a calyx; the whole of this they bake and eat. If any of these Indians be taken sick, they retire to some solitude, and there remain, no one expressing the least concern about them during their illness, or after their death.

CI. Among all these Indians whom I have specified, the communication between the sexes is like that of the beasts, open and unrestrained. They are all of the same complexion, and much resembling the Ethiopians. The semen which their males emit is not, like that of other men, white, but black like their bodies,[6] which is also the case with the Ethiopians. These Indians are very remote from Persia towards the south, and were never in subjection to Darius.

CII. There are still other Indians towards the north, who dwell near the city of Caspatyrum, and the country of Pactyica. Of all the Indians these in their manners most resemble the Bactrians; they are distinguished above the rest by their bravery, and are those who are employed in searching for the gold. In the vicinity of this district there are vast deserts of sand, in which a species of ants[7] is produced,

1 *Every joint.*]—This assertion seems wonderful; but Pliny, book xvi. chap. 36, treating of reeds, canes, and aquatic shrubs, affirms the same, with this precaution indeed, "if it may be credited." His expression is this:—Harundini quidem Indicæ arborea amplitudo, quales vulgo in templis videmus.—Spissius mari corpus, fœminæ capacius. Navigiorumque etiam vicem præstant (si credimus) *singula internodia.—T.*

2 *Cloth made of rushes.*]—To trace the modern dress back to the simplicity of the first skins, and leaves, and feathers, that were worn by mankind in the primitive ages, if it were possible, would be almost endless; the fashion has often been changed, while the materials remained the same: the materials have been different as they were gradually produced by successive arts that converted a raw hide into leather, the wool of the sheep into cloth, the web of the worm into silk, and flax and cotton into linen of various kinds. One garment also has been added to another, and ornaments have been multiplied on ornaments, with a variety almost infinite, produced by the caprice of human vanity, or the new necessities to which man rendered himself subject by those many inventions which took place after he ceased to be, as God had created him, upright.—See historical remarks on dress, prefixed to a collection of the dresses of different nations, ancient and modern.

The canoes and dresses here described, will strike the reader as much resembling those seen and described by modern voyagers to the South Seas.

3 *Padæi.*]—

Impia nec sævis celebrans convivia mensis
Ultima vicinus Phœbo tenet arva Padæus.

Tibull. l. iv. 144.

4 *On raw flesh.*]—Not at all more incredible is the custom said to be prevalent among the Abyssinians, of eating a slice of meat raw from the living ox, and esteeming it one of the greatest delicacies. The assertion of this fact by Mr. Bruce, the celebrated traveller, has excited a clamour against him, and by calling his veracity in question, has probably operated, amongst other causes, to the delay of a publication much and eagerly expected. This very fact, however, is also asserted of the Abyssinians by Lobo and Poncet. If it be allowed without reserve, an argument is deducible from it, to prove that bullock's blood in contradiction to what is asserted by our historian, in ch. 15. of this book, is not a poison: unless we suppose that the quantity thus taken into the stomach would be too small to produce the effect. Lobo, as well as Mr. Bruce, affirms, that the Abyssinians eat beef, not only in a raw state, but reeking from the ox.—*T.*

5 *Put no animal to death.*]—Nicolas Damascenus has preserved the name of this people. He calls them Aritonians.—*Larcher.*

6 *Black like their bodies.*]—Semen si probe concoctum fuerit, colore album et splendens esse oportet, ut vel hinc pateat quam parum vere Herodotus scribat semen nigrum Ethiopes promere. *Rodericus a Castro de universa mulierum medicina.*—Aristotle had before said the same thing, in his history of animals.—*Larcher.*

7 *Species of ants.*]—Of these ants Pliny also makes mention, in the following terms:

"In the temple of Hercules, at Erythræ, the horns of an Indian ant were to be seen, an astonishing object. In the country of the northern Indians, named Dandæ, these ants cast up gold from holes within the earth. In colour they resemble cats, and are as large as the wolves

not so large as a dog, but bigger than a fox. Some of these, taken by hunting, are preserved in the palace of the Persian monarch. Like the ants common in Greece, which in form also they nearly resemble, they make themselves habitations in the ground, by digging under the sand. The sand thus thrown up is mixed with gold-dust, to collect which the Indians are despatched into the deserts. To this expedition they proceed, each with three camels[8] fastened together, a female being secured between two males, and upon her the Indian is mounted, taking particular care to have one which has recently foaled. The females of this description are in all respects as swift as horses, and capable of bearing much greater burdens.[9]

CIII. As my countrymen of Greece are well acquainted with the form of the camel, I shall not here describe it; I shall only mention those particulars concerning it with which I conceive them to be less acquainted.[10] Behind, the camel has four thighs and as many knee joints; the member of generation falls from between the hinder legs, and is turned towards the tail.

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of Egypt. This gold, which they throw up in the winter, the Indians contrive to steal in the summer, when the ants, on account of the heat, hide themselves under ground. But if they happen to smell them, the ants rush from their holes and will often tear them in pieces, though mounted on their swiftest camels, such is the swiftness and fierceness they display from the love of their gold."

Upon the above Larcher has this remark: the little communication which the Greeks had with the Indians, prevented their investigating the truth with respect to this animal; and their love of the marvellous inclined them to assent to this description of Herodotus. Demetrius Triclinius says, on the Antigone of Sophocles, doubtless from some ancient Scholiast which he copies, that there are in India winged animals, named ants, which dig up gold. Herodotus and Pliny say nothing of their having wings. Most of our readers will be induced to consider the description of these ants as fabulous; nevertheless de Thou, an author of great credit, tells us, that Shah Thomas, sophi of Persia, sent, in the year 1559, to Soliman an ant like these here described.

They who had seen the vast nests of the termites, or white ants, might easily be persuaded that the animals which formed them were as large as foxes. The disproportion between the insect, though large, and its habitation, is very extraordinary.—*T.*

8 *Camels.*]—There has long existed a preposterous prejudice, with respect to the natural history of this animal, which is now removed by the sure and decisive test of anatomical experiment. All naturalists and travellers, ancient and modern, as ancient as Aristotle, and as modern as Mr. Bruce, (see his fourth volume) have asserted of the camel, that it has a fifth stomach or reservoir, of great capacity, which by retaining water a most incredible time, pure and unmixed, enables the animal to perform those long and fatiguing journeys which have been the admiration of mankind. Mr. Bruce says, that being reduced to the extremity of distress, from the want of water, he and his party killed two camels, and took from the stomachs of each about *four gallons* of water; it was vapid, and of a bluish cast, but had neither taste nor smell.

In contradiction to this positive assertion, I am informed, that an eminent naturalist, who has dissected not less than three camels, unequivocally denies the existence of any separate stomach or reservoir, different from those of all ruminating animals.

9 *Greater burdens.*]—Of all the descriptions I have met with of this wonderful animal, the following from Volney, seems the most animated and interesting:—

No creature seems so peculiarly fitted to the climate in which it exists, as the camel. Designing the camel to dwell in a country where he can find little nourishment, nature has been sparing of her materials in the whole of his formation. She has not bestowed upon him the fleshiness of the ox, horse, or elephant, but limiting herself to what is strictly necessary, she has given him a small head without ears, at the end of a long neck without flesh. She has taken from his legs and thighs every muscle not immediately requisite for motion, and in short has bestowed on his withered body only the vessels and tendons necessary to connect its frame together. She has furnished him with a strong jaw, that he may grind the hardest aliments; but, lest he should consume too much, she has straitened his stomach, and obliged him to chew the cud. She has lined his foot with a lump of flesh, which, sliding in the mud, and being no way adapted to climbing, fits him only for a dry, level, and sandy soil, like that of Arabia: she has evidently destined him likewise for slavery, by refusing him every sort of defence against his enemies. So great, in short, is the importance of the camel to the desert, that were it deprived of that useful animal, it must infallibly lose every inhabitant.—*Volney.*

With respect to the burdens which camels are capable of carrying, Russel tells us, that the Arab camel will carry one hundred rotoloes, or five hundred pounds' weight; but the Turcomans' camel's common load is one hundred and sixty rotoloes, or eight hundred pounds' weight. Their ordinary pace is very slow, Volney says, not more than thirty six hundred yards in an hour; it is needless to press them, they will go no quicker. Raynal says, that the Arabs qualify the camels for expedition by matches, in which the horse runs against him; the camel, less active and nimble, tires out his rival in a long course. There is one peculiarity in respect to the camels, which not being generally known, I give the reader, as translated from the Latin of Father Strope, a learned German missionary. "The camels which have the honour to bear presents to Mecca and Medina, are not to be treated afterwards as common animals; they are considered as consecrated to Mahomet, which exempts them from all labour and service. They have cottages built for their abodes, where they live at ease, and receive plenty of food, with the most careful attention.

10 *To be less acquainted.*]—These farther particulars concerning the camel are taken from Mr. Pennant.

The one-bunched camel is the Arabian camel, the two-bunched, the Bactrian. The Arabian has six callosities on the legs, will kneel down to be loaded, but rises the moment he finds the burden equal to his strength. They are gentle always, except when in heat, when they are seized with a sort of madness, which makes it unsafe to approach them. The Bactrian camel is larger and more generous than the domesticated race. The Chinese have a swift variety of this, which they call by the expressive name of Fong Kyo Fo, or camels with feet of the wind.

CIV. Having thus connected their camels, the Indians proceed in search of the gold, choosing the hottest time of the day as most proper for their purpose, for then it is that the ants conceal themselves under the ground. In distinction from all other nations, the heat with these people is greatest, not at mid-day, but in the morning. They have a vertical sun till about the time when with us people withdraw from the forum;[1] during which period the warmth is more excessive than the mid-day sun in Greece, so that the inhabitants are then said to go into the water for refreshment. Their mid-day is nearly of the same temperature as in other places; after which the warmth of the air becomes like the morning elsewhere; it then progressively grows milder, till at the setting sun it becomes very cool.

CV. As soon as they arrive at the spot, the Indians precipitately fill their bags with sand, and return as expeditiously as possible. The Persians say that these ants know and pursue the Indians by their smell, with inconceivable swiftness. They affirm, that if the Indians did not make considerable progress whilst the ants were collecting themselves together, it would be impossible for any of them to escape. For this reason, at different intervals,[2] they separate one of the male camels from the female, which are always fleeter than the males, and are at this time additionally incited by the remembrance of their young, whom they had left. Thus, according to the Persians, the Indians obtain their greatest quantity of gold; what they procure by digging is of much inferior importance.

CVI. Thus it appears that the extreme parts of the habitable world are distinguished by the possession of many beautiful things, as Greece is for its agreeable and temperate seasons. India as I have already remarked, is the last inhabited country towards the east, where every species of birds and of quadrupeds, horses excepted,[3] are much larger than in any other part of the world. Their horses are not so large as the Nisæan horses of Media. They have also a great abundance of gold, which they procure partly by digging, partly from the rivers, but principally by the method above described.

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1 *People withdraw from the forum.*]—The times of the forum were so exactly ascertained, as to serve for a notation of time. The time of full forum is mentioned by many authors, as Thucydides, Xenophon, Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, and others, and is said by Suidas to have been the third hour in the morning, that is, nine o'clock; and Dio Chrysostom places it as an intermediate point between morning, or sun-rise, and noon, which agrees also with nine o'clock. One passage in Suidas speaks also of the fourth, fifth, and sixth hours; but either they were fora of different kinds, or the author is there mistaken, or the passage is corrupt. See Ælian, xii. 30. and Athenæus, xiv. 1. The time of breaking up the forum, αλοερης διαλυσις, is not, I believe, mentioned, except here, by Herodotus; but by this passage it appears that it must have been also a stated time, and before noon; probably ten or eleven o'clock. This account of a sun, hotter and more vertical in the morning than at noon, is so perfectly unphilosophical, that it proves decisively what the hypothesis of our author concerning the overflowing of the Nile gave strong reason to suspect, that Herodotus was perfectly uninformed on subjects of this kind. Mid-day, or noon, can be only, at all places, when the sun is highest and consequently hottest, unless any clouds or periodical winds had been assigned as causes of this singular effect. Whoever fabricated the account, which he here repeats, thought it necessary to give an appearance of novelty even to the celestial phenomena of the place.

Herodotus himself uses the term of πληθωρα αλοερης in book ii. ch. 173. and vii. 223.—*T.*

2 *At different intervals.*]—This passage is somewhat perplexing. The reader must remember that the Indian rode upon the female camel, which was betwixt two males. This being the swiftest, he trusted to it for his own personal security; and it may be supposed that he untied one or both of the male camels, as the enemy approached, or as his fears got the better of his avarice.

3 *Horses excepted.*]—Every thing of moment which is involved in the natural history of the horse, may be found in M. Buffon. But, as Mr. Pennant observes, we may in this country boast a variety which no other single kingdom possesses. Most other countries produce but one kind, while ours, by a judicious mixture of the several species, by the happy difference of our soil, and by our superior skill in management, may triumph over the rest of Europe in having brought each quality of this noble animal to the highest perfection. The same author tells us, that the horse is in some places found wild; that these are less than the domestic kinds, of a mouse colour, have greater heads than the tame, their foreheads remarkably arched, go in great herds, will often surround the horses of the Mongals and Kalkas while they are grazing, and carry them away. These are excessively vigilant; a sentinel placed on an eminence gives notice to the herd of any approaching danger, by neighing aloud, when they all run off with amazing swiftness. These are sometimes taken by the means of hawks, which fix on their heads, and distress them so as to give the pursuers time to overtake them. In the interior parts of Ceylon is a small variety of the horse, not exceeding thirty inches in height, which is sometimes brought to Europe as a rarity. It may not, in this place, be impertinent to inform the reader, that in the East the riding on a horse is deemed very honourable, and that Europeans are very seldom permitted to do it. In the book of Ecclesiastes, chap. x. ver. 7. we meet with this expression, "I have seen servants on horses." which we may of course understand to be spoken of as a thing very unusual and improper.

To conclude this subject, I have only to observe, that the Arabian horses are justly allowed to be the finest in the world in point of beauty and of swiftness, and are sent into all parts to improve the breed of this animal. —*T.*

They possess likewise a kind of plant, which, instead of fruit, produces wool,[4] of a finer and better quality than that of sheep: of this the natives make their clothes.

CVII. The last inhabited country towards the south is Arabia, the only region of the earth which produces frankincense,[5] myrrh, cinnamon,[6] cassia,[7] and ledanum.[8] Except the myrrh, the Arabians obtain all these aromatics without any considerable trouble. To collect the frankincense, they burn under the tree which produces it a quantity of the styrax,[9] which the Phenicians export into Greece; for these trees are each of them guarded by a prodigious number of flying serpents, small of body, and of different colours, which are dispersed by the smoke of the gum. It is this species of serpent which, in an immense body, infests Egypt.

CVIII. The Arabians, moreover, affirm, that their whole country would be filled with these serpents, if the same thing were not to happen with respect to them which we know happens, and, as it should seem, providentially, to the vipers. Those animals, which are more timid, and which serve for the purpose of food, to prevent their total consumption are always remarkably prolific,[10] which is not the case with those which are fierce and venomous. The hare, for instance, the prey of every beast and bird, as well as of man, produces young abundantly. It is the singular property of this animal,[11] that it conceives a second time, when it is already pregnant, and at the same time carries in its womb young ones covered with down, others not yet formed, others just beginning to be formed, whilst the mother herself is again ready to conceive. But the lioness, of all animals the strongest and most ferocious, produces but one young one[12] in her life, for at the birth of her cub she loses her matrix. The reason of this seems to be, that as the claws of the lion are sharper by much than those of any other animal, the cub, as soon as it begins to stir in the womb, injures and tears the matrix, which it does still more and more as it grows bigger, so that at the time of its birth no part of the womb remains whole.

CIX. Thus, therefore, if vipers and those winged serpents of Arabia were to generate in the ordinary course of nature, the natives could not live. But it happens, that when they are incited by lust to copulate, at the very instant of emission, the female seizes the male by the neck, and does not quit her hold till she has quite devoured it.[13] The male thus perishes, but the female is also punished; for whilst the young are still within the womb, as the time of birth approaches, to make themselves a passage they tear in pieces the matrix, thus avenging

4 *Produces wool.*]—This was doubtless the cotton shrub, called by the ancients byssus. This plant grows to the height of about four feet: it has a yellow flower streaked with red, not unlike that of the mallow; the pistil becomes a pod of the size of a small egg; in this are from three to four cells, each of which, on bursting, is found to contain seeds involved in a whitish substance, which is the cotton. The time of gathering the cotton is when the fruit bursts; which happens in the months of March and April. The scientific name of this plant is gossypium.—*T.*

5 *Frankincense.*]—This, of all perfumes, was the most esteemed by the ancients; it was used in divine worship, and was in a manner appropriated to princes and great men. Those employed in preparing it were naked, they had only a girdle about their loins, which their master had the precaution to secure with his own seal.—*T.*

6 *Cinnamon*]—is a species of laurel, the bark of which constitutes its valuable part. This is taken off in the months of September and February. When cut into small slices, it is exposed to the sun, the heat of which curls it up into the form in which we receive and use it. The berry when boiled in water, yields, according to Raynal, an oil, which, suffered to congeal, acquires a whiteness. Of this candles are made, of a very aromatic smell, which are reserved for the sole use of the king of Ceylon, in which place it is principally found.—*T.*

7 *Cassia.*]—This is, I believe, a bastard kind of cinnamon, called in Europe, cassia lignea; the merchants mix it with true cinnamon, which is four times its value; it is to be distinguished by a kind of viscidity perceived in chewing it.—*T.*

8 *Ledanum.*]—Ledanum, or ladanum, according to Pliny, was a gum made of the dew which was gathered from a shrub called lada.—*T.*

9 *Styrax.*]—This is the gum of the storax tree, is very aromatic, and brought to this country in considerable quantities from the Archipelago. It is obtained by making incisions in the tree. The Turks adulterate it with sawdust. Another species of storax is imported to Europe from America, and is procured from the liquid amber-tree.—*T.*

10 *Remarkably prolific.*]—See Derham's chapter on the balance of animals, *Physico-Theology*, b. iv. ch. x. and ch. xiv. § 3.

11 *The singular property of this animal.*]—With respect to the superfœtation of this animal, Pliny makes the same remark, assigning the same reason. Lepus omnium prædæ nascens, solus præter Dasypodem superfœtat, aliud educans, aliud in utero pilis vestitum, aliud implume, aliud inchoatum gerens pariter. This doctrine of superfœtation is strenuously defended by Sir T. Brown, in his vulgar Errors; and, as far as it respects the animal in question, is credited by Larcher: but Mr. Pennant very sensibly remarks, that as the hare breeds very frequently in the course of the year, there is no *necessity* for having recourse to this doctrine for their numbers. —*T.*

12 *But one young one.*]—This assertion is perfectly absurd and false. The lioness has from two to six young ones, and the same lioness has been known to litter four or five times.—*T.*

13 *Quite devoured it.*]—This narrative must also be considered as entirely fabulous.—*T.*

their father's death. Those serpents which are not injurious to mankind lay eggs, and produce a great quantity of young. There are vipers in every part of the world, but winged serpents are found only in Arabia, where there are great numbers.

CX. We have described how the Arabians procure their frankincense; their mode of obtaining the cassia is this:—The whole of their body, and the face, except the eyes, they cover with skins of different kinds; they thus proceed to the place where it grows, which is in a marsh not very deep, but infested by a winged species of animal much resembling a bat, very strong, and making a hideous noise; they protect their eyes from these, and then gather the cassia.

CXI. Their manner of collecting the cinnamon[1] is still more extraordinary. In what particular spot it is produced, they themselves are unable to certify. There are some who assert that it grows in the region where Bacchus was educated, and their mode of reasoning is by no means improbable. These affirm that the vegetable substance, which we, as instructed by the Phenicians,[2] call cinnamon, is by certain large birds carried to their nests constructed of clay, and placed in the cavities of inaccessible rocks. To procure it thence, the Arabians have contrived this stratagem:—they cut in very large pieces the dead bodies of oxen, asses, or other beasts of burden, and carry them near these nests: they then retire to some distance; the birds soon fly to the spot, and carry these pieces of flesh to their nests, which not being able to support the weight, fall in pieces to the ground. The Arabians take this opportunity of gathering the cinnamon, which they afterwards dispose of to different countries.

CXII. The ledanum,[3] or as the natives term it, ladanum, is gathered in a more remarkable manner than even the cinnamon. In itself it is particularly fragrant, though gathered from a place as much the contrary. It is found sticking to the beards of he-goats, like the mucus of trees. It is mixed by the Arabians in various aromatics, and indeed it is with this that they perfume themselves in common.

CXIII. I have thought it proper to be thus minute on the subject of the Arabian perfumes; and we may add, that the whole of Arabia exhales a most delicious fragrance. There are also in this country two species of sheep, well deserving admiration, and to be found no where else. One of them is remarkable for an enormous length of tail,[4] extending to three cubits,

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1 *Cinnamon.*]—The substance of Larcher's very long and learned note on this subject, may, if I mistake not, be comprised in very few words: by cinnamomum the ancients understood a branch of that tree, bark and all, of which the cassia was the bark only. The cutting of these branches in now prohibited, because found destructive of the tree. I have before observed, that of cinnamon there are different kinds; the cassia of Herodotus was, doubtless, what we in general understand to be cinnamon, of which our cassia, or cassia lignea, is an inferior kind.—*T.*

2 *As instructed by the Phenicians.*]—I cannot resist the pleasure of giving at full length the note of Larcher on this passage, which detects and explains two of the most singular and unaccountable errors ever committed in literature.

"The above is the true sense of the passage, which Pliny has mistaken. He makes Herodotus say that the cinnamon and cassia are found in the nests of certain birds, and *in particular of the phœnix.* Cinnamomum et casias, fabulose narravit antiquitas, princepsve Herodotus, avium nidis et privatim phœnicis, in quo situ Liber Pater educatus esset, ex inviis rupibus arboribusque decuti. The above passage from Pliny, Dupin has translated, most ridiculously, 'l'antiquite fabuleuse, et *le prince des menteurs*, Herodote, disent,' &c. He should have said Herodotus first of all, for princeps, in this place, does not mean prince, and menteur cannot possibly be implied from the text of Pliny. Pliny has reason to consider the circumstance as fabulous, but he ought not to have imputed it to our historian, who says no such thing. But the authority of Pliny has imposed not only on Statius,

> Phariaque exempta volucri
> Cinnama,

where Pharia volucris means the phœnix, and on Avienus,

> Internis etiam procul undique ab oris
> Ales amica deo largum congessit amomum:

but also on Van Stapel, in his commentaries on Theophrastus. Pliny had, doubtless, read too hastily this passage of Herodotus, which is sufficiently clear. Suidas and Etymologicum Magnum, are right in the word κινάμωμον."

3 *Ledanum.*]—The following further particulars concerning this aromatic are taken from Tournefort.

It is gathered by the means of whips, which have long handles, and two rows of straps; with these they brush the plants, and to these will stick the odoriferous glue which hangs on the leaves; when the whips are sufficiently laden with this glue, they take a knife and scrape it clean off the straps.

In the time of Dioscorides, and before, they used to gather the ledanum not only with whips, but they also were careful in combing off such of it as was found sticking to the beards and thighs of the goats, which fed upon nothing but the leaves of the cistus. They still observe the same process.

The ledum is a species of cistus.

4 *Enormous length of tail.*]—The following description of the broad-tailed sheep, from Pennant, takes away from the seeming improbability of this account.

"This species," says Mr. Pennant, "is common in Syria, Barbary, and Ethiopia. Some of their tails end in a point, but are oftener square or round. They are so long as to trail on the ground, and the shepherds are obliged to put boards with small wheels under the tails to keep them from galling. These tails are esteemed a great delicacy, are of a substance between fat and marrow, and are eaten with the lean of the mutton. Some of these tails weigh 50 lb. each.'

if not more. If they were permitted to trail them along the ground, they would certainly ulcerate from the friction. But the shepherds of the country are skilful enough to make little carriages, upon which they secure the tails of the sheep: the tails of the other species are of the size of one cubit.

CXIV. Ethiopia, which is the extremity of the habitable world, is contiguous to this country on the south-west. This produces gold in great quantities, elephants with their prodigious teeth, trees and shrubs of every kind, as well as ebony; its inhabitants are also remarkable for their size, their beauty, and their length of life.

CXV. The above are the two extremes of Asia and Africa. Of that part of Europe nearest to the west, I am not able to speak with decision. I by no means believe that the Barbarians give the name of Eridanus[5] to a river which empties itself into the Northern Sea, whence, as it is said, our amber comes. Neither am I better acquainted with the islands called the Cassiterides,[6] from which we are said to have our tin. The name Eridanus is certainly not barbarous, it is of Greek derivation, and, as I should conceive, introduced by one of our poets. I have endeavoured, but without success, to meet with some one who from ocular observation might describe to me the sea which lies in that part of Europe. It is nevertheless certain, that both our tin and our amber[7] are brought from those extreme regions.

CXVI. It is certain that in the north of Europe there is a prodigious quantity of gold; but how it is produced I am not able to tell with certainty. It is affirmed, indeed, that the Arimaspi, a people who have but one eye, take this gold away violently from the griffins; but I can never persuade myself that there are any men who, having but one eye, enjoy in all other respects the nature and qualities of other human beings. Thus much seems unquestionable, that these extreme parts of the world contain within themselves things the most beautiful as well as rare.

CXVII. There is in Asia a large plain, surrounded on every part by a ridge of hills, through which there are five different apertures. It formerly belonged to the Chorasmians, who inhabit those hills in common with the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangensians, and Thomaneans; but after the subjection of these nations to Persia, it became the property of the great king. From these surrounding hills there issues a large river called Aces; this formerly, being conducted through the openings of the mountain, watered the several countries above mentioned. But when these regions came un-

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5 *Eridanus.*]—Bellanger was of opinion, that Herodotus intended here to speak of the Eridanus, a river in Italy; Pliny thought so too, and expresses his surprise that Herodotus should be unable to meet with a person who had seen this river, although part of his life was spent at Thuria in Magna Græcia.

But this very reflection ought to have convinced both Pliny and Bellanger, that Herodotus had another Eridanus in view.

The Eridanus here alluded to, could not possibly be any other than the Rho-daune, which empties itself into the Vistula, near Dantzic, and on the banks of which amber is now found in large quantities.—*Larcher.*

6 *Cassiterides.*]—Pliny says, these islands were thus called from their yielding abundance of lead; Strabo says, that they were known only to the Phenicians; Larcher is of opinion that Great Britain was in the number of these.

The Phenicians, who were exceedingly jealous of their commerce, studiously concealed the situation of the Cassiterides, as long as they were able; which fully accounts for the ignorance so honestly avowed by Herodotus. Camden and d'Anville agree in considering the Scilly Isles as undoubtedly the Cassiterides of the ancients. Strabo makes them ten in number, lying to the north of Spain; and the principal of the Scilly Isles are ten, the rest being very inconsiderable. Dionysius Periegetes expressly distinguishes them from the British isles.

Νησους δ' Ἑσπεριδας τοθι κασσιτεροιο γενεθλη—
* * * * *
Αλλαι δ' ωκεανοιο παραι Βορεωτιδας ακτας
Δισσαι νησοι εασι Βρεττανιδες.—v. 563.

Yet it is not an improbable conjecture of his commentator Hill, that the promontory of Cornwall might perhaps at first be considered as another island. Diodorus Siculus describes the carrying of tin from the Cassiterides, and from Britain, to the northern coast of France, and thence on horses to Marseilles, thirty days' journey, this must be a new trade established by the Romans; who employed great perseverance to learn the secret from the Phenicians. Strabo tells us of one Phenician captain, who finding himself followed by a Roman vessel, purposely steered into the shallows, and thus destroyed both his own ship and the other; his life, however, was saved, and he was rewarded by his countrymen for his patriotic resolution.

Eustathius, in his comment on Dionysius, reckons also ten Cassiterides; but his account affords no new proof, as it is manifestly copied from Strabo, to the text of which author it affords a remarkable correction.—*T.*

7 *Amber.*]—Amber takes its name from *ambra*, the Arabian name for this substance; the science of electricity is so called from *electrum*, the Greek word for amber. This term of electricity is now applied not only to the power of attracting lighter bodies, which amber possesses, but to many other powers of a similar nature. Amber is certainly not of the use, and consequently not of the value, which it has been, but it is still given in medicine, and is, as I am informed, the basis of all varnishes. It is found in various places, but Prussia is said to produce the most and the best.—*T.*

der the power of the Persians, the apertures were closed, and gates placed at each of them, to prevent the passage of the river. Thus on the inner side, from the waters having no issue, this plain became a sea, and the neighbouring nations, deprived of their accustomed resource, were reduced to the extremest distress from the want of water. In winter, they in common with other nations, had the benefit of the rains, but in summer, after sowing their millet and sesamum, they required water, but in vain. Not being assisted in their distress, the inhabitants of both sexes hastened to Persia, and presenting themselves before the palace of the king, made loud complaints. In consequence of this, the monarch directed the gates to be opened towards those parts where water was most immediately wanted; ordering them again to be closed after the lands had been sufficiently refreshed: the same was done with respect to them all, beginning where moisture was wanted the most. I have, however, been informed, that this is only granted in consideration of a large donative above the usual tribute.

CXVIII. Intaphernes, one of the seven who had conspired against the magus, lost his life from the following act of insolence. Soon after the death of the usurpers, he went to the palace, with the view of having a conference with the king; for the conspirators had mutually agreed, that, except the king should happen to be in bed with his wife, they might any of them have access to the royal presence, without sending a previous messenger. Intaphernes, not thinking any introduction necessary, was about to enter, but the porter and the introducing officer prevented him, pretending that the king was retired with one of his wives. He, not believing their assertion, drew his sword, and cut off their ears and noses; then taking the bridle from his horse, he tied them together, and so dismissed them.

CXIX. In this condition they presented themselves before the king, telling him why they had been thus treated. Darius, thinking that this might have been done with the consent of the other conspirators, sent for them separately, and desired to know whether they approved of what had happened. As soon as he was convinced that Intaphernes had perpetrated this without any communication with the rest, he ordered him, his son, and all his family, to be taken into custody; having many reasons to suspect that in concert with his friends he might excite a sedition: he afterwards commanded them all to be bound, and prepared for execution. The wife of Intaphernes then presented herself before the royal palace, exhibiting every demonstration of grief. As she regularly continued this conduct, her frequent appearance at length excited the compassion of Darius; who thus addressed her by a messenger: "Woman, king Darius offers you the liberty of any individual of your family, whom you may most desire to preserve." After some deliberation with herself, she made this reply: "If the king will grant me the life of any one of my family, I choose my brother in preference to the rest." Her determination greatly astonished the king; he sent to her therefore a second message to this effect; "The king desires to know why you have thought proper to pass over your children and your husband, and to preserve your brother; who is certainly a more remote connection than your children, and cannot be so dear to you as your husband?" She answered thus; "O king! if it please the deity, I may have another husband; and if I be deprived of these, may have other children; but as my parents are both of them dead, it is certain that I can have no other brother."[1] The answer appeared to

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1 *I can have no other brother.*]—This very singular, and I do not scruple to add, preposterous sentiment, is imitated very minutely by Sophocles, in the Antigone. That the reader may the better understand, by comparing the different application of these words, in the historian and the poet, I shall subjoin a part of the argument of the Antigone.

Eteocles and Polynices were the sons of Œdipus, and successors of his power: they had agreed to reign year by year alternately; but Etiocles breaking the contract, the brothers determined to decide the dispute in a single combat; they fought and mutually slew each other. The first act of their uncle Creon, who succeeded to the throne, was to forbid the rites of sepulture to Polynices, denouncing immediate death upon whoever should dare to bury him. Antigone transgressed this ordinance, and was detected in the fact of burying her brother; she was commanded to be buried alive, and what follows is part of what is suggested by her situation and danger:

And thus, my Polynices, for my care
Of thee, I am rewarded, and the good
Alone shall praise me; for a husband dead,
Nor, had I been a mother, for my children
Would I have dared to violate the laws—
Another husband and another child
Might soothe affliction: but, my parents dead,
A brother's loss could never be repair'd.

Franklin's Sophocles.

The reader will not forget to observe, that the piety of Antigone is directed to a lifeless corpse, but that of the wife of Intaphernes to her living brother, which is surely less repugnant to reason, and the common feelings of the human heart, not to speak of the superior claims of duty.

Darius very judicious; indeed he was so well pleased with it, that he not only gave the woman the life of her brother, but also pardoned her eldest son; the rest were all of them put to death. Thus, at no great interval of time, perished one of the seven conspirators.

CXX. About the time of the last illness of Cambyses, the following accident happened. The governor of Sardis was a Persian, named Orœtes, who had been promoted by Cyrus. This man conceived the atrocious design of accomplishing the death of Polycrates of Samos, by whom he had never in word or deed been injured, and whose person he never had beheld. His assigned motive was commonly reported to be this: Orœtes one day sitting at the gates of the palace[2] with another Persian, whose name was Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, entered into a conversation with him, which at length terminated in dispute. The subject about which they contended was military virtue: "Can you," says Mitrobates to Orœtes, "have any pretensions to valour, who have never added Samos to the dominions of your master, contiguous as it is to your province; and which indeed may so easily be taken, that one of its own citizens made himself master of it, with the help of fifteen men in arms, and still retains the supreme authority?" This made a deep impression upon the mind of Orœtes; but without meditating revenge against the person who had affronted him, he determined to effect the death of Polycrates, on whose account he had been reproached.

CXXI. There are some, but not many, who affirm that Orœtes sent a messenger to Samos, to propose some question to Polycrates, but of what nature is unknown: and that he found Polycrates in the men's apartment, reclining on a couch, with Anacreon of Teos[3] by his side. The man advanced to deliver his message; but Polycrates, either by accident, or to demonstrate the contempt[4] in which he held Orœtes, continued all the time he was speaking, with his face towards the wall, and did not vouchsafe any reply.

CXXII. These are the two assigned motives for the destruction of Polycrates: every one will prefer that which seems most probable. Orœtes, who lived at Magnesia, which is on the banks of the Mæander,[5] sent Myrsus the Lydian, son of Gyges, with a message to Polycrates at Samos. With the character of Polycrates, Orœtes was well acquainted; for, except Minos[6] the Cnossian, or whoever before him accomplished it, he was the first Greek who formed the design of making himself master of the sea. But as far as historical tradition may be depended upon, Polycrates is the only individual who projected the subjection of Ionia and the islands. Perfectly aware of these circumstances, Orœtes sent this message:

There is an incident similar to this in Lucian:—See the Tract called Toxaris, or Amicitia, where a Scythian is described to neglect his wife and children, whilst he incurs the greatest danger to preserve his friend from the flames. "Other children," says he, "I may easily have, and they are at best but a precarious blessing, but such a friend I could no where obtain."—*T.*

2 *At the gates of the palace.*]—In the Greek it is at the king's gate. The grandees waited at the gate of the Persian kings:—This custom, established by Cyrus, continued as long as the monarchy, and at this day, in Turkey, we say the Ottoman port, for the Ottoman court.—*Larcher.*

Ignorance of this custom has caused several mistakes, particularly in the history of Mordecai, in the book of Esther, who is by many authors, and even by Prideaux, represented as meanly situated when placed there. Many traces of this custom may be found in Xenophon's Cyropædia. Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, uses the expression of *those at the king's gate*, των επι θυραις βασιλεως, as a general designation for nobles and state officers.—See *Brisson, de Regno Persarum*, lib. i.—*T.*

3 *Anacreon of Teos.*]—It is by no means astonishing to find, in the court of a tyrant, a poet who is eternally singing in praise of wine and love; his verses are full of the encomiums of Polycrates. How different was the conduct of Pythagoras! That philosopher, perceiving that tyranny was established in Samos, went to Egypt, and from thence to Babylon, for the sake of improvement: returning to his country, he found that tyranny still subsisted; he went therefore to Italy, and there finished his days.—*Larcher.*

This poet was not only beloved by Polycrates, he was the favourite also of Hipparchus the Athenian tyrant. And, notwithstanding the inference which Larcher seems inclined to draw, from contrasting his conduct with that of Pythagoras, he was called σοφος by Socrates himself; and the terms νηφος και αγαθος, are applied to him by Athenæus. By the way, much has been said on the compositions of Anacreon by H. Stephens, Scaliger, M. Dacier, and others, many of the learned are in doubt whether the works ascribed to him by the moderns are genuine. Anacreontic verse is so called, from its being much used by Anacreon; it consists of three Iambic feet and a half, of which there is no instance in the lyrics of Horace.—See the Prolegomena to *Barnes' Anacreon*, § 12.

4 *Demonstrate the contempt.*]—This behaviour of Polycrates, which was doubtless intended to be expressive of contempt, brings to mind the story of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, who at an interview with the Grand Vizier, expressed his contempt and indignation by tearing the minister's robe with his spur, and afterwards leaving the apartment without saying a word.

5 *On the banks of the Mæander.*]—This is added in order to distinguish that city from the Magnesia on the Sipylus, lying between Sardes and Phocæa.

6 *Except Minos.*]—What Herodotus says of the maritime power of Minos, is confirmed by Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus. His testimony concerning Polycrates is supported also by Thucydides and Strabo.—*Larcher.*

ORŒTES TO POLYCRATES.

"I understand that you are revolving some vast project in your mind, but have not money responsible to your views. Be advised by me, and you will at the same time promote your own advantage and preserve me. I am informed, and I believe it to be true, that king Cambyses has determined on my death. Receive, therefore, me with my wealth, part of which shall be at your disposal, part at mine: with the assistance of this, you may easily obtain the sovereignty of Greece. If you have any suspicions, send to me some one who is in your intimate confidence, and he shall be convinced by demonstration."

CXXIII. With these overtures, Polycrates was so exceedingly delighted, that he was eager to comply with them immediately, for his love of money was excessive. He sent, first of all, to examine into the truth of the affair, Mæandrius his secretary, called so after his father. This Mæandrius, not long afterwards, placed as a sacred donative in the temple of Juno, the rich furniture of the apartment of Polycrates. Orœtes, knowing the motive for which this man came, contrived and executed the following artifice: he filled eight chests nearly to the top with stones, then covering over the surface with gold, they were tied together;[1] as if ready to be removed. Mæandrius on his arrival saw the above chests, and returned to make his report to Polycrates.

CXXIV. Polycrates, notwithstanding the predictions of the soothsayers, and the remonstrances of his friends, was preparing to meet Orœtes, when his daughter in a dream saw this vision: she beheld her father aloft in the air, washed by Jupiter, and anointed by the sun. Terrified by this incident, she used every means in her power to prevent his going to meet Orœtes; and as he was about to embark for this purpose, on board a fifty-oared galley, she persisted in auguring unfavourably of his expedition. At this he was so incensed, as to declare, that if he returned safe she should remain long unmarried. To this she expressed herself very desirous to submit; being willing to continue long a virgin,[2] rather than be deprived of her father.

CXXV. Polycrates, disregarding all that had been said to him, set sail to meet Orœtes. He was accompanied by many of his friends, and amongst the rest by Democedes,[3] the son of Calliphon; he was a physician of Crotona, and the most skilful practitioner of his time. As soon as Polycrates arrived at Magnesia, he was put to a miserable death, unworthy of his rank and superior endowments. Of all the princes who ever reigned in Greece, those of Syracuse alone excepted, none equalled Polycrates in magnificence. Orœtes having basely put him to death,[4] fixed his body to a cross; his attendants he sent back to Samos, telling them, "They ought to be thankful, that he had not made them slaves." The strangers, and the servants of those who had accompanied

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1 *Tied together.*]—Before the use of locks, it was the custom in more ancient times to secure things with knots: of these some were so difficult, that he alone who possessed the secret was able to unravel them. The famous Gordian knot must be known to every one; this usage is often also alluded to by Homer:

Then bending with full force, around he roll'd
A labyrinth of bands in fold on fold,
Closed with Circæan art.

According to Eustathius, keys were a more modern invention for which the Lacedæmonians are to be thanked.

Upon the above passage from Eustathius, Larcher remarks, that it is somewhat singular, that the Lacedæmonians, whose property was in common, should be the inventors of keys.

The version of Pope which I have given in the foregoing lines is very defective, and certainly inadequate to the expression of

Αυτικ' επηρτυε πωμα, θοως δ' επι δεσμον ιηλε
Ποικιλον, ὅν ποτε μιν δεδαε φρεσι ποτνια Κιρκη.—*T*

2 *Long a virgin.*]—To die a virgin, and without having any children, was amongst the ancients esteemed a very serious calamity. Electra in Sophocles enumerates this in the catalogue of her misfortunes:

————Ατεκνος
Ταλαιν', ανυμφευτος αιεν οιχνῶ.—166.

Electra makes a similar complaint in the Orestes of Euripides; as does also Polyxena at the point of death, in the Hecuba of Euripides.—*T.*

3 *Democedes.*]—Of this personage a farther account is given in the fourth book. He is mentioned also by Ælian, in his Various History, book viii. cap. 17; and also by Athenæus, book xii. chap. 4, which last author informs us, that the physicians of Crotona were, on account of Democedes, esteemed the first in Greece.—See also chap. 131, of this book.—*T.*

4 *Put him to death.*]—The Persians generally beheaded or flayed those whom they crucified; see an account of their treatment of Histiæus, book vi. chap. 30. and of Leonidas, book vii. 238.—*T.*

The beautiful and energetic lines which Juvenal applied to Sejanus, are remarkably apposite to the circumstances and fate of Polycrates.

Qui inimicos optabat honores,
Et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
Excelsæ turris tabulata, unde altior esset
Casus, et impulsæ præceps immane ruinæ.—*T.*

For he who grasp'd the world's exhausted store,
Yet never had enough, but wish'd for more,
Raised a top-heavy tower of monstrous height,
Which mouldering crush'd him underneath the weight.
Dryden.

Polycrates, he detained in servitude. The circumstance of his being suspended on a cross, fulfilled the vision of the daughter of Polycrates: for he was washed by Jupiter, that is to say by the rain, and he was anointed by the sun, for it extracted the moisture from his body. The great prosperity of Polycrates terminated in his unfortunate death, which indeed had been foretold him by Amasis king of Egypt.

CXXVI. But it was not long before Orœtes paid ample vengeance to the manes of Polycrates. After the death of Cambyses, and the usurpation of the magi, Orœtes, who had never deserved well of the Persians, whom the Medes had fraudulently deprived of the supreme authority, took the advantage of the disorder of the times,[5] to put to death Mitrobates, the governor of Dascylium, and his son Cranapes. Mitrobates was the person who had formerly reproached Orœtes; and both he and his son were highly esteemed in Persia. In addition to his other numerous and atrocious crimes, he compassed the death of a messenger, sent to him from Darius, for no other reason but because the purport of the message was not agreeable to him. He ordered the man to be way-laid in his return, and both he and his horse were slain, and their bodies concealed.

CXXVII. As soon as Darius ascended the throne, he determined to punish Orœtes for his various enormities, but more particularly for the murder of Mitrobates and his son. He did not think it prudent to send an armed force openly against him, as the state was still unsettled, and as his own authority had been so recently obtained; he was informed, moreover, that Orœtes possessed considerable strength: his government extending over Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia, and he was regularly attended by a guard of a thousand men. Darius was, therefore, induced to adopt this mode of proceeding: he assembled the noblest of the Persians, and thus addressed them: "Which of you, O Persians! will undertake for me the accomplishment of a project which requires sagacity alone, without military aid, or any kind of violence? for where wisdom is required, force is of little avail;—which of you will bring me the body of Orœtes alive or dead? He has never deserved well of the Persians; and, in addition to his numerous crimes, he has killed two of our countrymen, Mitrobates and his son. He has also, with intolerable insolence, put a messenger of mine to death: we must prevent, therefore, his perpetrating any greater evils against us, by putting him to death."

CXXVIII. When Darius had thus spoken, thirty Persians offered to accomplish what he wished. As they were disputing on the subject, the king ordered the decision to be made by lot, which fell upon Bagæus, the son of Artontes. To attain the end which he proposed, he caused a number of letters to be written on a variety of subjects, and prefixing to them the seal of Darius, he proceeded with them to Sardis. As soon as he came to the presence of Orœtes, he delivered the letters one by one to the king's secretary; one of whom is regularly attendant upon the governors of provinces. The motive of Bagæus in delivering the letters separately was to observe the disposition of the guards, and how far they might be inclined to revolt from Orœtes. When he saw that they treated the letters with great respect,[6] and their contents with still greater, he delivered one to this effect: "Persians, king Darius forbids you serving any longer Orœtes as guards:" in a moment they threw down their arms. Bagæus, observing their prompt obedience in this instance, assumed still greater confidence, he delivered the last of his letters, of which these were the contents: "King Darius commands the Persians who are at Sardis to put Orœtes to death:" without hesitation they drew their swords and killed him. In this manner was the death of Polycrates of Samos revenged on Orœtes the Persian.

CXXIX. Upon the death of Orœtes, his effects were all of them removed to Susa. Not long after which, Darius, as he was engaged in the chace, in leaping from his horse, twisted his foot with so much violence, that the ancle bone was quite dislocated. Having at his court some Egyptians, supposed to be the most skilful of the medical profession, he trusted to their assistance. They, however, increased the evil, by twisting and otherwise violently handling the part affected: from the extreme pain

5 *Disorder of the times.*]—For εν ταυτῃ τῃ αρχῃ, which prevailed in preceding editions, Wesseling proposes to read εν ταυτῃ ταραχῃ, which removes all perplexity.—*T.*

6 *Treated the letters with great respect.*]—At the present period the distinction observed with regard to letters in the east is this: those sent to common persons are rolled up, and not sealed; those sent to noblemen and princes are sealed up, and inclosed in rich bags of silk or satin curiously embroidered.—*T.*

which he endured, the king passed seven days and as many nights without sleep. In this situation, on the eighth day, some one ventured to recommend Democedes of Crotona, having before heard of his reputation at Sardis. Darius immediately sent for him: he was discovered amongst the slaves of Orœtes, where he had continued in neglect, and was brought to the king just as he was found, in chains and in rags.

CXXX. As soon as he appeared, Darius asked him if he had any knowledge of medicine? In the apprehension that if he discovered his art, he should never have the power of returning to Greece, Democedes for a while dissembled; which Darius perceiving, he ordered those who had brought him, to produce the instruments of punishment and torture. Democedes began then to be more explicit, and confessed that, although he possessed no great knowledge of the art, yet by his communication with a physician he had obtained some little proficiency. The management of the case was then intrusted to him; he accordingly applied such medicines and strong fomentations as were customary in Greece, by which means Darius, who began to despair of ever recovering the entire use of his foot, was not only enabled to sleep, but in a short time perfectly restored to health. In acknowledgment of his cure, Darius presented him with two pair of fetters of gold: upon which Democedes ventured to ask the king, whether, in return for his restoring him to health, he wished to double his calamity?[1] The king, delighted with the reply, sent the man to the apartments of his women: the eunuchs who conducted him informed them, that this was the man who had restored the king to life; accordingly, every one of them taking out a vase of gold,[2] gave it to Democedes with the case. The present was so very valuable that a servant who followed him behind, whose name was Sciton, by gathering up the staters which fell to the ground, obtained a prodigious sum of money.

CXXXI. The following was what induced Democedes to forsake Crotona and attach himself to Polycrates. At Crotona he suffered continual restraint from the austere temper of his father; this becoming insupportable, he left him and went to Ægina. In the first year of his residence at this place, he excelled the most skilful of the medical profession, without having had any regular education, and indeed without the common instruments of the art. His reputation, however, was so great, that in the second year, the inhabitants of Ægina, by general consent, engaged his services at the price of one talent. In the third year the Athenians retained him at a salary of one hundred minæ;[3] and in the fourth year Polycrates engaged to

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1 *Double his calamity.*]—The ancients were very fond of this play upon words:—See in the Septem contra Thebas of Æschylus, a play on the word Polynices.

Οἱ δητ' ορθως κατ' επωνυμιην
Και πολυνεικεις
Ωλοντ' ασεβει διανοια—v. 835.

The particular point in this passage, is omitted by Mr. Potter, probably because he did not find it suited to the genius of the English language.

See also Ovid's description of the flower.

Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit et ai ai
Flos habet inscriptum.—*T.*

2 *Taking out a vase of gold.*]—This is one of the most perplexed passages in Herodotus; and the conjectures of the critics are proportionably numerous. The great difficulty consists in ascertaining what is designed by ὑποτυπτουσα and θηκη. The φιαλη appears to have been a jar or vase, probably itself of gold. Few have doubted that the passage is corrupt: the best conjectural reading gives this sense, "that each, taking gold out of a chest in a vase (φιαλη), gave it, vase and all, to Democedes. Ὑποτυπτουσα is thus made to signify plunging the vase among the gold to fill it, as a pitcher into water; which sense is confirmed by good authorities. The idea more immediately excited by the word is, that they struck the bottom of the vase to shake out all the gold; but according to this interpretation, the vase itself is the θηκη, or case.—*T.*

3 *One hundred minæ.*]—Valcnaer suspects that this place has been altered by some copyists. Athens, in the time of its greatest splendour, allowed their ambassadors but two drachmæ a day; and a hundred drachmæ make but one mina. If when the Athenians were rich, they gave no more to an ambassador, how is it likely that, when they were exceedingly poor, they should give a pension of a hundred minæ to a physician? Thus far Valcnaer. From this and other passages in the ancient writers, it appears that in remoter times it was usual to hire physicians for the assistance of a whole city, by the year. The fees which were given physicians for a single incidental visit, were very inconsiderable, as appears from the famous verses of Crates, preserved by Diogenes Laertius.

Τίθει μαγείρῳ μνᾶς δέκ', ἰατρῷ δραχμὴν,
Κόλακι τάλαντα πέντε, συμβούλῳ καπνὸν,
Πόρνῃ τάλαντον, φιλοσόφῳ τριώβολον.

"To a cook 30*l.*; to a physician two groats; to a flatterer 900*l.*; to a counsellor nothing; to a whore 180*l.*; to a philosopher a groat." The above is supposed to describe part of the accounts of a man of fortune. See Arbuthnot on Coins, p. 198.—The yearly pension paid Democedes the physician, by the Athenians, was one hundred minæ, or 322*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* The Eginetæ paid him yearly the pension of a talent, or 193*l.* 15*s.* He had a pension from Polycrates of Samos of two talents, 387*l.* 10*s.*

The daily allowance of two drachmæ to an ambassador is 15*d.* or 23*l.* 11*s.* 5½*d.* per annum. All that can be said of the difference is the high opinion entertained of a skilful physician both at Athens and in Persia.—*T.*

give him two talents. His residence was then fixed at Samos; and to this man the physicians of Crotona are considerably indebted for the reputation which they enjoy; for at this period, in point of medical celebrity, the physicians of Crotona held the first, and those of Cyrene the next place. At this time also the Argives had the credit of being the most skilful musicians[4] of Greece.

CXXXII. Democedes having in this manner restored the king to health, had a sumptuous house provided him at Susa, was entertained at the king's own table, and, except the restriction of not being able to return to Greece, enjoyed all that he could wish. The Egyptian physicians, who had before the care of the king's health, were on account of their inferiority to Democedes, a Greek, condemned to the cross, but he obtained their pardon. He also procured the liberty of an Elean soothsayer, who having followed Polycrates, was detained and neglected amongst his other slaves. It may be added, that Democedes remained in the highest estimation with the king.

CXXXIII. It happened not long afterwards, that Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, and wife of Darius, had an ulcer on her breast, which finally breaking, spread itself considerably. As long as it was small, she was induced by delicacy to conceal it; but when it grew more troublesome, she sent for Democedes, and showed it to him. He told her he was able to cure it; but exacted of her an oath, that in return, she should serve him in whatever he might require, which he assured her, should be nothing to disgrace her.

CXXXIV. Atossa was cured by his skill, and, observant of her own promise and his instructions, she took the opportunity of thus addressing Darius, while she was in bed with him: "It is wonderful, my lord, that having such a numerous army at command, you have neither increased the power of Persia, nor at all extended your dominions. It becomes a man like you, in the vigour of your age, and master of so many and such powerful resources, to perform some act which may satisfy the Persians of the spirit and virtue of their prince. There are two reasons which give importance to what I recommend:—The one, that your subjects may venerate the manly accomplishments of their master: the other, that you may prevent the indolence of peace exciting them to tumult and sedition. Do not therefore consume your youth in inactivity, for the powers of the mind[5] increase and improve with those of the body; and, in like manner, as old age comes on they become weaker and weaker, till they are finally blunted to everything." "What you say,"[6] answered Darius, "coincides with what was passing in my mind. I had intended to make war against Scythia, and to construct a bridge to unite our continent with the other, which things shall soon be executed." "Will it not, Sir," returned Atossa, "be better to defer your intentions against the Scythians, who will at any time afford you an easy conquest? Rather make an expedition against Greece: I wish much to have for my attendants some women of Sparta, Argos, Athens, and Corinth,[7] of whom I have heard so much. You have, moreover, in the man who healed the wound of your foot, the properest person in the world to describe and explain to you every thing which relates to Greece." "If it be your wish," replied Darius, "that I should first make a military excursion against Greece, it will be proper to send thither previously some Persians as spies, in company with the man to whom you

4 *Musicians.*]—Music was an important part of Grecian education. Boys till they were ten years old were taught to read by the grammatistes; they were then taught music three years by the citharistes; after the thirteenth year they learned the gymnastic exercises, under the care of the paidotades.—*T.*

5 *Powers of the mind.*]—This opinion is thus expressed by Lucretius, which I give the reader from the version of Creech.

> Besides 'tis plain that souls are born and grow,
> And all by age decay as bodies do:
> To prove this truth, in infants, minds appear
> Infirm and tender, as their bodies are;
> In man the mind is strong; when age prevails,
> And the quick vigour of each member fails,
> The mind's powers do decrease and waste apace,
> And grave and reverend folly takes the place.

6 *What you say.*]—I have not translated Ω γυναι, which is in the original, because I do not think we have any correspondent word in our language. O woman! would be vulgar; and according to our *norma loquendi*, O wife! would not be adequate. In the Ajax of Sophocles, v. 293, γυναι is used to express contempt; but in the passage before us it certainly denotes tenderness. The address of our Saviour to his mother proves this most satisfactorily:—See also Homer.

Και εμοι ταδε παντα μελει, γυναι.—*T.*

As ω γυναι is used here, the word mulier frequently occurs in Latin, which Dacier translates "Madame," and which Jortin thinks corresponds with our word Madam.

7 *Corinth.*]—The women of Corinth were celebrated for their beauty. See Anacreon, Ode xxxii. Consult also Athenæus, l. xiii. c. 4. where it is a little singular to remark, that in an epigram assigned to Simonides, we are told that the interposition of the Corinthian women with Venus, their tutelary goddess, delivered Greece from the arms of Xerxes.

allude. As soon as they return, and have informed me of the result of their observations, I will proceed against Greece."

CXXXV. Darius having delivered his sentiments, no time was lost in fulfilling them. As soon as the morning appeared, he sent for fifteen Persians of approved reputation, and commanded them, in company with Democedes, to examine every part of the sea coast of Greece, enjoining them to be very watchful of Democedes, and by all means to bring him back with them. When he had done this, he next sent for Democedes himself, and after desiring him to examine and explain to the Persians every thing which related to Greece, he entreated him to return in their company. All the valuables which he possessed, he recommended him to take, as presents to his father and his brethren, assuring him that he should be provided with a greater number on his return. He moreover informed him, that he had directed a vessel to accompany him which was to be furnished with various things of value. In these professions Darius, as I am of opinion, was perfectly sincere; but Democedes, apprehending that the king meant to make trial of his fidelity, accepted these proposals without much acknowledgment. He desired, however to leave his own effects, that they might be ready for his use at his return; but he accepted the vessel which was to carry the presents for his family. Darius, after giving these injunctions to Democedes, dismissed the party to prosecute their voyage.

CXXXVI. As soon as they arrived at Sidon, in Phœnicia, they manned two triremes, and loaded a large transport with different articles of wealth; after this, they proceeded to Greece, examining the sea-coasts with the most careful attention. When they had informed themselves of the particulars relating to the most important places in Greece, they passed over to Tarentum[1] in Italy. Here Aristophilides, prince of Tarentum, and a native of Crotona, took away the helms of the Median vessels, and detained the Persians as spies. Whilst his companions were in this predicament, Democedes himself went to Crotona. Upon his arrival at his native place, Aristophilides gave the Persians their liberty, and restored what he had taken from them.

CXXXVII. The Persians, as soon as they recovered their liberty, sailed to Crotona, in pursuit of Democedes, and meeting with him in the forum, seized his person. Some of the inhabitants, through fear of the Persian power, were willing to deliver him up; others, on the contrary, beat the Persians with clubs; who exclaimed, "Men of Crotona, consider what ye do, in taking away from us a fugitive from our king. Do you imagine that you will derive any advantage from this insult to Darius; will not rather your city be the first object of our hostilities, the first that we shall plunder and reduce to servitude?" These menaces had but little effect upon the people of Crotona, for they not only assisted Democedes to escape, but also deprived the Persians of the vessel which accompanied them. They were, therefore, under the necessity of returning to Asia, without exploring any more of Greece, being thus deprived of their conductor. On their departure, Democedes commissioned them to inform Darius that he was married to a daughter of Milo, the name of Milo the wrestler being well known to the Persian monarch. To me it seems that he hastened his marriage and expended a vast sum of money on the occasion, to convince Darius, that he enjoyed in his own country no mean reputation.

CXXXVIII. The Persians, leaving Crotona, were driven by contrary winds to Japygia,[2] where they were made slaves. Gillus, an exile of Tarentum, ransomed them, and sent them home to Darius. For this service, the king declared himself willing to perform whatever Gillus should require, who accordingly explaining the circumstances of his misfortune, requested to be restored to his country. But Darius thinking that if, for the purpose of effecting the restoration of this man, a large fleet should be fitted out, all Greece would take alarm; he said that the Cnidians would of themselves be able to accomplish it: imagining that as this people were in alliance with the Tarentines, it might be effected without difficulty. Darius acceded to his wishes, and sent a messenger to Cnidos,[3] requiring them to restore

1 *Tarentum.*]—These places, with the slightest variation possible, retain their ancient names. We now say the gulf of Taranto, and Crotona is now called Cotrone.—*T.*

2 *Japygia.*]—This place is now called Cape de Leuca.—*T.*

3 *Cnidos.*]—At this remote period, when navigation was certainly in its infancy, it seems not a little singular that there should be any communication or alliance between the people of Tarentum and of Cnidos. The distance is not inconsiderable, and the passage certainly intricate. Ctesias, the historian, was a native of Cnidos; here also was the beautiful statue of Venus, by Praxi-

Gillus to Tarentum. The Cnidians were desirous to satisfy Darius; but their solicitations had no effect on the Tarentines, and they were not in a situation to employ force.—Of these particulars, the above is a faithful relation, and these were the first Persians, who, with the view of examining the state of Greece, passed over thither from Asia.

CXXXIX. Not long afterwards, Darius besieged and took Samos. This was the first city, either of Greeks or barbarians, which felt the force of his arms, and for these reasons: Cambyses, in his expedition against Egypt, was accompanied by a great number of Greeks. Some, as it is probable, attended him from commercial views, others as soldiers, and many from no other motive than curiosity. Among these last was Syloson, an exile of Samos, son of Æaces, and brother of Polycrates. It happened one day very fortunately for this Syloson, that he was walking in the great square of Memphis with a red cloak folded about him. Darius, who was then in the king's guards, and of no particular consideration, saw him, and was so delighted with his cloak, that he went up to him with the view of purchasing it. Syloson, observing that Darius was very solicitous to have the cloak, happily, as it proved for him, expressed himself thus;—"I would not part with this cloak for any pecuniary consideration whatever: but if it must be so, I will make you a present of it." Darius praised his generosity, and accepted the cloak.

CXL. Syloson for a while thought he had foolishly lost his cloak, but afterwards when Cambyses died, and the seven conspirators had destroyed the Magus, he learned that Darius one of the seven, had obtained the kingdom, and was the very man to whom formerly at his request, in Egypt, he had given his cloak. He went, therefore, to Susa, and presenting himself before the royal palace, said that he had once done a service to the king. Of this circumstance the porter informed the king; who was much astonished, and exclaimed, "To what Greek can I possibly be obliged for any services? I have not long been in possession of my authority, and since this time no Greek has been admitted to my presence, nor can I at all remember being indebted to one of that nation. Introduce him, however, that I may know what he has to say." Syloson was accordingly admitted to the royal presence; and being interrogated by interpreters who he was, and in what circumstance he had rendered service to the king, he told the story of the cloak, and said that he was the person who had given it. In reply, Darius exclaimed, "Are you then that generous man, who, at a time when I was possessed of no authority, made me a present, which, though small, was as valuable to me then, as any thing of importance would be to me now? I will give you in return, that you may never repent of your kindness to Darius, the son of Hystaspes, abundance of gold and silver." "Sir," replied Syloson, "I would have neither gold nor silver; give me Samos my country, and deliver it from servitude. Since the death of Polycrates my brother, whom Orœtes slew, it has been in the hands of one of our slaves. Give me this, Sir, without any effusion of blood, or reducing my countrymen to servitude."

CXLI. On hearing this, Darius sent an army, commanded by Otanes, one of the seven, with orders to accomplish all that Syloson had desired. Otanes proceeded to the sea, and embarked with his troops.

CXLII. The supreme authority at Samos was then possessed by Mæandrius, son of Mæandrius, to whom it had been confided by Polycrates himself. He was desirous of proving himself a very honest man, but the times would not allow him. As soon as he was informed of the death of Polycrates, the first thing he did was to erect an altar to Jupiter Liberator,[4] tracing round it the sacred ground, which may now be seen in the neighbourhood of the city. Having done this, he assembled the citizens of Samos, and thus addressed them: "You are well acquainted that Polycrates confided to me his sceptre and his power, which if I think proper, I may retain; but I shall certainly avoid doing that myself which I deemed reprehensible in another. The ambition of Polycrates to rule over other men who were his equals, always seemed to me unjust; nor can I approve of a like conduct in any man. Polycrates has yielded to his destiny; and for my part I lay down the supreme authority, and restore you all to an equality of power. I only claim, which I think

teles; here also was Venus worshipped. O Venus, regina Cnidi Paphique, &c.

It is now a very miserable place, and called Cape Chio or Cnio.—*T.*

4 *Jupiter Liberator.*]—The Greeks, after being delivered from the Persian invasion, worshipped Jupiter under the title of Jupiter Servator ([illegible].) On the coins of Dioclesian, he is called Jupiter Conservator.

I reasonably may, six talents to be given me from the wealth of Polycrates, as well as the appointment in perpetuity, to me and my posterity, of the priesthood of Jupiter Liberator, whose temple I have traced out; and then I restore you to liberty." When Mæandrius had thus spoken, a Samian exclaimed from the midst of the assembly, "You are not worthy to rule over us, your principles are bad, and your conduct reproachable. Rather let us make you give an account of the wealth which has passed through your hands." The name of this person was Telesarchus, a man much respected by his fellow-citizens.

CXLIII. Mæandrius revolved this circumstance in his mind; and being convinced that if he resigned his power, some other would assume it, he determined to continue as he was. Returning to the citadel, he sent for the citizens, as if to give them an account of the moneys which had been alluded to, instead of which he seized and confined them. Whilst they remained in imprisonment, Mæandrius was taken ill; his brother Lycaretus not thinking he would recover, that he might the more easily succeed in his views upon Samos, put the citizens who were confined to death; indeed it did not appear that they were desirous of life under the government of a tyrant.[1]

CXLIV. When, therefore, the Persians arrived at Samos, with the view of restoring Syloson, they had no resistance to encounter. The Mæandrian faction expressed themselves on certain conditions ready to submit; and Mæandrius himself consented to leave the island. Their propositions were accepted by Otanes; and whilst they were employed in ratifying them, the principal men of the Persians had seats brought, on which they placed themselves in front of the citadel.

CXLV. Mæandrius had a brother, whose name was Charileus, who was of an untoward disposition, and for some offence was kept chained in a dungeon. As soon as he heard what was doing, and beheld from his place of confinement the Persians sitting at their ease, he clamorously requested to speak with Mæandrius. Mæandrius, hearing this, ordered him to be unbound, and brought before him. As soon as he came into his presence, he began to reproach and abuse him, earnestly importuning him to attack the Persians. "Me," he exclaimed, "who am your brother, and who have done nothing worthy of chains, you have most basely kept bound in a dungeon; but on the Persians, who would afford you an easy victory, and who mean to drive you into exile, you dare not take revenge. If your fears prevent you, give me your auxiliary troops, who am equally disposed to punish them for coming here, and to expel you yourself from our island."

CXLVI. To this discourse Mæandrius gave a favourable ear, not, I believe, that he was absurd enough to imagine himself equal to a contest with the forces of the king, but from a spirit of envy against Syloson, and to prevent his receiving the government of Samos without trouble or exertion. He wished, by irritating the Persians, to debilitate the power of Samos, and then to deliver it into their hands; for he well knew that the Persians would resent whatever insults they might receive, upon the Samians, and as to himself, he was certain that whenever he pleased he could depart unmolested, for he had provided a secret path, which led immediately from the citadel to the sea, by which he afterwards escaped. In the meanwhile Charileus, having armed the auxiliaries, opened the gates and sallied forth to attack the Persians, who, so far from expecting any thing of the kind, believed that a truce had been agreed upon, and was then in force. Upon these Persians, who were sitting at their ease, and who were persons of distinction, the Samians sallied, and put them to death; the rest of the troops, however, soon came to their assistance, by whom the party of Charileus was repulsed, and obliged again to seek shelter in the citadel.

CXLVII. Otanes, the commander-in-chief, had hitherto observed the orders of Darius, not to put any Samian to death, or to take any prisoners, but to deliver the island to Syloson, secure and without injury; but seeing so great a slaughter of his countrymen, his indignation prevailed, and he ordered his soldiers to put every Samian they could meet with to death, without any distinction of age. Part of his forces immediately blockaded the citadel, whilst another were putting the inhabitants to the sword, not suffering the sacred places to afford any protection.

CXLVIII. Mæandrius, leaving Samos, sailed to Lacedæmon. On his arrival there with his wealth, he set in order his goblets of gold

1 *The government of a tyrant.*]—See Wesseling's note and Pauw's conjecture upon this passage.—*T.*

and silver, and directed his servants to clean them. Having entered into conversation with Cleomenes,[2] son of Anaxandrides, the king of Sparta, he invited him to his house. Cleomenes saw his plate, and was struck with astonishment. Mæandrius desired him to accept of what he pleased,[3] but Cleomenes was a man of the strictest probity, and although Mæandrius persisted in importuning him to take something, he would by no means consent; but hearing that some of his fellow-citizens had received presents from Mæandrius, he went to the ephori, and gave it as his opinion, that it would be better for the interests of Sparta to expel this Samian from the Peloponnese, lest either he himself, or any other Spartan, should be corrupted by him. The advice of Cleomenes was generally approved, and Mæandrius received a public order to depart.

CXLIX. When the Persians had taken the Samians as in a net,[4] they delivered the island to Syloson almost without an inhabitant.[5] After a certain interval, however, Otanes, the Persian general, re-peopled it, on account of some vision which he had, as well as from a disorder which seized his privities.

CL. Whilst the expedition against Samos was on foot, the Babylonians, being very well prepared, revolted. During the reign of the Magus, and whilst the seven were engaged in their conspiracy against him, they had taken advantage of the confusion of the times to provide against a siege, and their exertions had never been discovered. When they had once resolved on the recovery of their liberties, they took this measure:—excepting their mothers, every man chose from his family the female whom he liked best, the remainder were all of them assembled together, and strangled.[6] Their reserve of one woman was to bake their bread;[7] the rest were destroyed to prevent a famine.

CLI. On the first intelligence of this event, Darius assembled his forces, and marched against them: on his arrival before the city, he besieged it in form. This, however, made so little impression upon them, that they assembled upon the ramparts, amused themselves with dancing, and treated Darius and his army with the extremest contempt. One amongst them exclaimed, "Persians, why do you lose your time? if you be wise, depart. When mules produce young[8] you shall take Babylon."

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2 *Cleomenes.*]—Of this Cleomenes a memorable saying is preserved in the Apophthegms of Plutarch. It relates to Homer and Hesiod; the former he called the poet of the Lacedæmonians, the latter the poet of the Helots, or the slaves; because Homer gave directions for military conduct, Hesiod, about the cultivation of the earth.—*T.*

3 *To accept of what he pleased.*]—This self-denial will appear less extraordinary to an English reader, when he is informed, that according to the institutions of Lycurgus, it was a capital offence for a Spartan to have any gold or silver in his possession. This we learn from Xenophon; and it is also ascertained by the following passage from Athenæus, see the sixth book of the Deipnosoph: "The divine Plato and Lycurgus of Sparta would not suffer in their republics either gold or silver, thinking that of all the metals iron and brass were sufficient." Plutarch, in the life of Lysander, tells us of a man named Therax, who, though the friend and colleague of Lysander, was put to death by the ephori, because some silver was found in his house. The self-denial, therefore, or rather forbearance of the ancient Romans, amongst whom no such interdiction existed, seems better entitled to our praise. This sumptuary law, with respect to gold and silver, took its rise from an oracle, which affirmed that the destruction of Sparta would be owing to its avarice:—it was this,

'Α φιλοχρηματια Σπαρταν ολει.—*T.*

4 *As in a net.*]—The Greek is σαγηνευσαντες, which was the custom of the Persians, and this was also done with respect to the islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, see book vi. chap. 31, where their manner of doing it is described.—*T.*

5 *Without an inhabitant.*]—Strabo imputes this want of inhabitants to the cruelty of Syloson, and not to the severity of the Persians.—*Larcher.*

6 *Assembled together and strangled.*]—Prideaux, making mention of this strange and unnatural action, omits informing his readers that the Babylonians made an exception in favour of their mothers; but by this barbarous action the prophecy of Isaiah against this people was very signally fulfilled:—

"But these two things shall come to thee in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood; they shall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy sorceries, and for the great abundance of thine enchantments." Isaiah xlvii. 9.—*T.*

7 *Bake their bread.*]—This anciently was the employment of the women, see book vii. chap. 187.—*T.*

8 *Mules produce young.*]—Upon this passage M. Larcher remarks, that mules but seldom engender. As I have never seen nor heard of any well authenticated account of such a circumstance, I give the reader the following passage from Pennant, with some confidence of its being invariably the case. "Neither mules, nor the spurious offspring of any other animal, generate any farther: all these productions may be looked upon as monsters; therefore, nature, to preserve the original species of animals entire and pure, wisely stops, in instances of deviation, the powers of propagation."

What Theophrastus or Pliny may have asserted, in contradiction to the above, will weigh but very little against the unqualified assertion of so able a naturalist as Mr. Pennant. The circumstance was ever considered as a prodigy, as appears from the following lines of Juvenal:

Egregium, sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
Hoc monstrum puero, vel miranti sub aratro
Piscibus inventis et *fœtæ* comparo mulæ.—*T.*

The following is the translation of, or rather parody upon these lines of Juvenal.

Now if one honest man I chance to view,
Contemning interest, and to virtue true,

This was the speech of a Babylonian, not believing such a thing possible.

CLII. A whole year and seven months having been consumed before the place, Darius and his army began to be hopeless with respect to the event. They had applied all the offensive engines, and every stratagem, particularly those which Cyrus had before successfully used against the Babylonians; but every attempt proved ineffectual, from the unremitting vigilance of the besieged.

CLIII. In the twentieth month of the siege, the following remarkable prodigy happened to Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, who was one of the seven that dethroned the Magus: one of the mules employed to carry his provisions, produced a young one; which, when it was first told him he disbelieved, and desired to see it; forbidding those who had witnessed the fact to disclose it, he revolved it seriously in his mind; and remembering the words of the Babylonian, who had said the city should be taken when a mule brought forth, he from this conceived that Babylon was not impregnable. The saying itself, and the mule's having a young one, seemed to indicate something preternatural.

CLIV. Having satisfied himself that Babylon might be taken, he went to Darius, and inquired if the capture of this city was of particular importance to him. Hearing that it really was, he began to think how he might have the honour of effecting it by himself; for in Persia there is no more certain road to greatness than by the performance of illustrious actions. He conceived there was no more probable means of obtaining his end, than first to mutilate himself, and thus pass over to the enemy. He made no scruple to wound himself beyond the power of being healed, for he cut off his nose and his ears, and clipping his hair close, so as to give it a mean appearance,[1] he scourged himself; and in this condition presented himself before Darius.

CLV. When the king beheld a man of his illustrious rank in so deplorable a condition, he instantly leaped in anger from his throne,[2] and asked who had dared to treat him with such barbarity? Zopyrus made this reply, "No man, Sir, except yourself, could have this power over my person; I alone have thus disfigured my body, which I was prompted to do from vexation at beholding the Assyrians thus mock us." —"Wretched man," answered the king, "do you endeavour to disguise the shameful action you have perpetrated, under an honourable name? Do you suppose that because you have thus deformed yourself, the enemy will the sooner surrender? I fear what you have done has been occasioned by some defect of your reason." "Sir," answered Zopyrus, "if I had previously disclosed to you my intentions, you would have prevented their accomplishment; my present situation is the result of my own determination only. If you do not fail me, Babylon is our own. I propose to go, in the condition in which you see me, as a deserter to the Babylonians; it is my hope to persuade them that I have suffered these cruelties from you, and that they will, in consequence, give me some place of military trust. Do you, on the tenth day after my departure, detach to the gate of Semiramis[3] a thousand men of your army, whose loss will be of no consequence; at an interval of seven days more, send to the Ninian gates other two thousand; again, after twenty days, let another party, to the number of four thousand, be ordered to the Chaldean gates, but let none of these detachments have any weapons but their swords; after this last-

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I rank him with the prodigies of fame;
With ploughed-up fishes, and with icy flame;
With things which start from nature's common rules;
With bearded infants, and with *teeming mules*.

Creech.

1 *To give it a mean appearance.*]—I do not remember an instance of the hair being cut off as a punishment; it was frequently done as expressive of mourning in the most remote times; and it was one characteristic mark of the servile condition. See Juvenal, sat. v. book i. 170.

Omnia ferre
Si potes et debes pulsandum *vertice raso*
Præbebis quandoque caput nec dura tenebis
Flagra pati, his epulis et tali dignus amico.

2 *Leaped in anger from his throne.*]—This incident with the various circumstances attending it, properly considered, would furnish an artist with an excellent subject for an historical painting—The city of Babylon at a distance, the Persian camp, the king's tent, himself and principal nobles in deep consultation, with the sudden appearance of Zopyrus in the mutilated condition here described, might surely be introduced and arranged with the most admirable effect.—*T.*

3 *The gate of Semiramis.*]—Mr. Bryant's remark on this word is too curious to be omitted:—

Semiramis was an emblem, and the name was a compound of Sama-Ramas, or Ramis: it signified the divine token, the type of providence; and as a military ensign, it may with some latitude be interpreted the standard of the Most High. It consisted of the figure of a dove, which was probably encircled with the Iris, as those two emblems were often represented together. All who went under that standard, or who paid any deference to that emblem, were styled Semarim and Samorim. One of the gates of Babylon was styled the gate of Semiramis, undoubtedly from having the sacred emblem of Sama-Ramas, or the dove, engraved by way of distinction over it. Probably the lofty obelisk of Semiramis, mentioned by Diodorus, was named from the same hieroglyphic.

mentioned period, let your whole army advance, and surround the walls. At the Belidian and Cissian gates be careful that Persians are stationed. I think that the Babylonians, after witnessing my exploits in the field, will entrust me with the keys of those gates. Doubt not but the Persians, with my aid, will then accomplish the rest."

CLVI. After giving these injunctions, he proceeded towards the gates: and, to be consistent in the character which he assumed,[4] he frequently stopped to look behind him. The centinels on the watch-towers, observing this, ran down to the gate, which opening a little, they inquired who he was, and what he wanted? When he told them his name was Zopyrus, and that he had deserted from the Persians, they conducted him before their magistrates. He then began a miserable tale of the injuries he had suffered from Darius, for no other reason but that he had advised him to withdraw his army, seeing no likelihood of his taking the city. "And now," says he, "ye men of Babylon, I come a friend to you, but a fatal enemy to Darius and his army. I am well acquainted with all his designs, and his treatment of me shall not be unrevenged."

CLVII. When the Babylonians beheld a Persian of such high rank deprived of his ears and his nose, covered with wounds and blood, they entertained no doubts of his sincerity, or of the friendliness of his intentions towards them. They were prepared to accede to all that he desired; and on his requesting a military command, they gave it him without hesitation. He then proceeded to the execution of what he had concerted with Darius. On the tenth day, at the head of some Babylonian troops, he made a sally from the town and encountering the Persians, who had been stationed for this purpose by Darius, he put every one of them to death. The Babylonians, observing that his actions corresponded with his professions, were full of exultation, and were ready to yield him the most implicit obedience. A second time at the head of a chosen detachment of the besieged he advanced from the town at the time appointed, and slew the two thousand soldiers of Darius. The joy of the citizens at this second exploit was so extreme that the name of Zopyrus resounded with praise from every tongue. The third time also, after the number of the days agreed upon had passed, he led forth his troops, attacked and slaughtered the four thousand. Zopyrus, after this was every thing with the Babylonians, so that they made him the commander of their army, and guardian of their walls.

CLVIII. At the time appointed, Darius advanced with all his forces to the walls. The perfidy of Zopyrus then became apparent; for as soon as the Babylonians mounted the wall to repel the Persian assault, he immediately opened to his countrymen what are called the Belidian and Cissian gates. Those Babylonians who saw this transaction fled for refuge to the temple of Jupiter Belus; they who saw it not, continued in their posts, till the circumstance of their being betrayed became notorious to all.

CLIX. Thus was Babylon a second time taken. As soon as Darius became master of the place,[5] he levelled the walls, and took away the gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done before. Three thousand of the most distinguished nobility he ordered to be crucified: the rest were suffered to continue where they were. He took care also to provide them with women, for the Babylonians, as we have before remarked, to prevent a famine, had strangled their wives. Darius ordered the neighbouring nations to send females to Babylon, each being obliged to furnish a stipulated

4 *The character which he assumed.*]—Many circumstances in the history of Zopyrus resemble those of Sinon in the Æneid.

——————Qui se ignotum venientibus ultro
Hoc ipsum ut strueret, Trojamque aperiret Achivis
Obtulerat, fidens animi, atque in utrumque paratus
Seu versare dolos, seu certæ occumbere morti.—

Both tell a miserable tale of injuries received from their countrymen, and both affect an extraordinary zeal to distinguish themselves in the service of their natural enemies. Sinon says of himself

Cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
Dardanidæ infensi pœnas cum sanguine poscunt.

Again he says,

Fas mihi Graiorum sacrata resolvere jura,
Fas odisse viros, atque omnia ferre sub auras
Si qua tegunt: teneor patriæ nec legibus ullis.—*T.*

5 *Master of the place.*]—Plutarch informs us, in his Apophthegms, that Xerxes being incensed against the Babylonians for revolting, after having conquered them a second time, forbade their carrying arms, and commanded them to employ their time in singing, music, and all kinds of dissipation, &c.

The Babylonians did not revolt under Xerxes. Plutarch assigns to him a fact, which regards Darius; however this may be, after the reduction of Babylon, the Persian monarchs fixed their residence in three great cities; the winter they passed at Babylon, the summer at Media, doubtless at Ecbatane, and the great erpart of the spring at Susa.—*Larcher*.

number. These in all amounted to fifty thousand, from whom the Babylonians of the present day are descended.

CLX. With respect to tne merit of Zopyrus, in the opinion of Darius it was exceeded by no Persian of any period, unless by Cyrus; to him indeed, he thought no one of his countrymen could possibly be compared. It is affirmed of Darius, that he used frequently to assert, that he would rather Zopyrus had suffered no injury, than have been master of twenty Babylons more. He rewarded him magnificently: every year he presented him with the gifts deemed most honourable in Persia; he made him also governor of Babylon for life, free from the payment of any tribute, and to these he added other marks of liberality. Megabyzus, who commanded in Egypt against the Athenians and allies, was a son of this Zopyrus; which Megabyzus had a son named Zopyrus,[1] who deserted from the Persians to the Athenians.

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1 *A son named Zopyrus.*]—Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, and grandson of the famous Zopyrus, revolted from Artaxerxes after the death of his father and mother, and advanced towards Athens, on account of the friendship which subsisted betwixt his mother and the Athenians. He went by sea to Caunus, and commanded the inhabitants to give up the place to the Athenians who were with him. The Caunians replied, that they were willing to surrender it to him, but they refused to admit any Athenians. Upon this he mounted the wall; but a Caunian, named Alcides, knocked him on the head with a stone. His grandmother Amistris afterwards crucified this Caunian.—*Larcher.*

HERODOTUS.

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE.

I. Darius, after the capture of Babylon, undertook an expedition against Scythia. Asia was now both populous and rich, and he was desirous of avenging on the Scythians the injuries they had formerly committed by entering Media, and defeating those who opposed them. During a period of twenty-eight years, the Scythians, as I have before remarked, retained the sovereignty of the Upper Asia; entering into which, when in pursuit of the Cimmerians,[1] they expelled the Medes, its ancient possessors. After this long absence from their country, the Scythians were desirous to return, but here as great a labour awaited them as they had experienced in their expedition into Media; for the women, deprived so long of their husbands, had connected themselves with their slaves, and they found a numerous body in arms ready to dispute their progress.

1 *Cimmerians.*]—From this people came the proverb of Cimmerian darkness.

> We reach'd old ocean's utmost bounds,
> Where rocks control his waves with ever-during mounds;
> There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
> The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells.
> The sun ne'er views the uncomfortable seats,
> When radiant he advances or retreats.
> Unhappy race! whom endless night invades,
> Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades.
>
> *Odyss.* book xi.

Of this proverb Ammianus Marcellinus makes a happy use when censuring the luxury and effeminacy of the Roman nobility. "If," says he, (I use the version of Mr. Gibbon) "a fly should presume to settle in the silken folds of their gilded umbrellas, should a sun-beam penetrate through some unguarded and imperceptible chink, they deplore their intolerable hardships, and lament in affected language that they were not born in the land of the Cimmerians, the regions of eternal darkness."

Ovid also chooses the vicinity of Cimmeria as the properest place for the palace of the god of sleep.

> Est prope Cimmerios, longo spelunca recessu,
> Mons cavus, ignavi domus et penetralia Somni,
> Quo nunquam radiis oriens, mediusve, cadensve,
> Phœbus adire potest, nebulæ caligine mixtæ
> Exhalantur humo, dubiæque crepuscula lucis.

The region assigned to this people in ancient geography was part of European Scythia, now called Little Tartary.—*T.*

II. It is a custom with the Scythians to deprive all their slaves of sight[2] on account of the milk,[3] which is their customary drink. They have a particular kind of bone, shaped like a flute: this is applied to the private parts of a mare, and blown into from the mouth. It is one man's office to blow, another's to milk the mare. Their idea is, that, the veins of the animal being thus inflated, the dugs are pro-

2 *Deprive all their slaves of sight.*]—Barbarous as this conduct will appear to every humane reader, although practised amongst an uncivilized race of men, he will be far more shocked when I remind him that in the most refined period of the Roman empire, those who were deemed the wisest and most virtuous of mankind did not scruple to use their slaves with yet more atrocious cruelty. It was customary at Rome to expose slaves who were sick, old, and useless, to perish miserably in an island of the Tyber. Plutarch tells us, in his Life of Cato, that it was his custom to sell his old slaves for any price, to get rid of the burden. They were employed, and frequently in chains, in the most laborious offices, and for trivial offences, and not seldom on mere suspicion, were made to expire under the most horrid tortures that can be imagined.—*T.*

3 *On account of the milk.*]—Of this people, Homer speaks in the following lines:

> And where the far-famed Hippomolgian strays,
> Renown'd for justice and for length of days,
> Thrice happy race, that, innocent of blood,
> From milk innoxious seek their simple food.—*Il.* xiii.

Upon this subject Larcher gives the following passage from Niebuhr:—

"J'entendis et vis moi-meme, a Basra, que lorsqu'un Arabe trait la femelle du bufle, un autre lui fourre la main et le bras jusqu'au coude, dans la vulva, parce qu'on pretend savoir par experience qu' etant chatouille de la sorte, elle donne plus de lait. Cette methode ressemble beaucoup a celle des Scythes." We learn, from some lines of Antiphanes, preserved in Athenæus, that the Scythians gave this milk to their children as soon as they were born.

> Εἰτ' ου σοφοι δητ' εισιν οἱ Σκυθαι σφοδρα;
> Οἱ γενομενοισιν ευθεως τοις παιδιοις
> Διαδιδοασιν ἱππων και βοων πινειν γαλα.

"Do not those Scythians appear to you remarkably wise who give to their children, as soon as ever they are born, the milk of mares and cows?"—*T.*

portionably filled. When the milk is thus obtained, they place it in deep wooden vessels, and the slaves are directed to keep it in continual agitation. Of this, that which remains at the top[1] is most esteemed, what subsides is of inferior value. This it is which induces the Scythians to deprive all their captives of sight, for they do not cultivate the ground, but lead a pastoral life.[2]

III. From the union of these slaves with the Scythian women, a numerous progeny was born, who, when informed of their origin, readily advanced to oppose those who were returning from Media. Their first exertion was to intersect the country by a large and deep trench, which extended from the mountains of Tauris[3] to the Palus Mœotis. They then encamped opposite to the Scythians, who were endeavouring to effect their passage. Various engagements ensued, in which the Scythians obtained no advantage. "My countrymen," at length one of them exclaimed, "what are we doing? In this contest with our slaves, every action diminishes our number, and by killing those who oppose us, the value of victory decreases: let us throw aside our darts and our arrows, and rush upon them only with the whip which we use for our horses. Whilst they see us with arms, they think themselves our equals in birth and importance; but as soon as they shall perceive the whip in our hands, they will be impressed with the sense of their servile condition, and resist no longer."

IV. The Scythians approved the advice; their opponents forgot their former exertions, and fled: so did the Scythians obtain the sovereignty of Asia; and thus, after having been expelled by the Medes, they returned to their country. From the above motives Darius, eager for revenge, prepared to lead an army against them

V. The Scythians affirm of their country that it was of all others the last formed[4] and in this manner:—When this region was in its original and desert state, the first inhabitant was named Targitaus, a son, as they say (but which to me seems incredible) of Jupiter, by a daughter of the Borysthenes. This Targitaus had three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and lastly Colaxais. Whilst they possessed the country, there fell from heaven into the Scythian district a plough, a yoke, an ax, and a goblet, all of gold. The eldest of the brothers was the first who saw them; who running to take them, was burnt by the gold. On his retiring, the second brother approached, and was burnt also. When these two had been repelled by the burning gold, last of all the youngest brother advanced; upon him the gold had no effect, and he carried it to his house. The two elder brothers, observing what had happened, resigned all authority to the youngest.

VI. From Lipoxais those Scythians were descended who are termed the Auchatæ; from Arpoxais, the second brother, those who are called the Catiari and the Traspies; from the youngest, who was king, came the Paralatæ.[5] Generally speaking, these people are named Scoloti, from a surname of their king, but the Greeks call them Scythians.

VII. This is the account which the Scythians give of their origin; and they add, that from their first king Targitaus, to the invasion of their country by Darius, is a period of a thousand years, and no more. The sacred gold is preserved by their kings with the greatest care; it is every year carried with great

1 *Remains at the top.*]—Is it not surprising, asks M. Larcher in this place, that neither the Greeks nor the Latins had any term in their language to express cream? Butter was also unknown to the Greeks and Romans till a late period. Pliny speaks of it as a common article of food among barbarous nations, and used by them as an unction. The very name of butter (βουτυρον) which signifies cheese, or coagulum of cows' milk, implies an imperfect notion of the thing. It is clear that Herodotus here describes the making of butter, though he knew no name for the product. Pliny remarks that the barbarous nations were as peculiar in neglecting cheese, as in making butter. *Spuma lactis*, which that author uses in describing what butter is, seems a very proper phrase for cream. Butter is often mentioned in Scripture; see Harmer's curious accounts of the modes of making it in the East, vol. i. and iii.—*T.*

2 *Lead a pastoral life.*]—The influence of food or climate, which in a more inproved state of society is suspended or subdued by so many moral causes, most powerfully contributes to form and to maintain the national character of barbarians. In every age, the immense plains of Scythia or Tartary have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and shepherds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement of a sedentary life.—*Gibbon.*

3 *Mountains of Tauris.*]—This peninsula is sometimes called the Taurica Chersonesus, sometimes simply Taurus, and here, by Herodotus, the mountains of Tauris. It signifies, as I understand, in the Chaldaic and Syriac languages, the Peninsula of Oxen. From these beasts, of which the inhabitants were celebrated feeders, Eustathius, Not. in Dion. v. 306, tells us, that mount Taurus received its name.

4 *Last formed.*]—Justin informs us, that the Scythians pretended to be more ancient than the Egyptians.—*T.*

5 *Paralatæ.*]—This passage will be involved in much perplexity, unless for τους βασιληας be read του βασιληος.—*T.*

solemnity to every part of the kingdom, and upon this occasion there are sacrifices, with much pomp, at which the prince presides. They have a tradition, that if the person in whose custody this gold remains sleeps in the open air during the time of their annual festival, he dies before the end of the year; as much land is therefore given him[6] as he can pass over on horseback in the course of a day.[7] As this region is extensive, king Colaxais divided the country into three parts, which he gave to three sons, making that portion the largest in which the gold was deposited. As to the district which lies farther to the north, and beyond the extreme inhabitants of the country, they say that it neither can be passed, nor yet discerned with the eye, on account of the feathers[8] which are continually falling: with these both the earth and the air are so filled, as effectually to obstruct the view.

VIII. Such is the manner in which the Scythians describe themselves and the country beyond them. The Greeks who inhabit Pontus speak of both as follows: Hercules, when he was driving away the heifers of Geryon,[9] came to this region, now inhabited by the Scythians, but which then was a desert. This Geryon lived beyond Pontus in an island which the Greeks call Erythia near Gades, which is situate in the ocean, and beyond the columns of Hercules. The ocean, they say, commencing at the east flows round all the earth;[10] this, however, they affirm without proving it. Hercules coming from thence, arrived at this country, now called Scythia, where finding himself overtaken by a severe storm, and being exceedingly cold, he wrapped himself up in his lion's skin, and went to sleep. They add, that his mares, which he had detached from his chariot to feed, by some divine interposition disappeared during his sleep.

IX. As soon as he awoke, he wandered over all the country in search of his mares, till at length he came to the district which is called Hylæ: there in a cave he discovered a female of most unnatural appearance, resembling a women as far as the thighs, but whose lower parts were like a serpent.[11] Hercules beheld her with astonishment, but he was not deterred from asking her whether she had seen his mares?

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6 *As much land is therefore given him.*]—This is, beyond doubt, a very perplexed and difficult passage; and all that the different annotators have done has been to intimate their conjectures. I have followed that which to my judgment seemed the happiest.

7 *On horseback in the course of a day.*]—Larcher adduces, from Pliny, Ovid, and Seneca, the three following passages, to prove that anciently this was the mode of rewarding merit:

Dona amplissima imperatorum et fortium civium quantum quis uno die plurimum circumaravisset.—*Pliny.*

This from Ovid is more pertinent:—

At Proceres——————
Ruris honorati tantum tibi Cipe dedere
Quantum depresso subjectis bobus aratro
Complecti posses ad finem solis ab ortu.—

See also Seneca:—

Illi ob virtutem et bene gestam rempublicam tantum agri decerneretur, quantum arando uno die circuire potuisset.

8 *On account of the feathers.*]—It must immediately occur to the reader that these feathers can be nothing else but snow.—*T.*

9 *Geryon.*]—To this personage the poets assigned three heads and three bodies. Hesiod calls him τρικεφαλον and Euripedes τρισωματον. See also Horace:

Qui ter amplum
Geryonem, Tityonique tristi
Compescit unda.

Virgil calls him Tergeminus: but the minutest description is found in Silius Italicus, the most satisfactory, in Palæphatus de incredibilibus:—

Qualis Atlantiaco memoratur litore quondam
Monstrum Geryones immane tricorporis iræ,
Cui tres in pugna dextræ varia arma gerebant
Una ignes sævos, ast altera pone sagittas
Fundebat, validam torquebat tertia cornum,
Atque uno diversa dabat tria vulnera nisu.—

Punic. Bell. 13. 200.

Palæphatus says, he lived at Tricarenia; and that, being called the Tricarenian Geryon, he was afterwards said to have had three heads.—*T.*

10 *Flows round all the earth.*]—Upon this passage the following remark occurs in Stillingfleet's *Origin. Sacr.* book i. c. 4.—

"It cannot be denied but a great deal of useful history may be fetched out of Herodotus; yet who can excuse his ignorance, when he not only denies there is an ocean compassing the land, but condemns the geographers for asserting it?" Herodotus, however, neither denies the fact, nor condemns the geographers.

11 *Like a serpent.*]—M. Pelloutier calls this monster a Syren, but Homer represents the Syrens as very lovely women.

Diodorus Siculus speaks also of this monster, describing it like Herodotus. He makes her the mistress of Jupiter, by whom she had Scythes, who gave his name to the nation.—*Larcher.*

This in a great measure corresponds with Virgil's description of Scylla:

Prima hominis facies, et pulchro pectore virgo
Pube tenus: postrema immani corpore pistrix
Delphinum caudas utero commissa luporum.

See also Spenser's description of the mermaids:

They were fair ladies till they fondly strived
With th' Heliconian maids for maistery,
Of whom the overcomen were deprived
Of their proud beauty, and th' one moiety
Transformed to fish, for their bold surquedry;
But the upper half their hue retained still,
And their sweet skill in wonted melody,
Which ever after they abused so ill,
To allure weak travellers, whom gotten they did kill.

See also his description of Echidna:

Yet did her face and former parts profess
A fair young maiden full of comely glee;
But all her hinder parts did plain express,
A monstrous dragon, full of fearful ugliness.

She made answer, that they were in her custody: she refused, however, to restore them, but upon condition of his cohabiting with her. The terms proposed induced Hercules to consent; but she still deferred restoring his mares, from the wish of retaining him longer with her, whilst Hercules was equally anxious to obtain them and depart. After a while she restored them with these words: "Your mares, which wandered here, I have preserved; you have paid what was due to my care, I have conceived by you three sons; I wish you to say how I shall dispose of them hereafter; whether I shall detain them here, where I am the sole sovereign, or whether I shall send them to you." The reply of Hercules was to this effect: "As soon as they shall be grown up to man's estate, observe this, and you cannot err; whichever of them you shall see bend this bow, and wear this belt[1] as I do, him detain in this country: the others, who shall not be able to do this, you may send away. By minding what I say, you will have pleasure yourself, and will satisfy my wishes."

X. Having said this, Hercules took one of his bows, for thus far he had carried two, and showing her also his belt, at the end of which a golden cup was suspended, he gave her them, and departed. As soon as the boys of whom she was delivered grew up, she called the eldest Agathyrsus, the second Gelonus, and the youngest Scytha. She remembered also the injunctions she had received; and two of her sons Agathyrsus and Gelonus, who were incompetent to the trial which was proposed, were sent away by their mother from this country, Scytha the youngest was successful in his exertions, and remained. From this Scytha the son of Hercules, the Scythian monarchs are descended, and from the golden cup the Scythians to this day have a cup at the end of their belts.

XI. This is the story which the Greek inhabitants of Pontus relate; but there is also another, to which I am more inclined to assent:—The Scythian Nomades of Asia, having been harassed by the Massagetæ in war, passed the Araxis, and settled in Cimmeria; for it is to be observed, that the country now possessed by the Scythians belonged formerly to the Cimmerians. This people when attacked by the Scythians, deliberated what it was most advisable to do against the inroad of so vast a multitude. Their sentiments were divided; both were violent, but that of the kings appears preferable. The people were of opinion, that it would be better not to hazard an engagement, but to retreat in security; the kings were at all events for resisting the enemy. Neither party would recede from their opinions, the people and the princes mutually refusing to yield; the people wished to retire before the invaders, the princes determined rather to die where they were, reflecting upon what they had enjoyed before, and alarmed by the fears of future calamities. From verbal disputes they soon came to actual engagement, and they happened to be nearly equal in number. All those who perished by the hands of their countrymen were buried by the Cimmerians near the river Tyre, where their monuments may still be seen. The survivors fled from their country, which in its abandoned state was seized and occupied by the Scythians.

XII. There are still to be found in Scythia walls and bridges which are termed Cimmerian; the same name is also given to a whole district, as well as to a narrow sea. It is certain that when the Cimmerians were expelled their country by the Scythians, they fled to the Asiatic Chersonese, where the Greek city of Sinope[2] is at present situated. It is also apparent, that whilst engaged in the pursuit, the Scythians deviated from their proper course, and entered Media. The Cimmerians in their flight kept uniformly by the sea-coast; but the Scythians, having Mount Caucasus to their right, continued the pursuit till by following an inland direction they entered Media.

1 *This belt.*]—It was assigned Hercules as one of his labours by Eurystheus, to whom he was subject, to deprive Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons, of her belt. Ausonius, in the inscription which he probably wrote for some ancient relievo, mentions it as the sixth labour;

Threiciam sexto spoliavit Amazona baltheo.

This labour is also mentioned thus by Martial:

Peltatam Scythico discinxit Amazona nodo.

Whether Herodotus means to speak of this belt, I pretend not to determine.—*T.*

2 *Sinope.*]—There were various opinions amongst the ancients concerning this city. Some said it was built by an Amazon so called; others affirm it was founded by the Milesians; Strabo calls it the most illustrious city of Pontus. It is thus mentioned by Valerius Flaccus, an author not so much read as he deserves:

Assyriis complexa sinus stat opima, Sinope
Nympha prius, blandosque Jovis quæ luserat ignes
Cœlicolis immota procis.

There was also a celebrated courtesan of this name, from whom Sinopissare became a proverb for being very lascivious.

The modern name of the place is Sinub, and it stands at the mouth of a river called Sinope.—*T.*

XIII. There is still another account, which has obtained credit, both with the Greeks and barbarians. Aristeas[3] the poet, a native of Proconnesus, and son of Caustrobius, relates, that under the influence of Apollo, he came to the Issedones, that beyond this people he found the Arimaspi,[4] a nation who have but one eye; farther on were the Gryphins,[5] the guardians of the gold; and beyond these the Hyperboreans,[6] who possess the whole country quite to the sea, and that all these nations, except the Hyperboreans, are continually engaged in war with their neighbours. Of these hostilities the Arimaspians were the first authors, for they drove out the Issedones, the Issedones the Scythians: the Scythians compelled the Cimmerians, who possessed the country towards the south, to abandon their native land. Thus it appears that the narrative of Aristeas differs also from that of the Scythians.

XIV. Of what country the relator of the above account was, we have already seen; but I ought not to omit what I have heard of this personage, both at Proconnesus and Cyzicus.[7] It is said of this Aristeas, that he was of one of the best families of his country, and that he died in the workshop of a fuller, into which he had accidentally gone. The fuller immediately secured his shop, and went to inform the relations of the deceased of what had happened. The report having circulated through the city, that Aristeas was dead, there came a man of Cyzicus, of the city of Artaces, who affirmed that this assertion was false, for that he had met Aristeas going to Cyzicus,[8] and had spoken with him. In consequence of his positive assertions, the friends of Aristeas hastened to the fuller's shop with every thing which was necessary for his funeral, but when they came there, no Aristeas was to be found, alive or dead. Seven years afterwards it is said that he re-appeared at Proconnesus, and composed those verses which the Greeks call Arimaspian, after which he vanished a second time.

XV. This is the manner in which these cities speak of Aristeas; but I am about to relate a circumstance which to my own knowledge happened to the Metapontines of Italy, three hundred and forty years after Aristeas had a second time disappeared, according to my conjecture, as it agrees with what I heard at Proconnesus and Metapontus. The inhabitants of this latter place affirm, that Aristeas having appeared in their city, directed them to construct an altar to Apollo, and near it a statue to Aristeas of Proconnesus. He told them that they were the only people of Italy whom Apollo had ever honoured by his presence, and that he himself had attended the god under the form of a crow;[9] having said this, he disappeared. The

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3 *Aristeas.*]—This person is mentioned also by Pliny and Aulus Gellius; it is probable that he lived in the time of Cyrus and Crœsus. Longinus has preserved six of his verses; see chap. 10, of which he remarks, that they are rather florid than sublime. Tzetzes has preserved six more. The account given of him by Herodotus is far from satisfactory.

4 *Arimaspi.*]—The Arimaspians were Hyperborean Cyclopeans, and had temples named Charis or Charisia, in the top of which were preserved a perpetual fire. They were of the same family as those of Sicily, and had the same rites, and particularly worshipped the Ophite deity under the name of Opis. Aristeas Proconnesius wrote their history, and among other things mentioned that they had but one eye, which was placed in their graceful forehead. How could the front of a Cyclopean, one of the most hideous monsters that ever poetic fancy framed, be styled graceful? The whole is a mistake of terms, and what this writer has misapplied related to Charis a tower, and the eye was a casement in the top of the edifice, where a light and fire were kept up.—*Bryant.*

5 *Gryphins.*

Thus the Gryphins,
Those dumb and ravenous dogs of Jove, avoid
The Arimaspian troops, whose frowning foreheads
Glare with one blazing eye: along the banks
Where Pluto rolls his stream of gold, they rein
Their foaming steeds.

Prometheus Vinctus; Æschyl. Potter's Translation.

Pausanius tells us, that the Gryphins are represented by Aristeas as monsters resembling lions, with the beaks and wings of eagles. By the way, Dionysius of Halicarnassus is of opinion that no such poem as this of Aristeas ever existed.

6 *Hyperboreans.*]—The ancients do not appear to have had any precise ideas of the country of this people. The Hyperborean mountains are also frequently mentioned, which, as appears from Virgil, were the same as the Ryphean:

Talis Hyperboreo septem subjecta trioni
Gens effræna virum Rhipæo tunditur Euro
Et pecudum fulvis velatur corpora setis.—*T.*

7 *Cyzicus.*]—This was one of the most flourishing cities of Mysia, situated in a small island of the Propontis, and built by the Milesians. It is thus mentioned by Ovid:

Inde Propontiacis hærentem Cyzicon oris
Cyzicon Æmoniæ nobile gentis opus.

The people of this place were remarkable for their effeminacy and cowardice, whence tinctura Cyzicena became proverbial for any dastardly character. It has now become a peninsula, by the filling up of the small channel by which it was divided from the continent.—*T.*

8 *Going to Cyzicus.*]—Upon this story Larcher remarks, that there are innumerable others like it, both among the ancients and moderns. A very ridiculous one is related by Plutarch, in his Life of Romulus:—A man named Cleomedes, seeing himself pursued, jumped into a great chest, which closed upon him; after many ineffectual attempts to open it, they broke it in pieces, but no Cleomedes was to be found, alive or dead.

9 *Under the form of a crow.*]—Pliny relates this somewhat differently. He says, it was the soul of Aristeas, which having left his body appeared in the form of a

Metapontines relate, that in consequence of this they sent to Dephi, to inquire what that unnatural appearance might mean; the Pythian told them in reply, to perform what had been directed, for that they would find their obedience rewarded; they obeyed accordingly, and there now stands near the statue of Apollo himself, another bearing the name of Aristeas: it is placed in the public square of the city surrounded with laurels.

XVI. Thus much of Aristeas.—No certain knowledge is to be obtained of the places which lie remotely beyond the country of which I before spake: on this subject I could not meet with any person able to speak from his own knowledge. Aristeas above-mentioned confesses, in the poem which he wrote, that he did not penetrate beyond the Issedones; and that what he related of the countries more remote, he learned of the Issedones themselves. For my own part, all the intelligence which the most assiduous researches, and the greatest attention to authenticity, have been able to procure, shall be faithfully related.

XVII. As we advance from the port of the Borysthenites, which is unquestionably the centre of all the maritime parts of Scythia, the first people who are met with are the Callipidæ,[1] who are Greek Scythians: beyond these is another nation called the Halizones.[2] These two people in general observe the customs of the Scythians: except that for food they sow corn, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. Beyond the Halizones dwell some ploughing Scythians, who sow corn not to eat, but for sale. Still more remote are the Neuri,[3] whose country towards the north, as far as I have been able to learn, is totally uninhabited. All these nations dwell near the river Hypanis, to the west of the Borysthenes.

XVIII. Having crossed the Borysthenes, the first country towards the sea is Hylæa, contiguous to which are some Scythian husbandmen, who call themselves Olbiopolitæ, but who, by the Greeks living near the Hypanis, are called Borysthenites.[4] The country possessed by these Scythians towards the east, is the space of a three days' journey, as far as the river Panticapes; to the north, their lands extend to the amount of an eleven days' voyage along the Borysthenes. The space beyond this is a vast inhospitable desert; and remoter still are the Androphagi, or men-eaters, a separate nation, and by no means Scythian. As we pass farther from these, the country is altogether desert, not containing, to our knowledge, any inhabitants.

XIX. To the east of these Scythians, who are husbandmen, and beyond the river Panticapes, are the Scythian Nomades or shepherds, who are totally unacquainted with agriculture: except Hylæa, all this country is naked of trees. These Nomades inhabit a district to the extent of a fourteen days' journey towards the east, as far as the river Gerrhus.

XX. Beyond the Gerrhus is situate what is termed the royal province of Scythia, possessed by the more numerous part and the noblest of the Scythians who consider all the rest of their countrymen as their slaves. From the south they extend to Tauris, and from the east as far as the trench which was sunk by the descendants of the blinded slaves, and again as far as the port of the Palus Mæotis, called Chemni, and indeed many of them are spread as far as the Tanais. Beyond these, to the north, live the Melanchlæni, another nation who are not Scythians. Beyond the Melanchlæni, the lands are low and marshy, and as we believe entirely uninhabited.

XXI. Beyond the Tanais the region of Scythia terminates, and the first nation we meet with are the Sauromatæ, who, commencing at the remote parts of the Palus Mæotis, inhabit a space to the north, equal to a fifteen days' journey; the country is totally destitute of trees, both wild and cultivated. Beyond these are the Budini, who are husbandmen, and in whose country trees are found in great abundance.

XXII. To the north, beyond the Budini,

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crow. His words are these: Aristeæ etiam visam evolantem ex ore in Proconneso, corvi effigie magna quæ sequitur fabulositate.—*Larcher*.

The crow was sacred to Apollo, as appears from Ælian de Animalibus, book vii. 18. We learn also from Scaliger, in his Notes on Manilius, that a crow sitting on a tripod was found on some ancient coins, to which Statius also alludes in the following lines:

Non comes obscurus tripodum.—*T.*

1 *Callipidæ.*]—Solinus calls these people Callipodes.—*T.*

2 *Halizones.*]—So called, because surrounded on all sides by the sea, as the word itself obviously testifies.—*T.*

3 *Neuri.*]—Mela, book ii. 1, says of this people, that they had the power of transforming themselves into wolves, and resuming their former shape at pleasure.—Neuris statum singulis tempus est, quo si velint in lupos, iterumque in eos qui fuere mutentur.—*T.*

4 *Borysthenites.*]—These people are called by Propertius the Borysthenidæ:

Gloria ad hybernos lata Borysthenidas.—*T.*

is an immense desert of an eight days' journey; passing which to the east are the Thyssagetæ, a singular but populous nation, who support themselves by hunting. Contiguous to these, in the same region, are a people called Iyrcæ;[5] they also live by the chase, which they thus pursue:—Having ascended the tops of the trees, which every where abound, they watch for their prey. Each man has a horse, instructed to lie close to the ground, that it may not be seen; they have each also a dog. As soon as the man from the tree discovers his game, he wounds it with an arrow, then mounting his horse he pursues it, followed by his dog. Advancing from this people still nearer to the east, we again meet with Scythians, who having seceded from the royal Scythians, established themselves here.

XXIII. As far as these Scythians, the whole country is flat, and the soil excellent; beyond them it becomes barren and stony. After travelling over a considerable space, a people are found living at the foot of some lofty mountains, who, both male and female, are said to be bald from their birth, having large chins, and nostrils like the ape species. They have a language of their own, but their dress is Scythian; they live chiefly upon the produce of a tree which is called the ponticus; it is as large as a fig, and has a kernel not unlike a bean; when it is ripe they press it through a cloth; it produces a thick black liquor which they call aschy; this they drink, mixing it with milk; the grosser parts which remain they form into balls and eat. They have but few cattle from the want of proper pasturage. Each man dwells under his tree; this during the winter they cover with a thick white cloth, which in the summer is removed; they live unmolested by any one, being considered as sacred, and having amongst them no offensive weapon. Their neighbours apply to them for decision in matters of private controversy; and whoever seeks an asylum amongst them is secure from injury. They are called the Argippæi.[6]

XXIV. As far as these people who are bald, the knowledge of the country and intermediate nations is clear and satisfactory; it may be obtained from the Scythians, who have frequent communication with them, from the Greeks of the port on the Borysthenes, and from many other places of trade on the Euxine. As these nations have seven different languages, the Scythians who communicate with them have occasion for as many interpreters.

XXV. Beyond these Argippæi, no certain intelligence is to be had, a chain of lofty and inaccessible mountains precluding all discovery. The people who are bald, assert, what I can by no means believe, that these mountains are inhabited by men, who in their lower parts resemble a goat; and that beyond these are a race that sleep away six months of the year: neither does this seem at all more probable. To the east of the Argippæi it is beyond all doubt that the country is possessed by the Issedones; but beyond them to the north neither the Issedones nor the Argippæi know any thing more than I have already related.

XXVI. The Issedones have these, among other customs:—As often as any one loses his father, his relations severally provide some cattle; these they kill, and having cut them in pieces, they dismember also the body of the deceased, and, mixing the whole together, feast upon it; the head alone is preserved, from this they carefully remove the hair, and cleansing it thoroughly set it in gold;[7] it is afterwards esteemed sacred, and produced in their solemn annual sacrifices. Every man observes the above rites in honour of his father, as the Greeks do theirs in memory of the dead.[8] In

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5 *Iyrcæ.*]—It is in vain that Messieurs Falconnet and Mallet are desirous of reading Τυρκαι, the Turks, the same as it occurs in Pomponius Mela; it would be better, with Pintianus, to correct the text of the geographer by that of Herodotus. Pliny also joins this people with the Thyssagetæ.—*Larcher.*

6 *Argippæi.*]—These people are said to have derived their name from the white horses with which their country abounded. The Tartars of the present day are said to hold white horses in great estimation; how much they were esteemed in ancient times, appears from various passages of different writers, who believed that they excelled in swiftness all horses of a different colour.

Qui candore nives anteirent, cursibus auras.—*T.*

7 *Set it in gold.*]—We learn from Livy, that the Boii, a people of Gaul, did exactly the same with respect to the sculls of their enemies.—Purgato inde capite ut mos iis est, calvum auro cælavere: idque sacrum vas iis erat, quo solennibus libarent.—*See Livy*, chap. xxiv. book 23.

8 *In memory of the dead.*]—The Greeks had anniversary days in remembrance of departed friends. These were indifferently termed Νεμεσια, as being solemnized on the festival of Nemesis, Ωραια, and Γενεσια. This latter word seems to intimate that these were feasts instituted to commemorate the birth-days; but these it appears, were observed by surviving relations and friends upon the anniversary of a person's death. Amongst many other customs which distinguished these Γενεσια, some were remarkable for their simplicity and

other respects it is said that they venerate the principles of justice; and that their females enjoy equal authority with the men.

XXVII. The Issedones themselves affirm, that the country beyond them is inhabited by a race of men who have but one eye, and by Gryphins who are guardians of the gold.—Such is the information which the Scythians have from the Issedones, and we from the Scythians; in the Scythian tongue they are called Arimaspians, from Arima, the Scythian word for one, and spu, an eye.

XXVIII. Through all the region of which we have been speaking, the winter season, which continues for eight months, is intolerably severe and cold. At this time if water be poured upon the ground, unless it be near a fire, it will not make clay. The sea itself,[1] and all the Cimmerian Bosphorus[2] is congealed; and the Scythians who live within the trench before mentioned make hostile incursions upon the ice, and penetrate with their waggons as far as Sindica. During eight months the climate is thus severe, and the remaining four are sufficiently cold. In this region the winter is by no means the same as in other climates; for at this time, when it rains abundantly elsewhere, it here scarcely rains at all, whilst in the summer the rains are incessant. At the season when thunder is common in other places, here it is never heard, but during the summer it is very heavy. If it be ever known to thunder in the winter, it is considered as ominous. If earthquakes happen in Scythia, in either season of the year, it is thought a prodigy. Their horses are able to bear the extremest severity of the climate, which the asses and mules frequently cannot;[3] though in other regions the cold which destroys the former has little effect upon the latter.

XXIX. This circumstance of their climate seems to explain the reason why their cattle are without horns;[4] and Homer in the Odyssey

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elegance. They strewed flowers on the tomb, they encircled it with myrtle, they placed locks of their hair upon it, they tenderly invoked the names of those departed, and lastly they poured sweet ointments upon the grave.

These observances with little variation, took place both in Greece and Rome.—See the beautiful ode of Anacreon:

> Τι σε δει λιθον μυριζειν,
> Τι δε γη χεειν ματαια;
> Εμε μαλλον, ὡς ετι ζω
> Μυρισον, ῥοδοις δε κρατα
> Πυκασον.

Thus rendered by Cowley:

> Why do we precious ointments shower,
> Noble wines why do we pour,
> Beauteous flowers why do we spread
> Upon the mon'ments of the dead?
> Nothing they but dust can show,
> Or bones that hasten to be so;
> Crown me with roses whilst I live.

See also the much admired apostrophe addressed by Virgil to the memory of Marcellus:

> Heu miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
> Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis,
> Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
> His saltem accumulem donis.—*T.*

1 *The sea itself.*]—The Greeks, who had no knowledge of this country, were of opinion that the sea could not be congealed; they consequently considered this passage of Herodotus as fabulous. The moderns, who are better acquainted with the regions of the north, well know that Herodotus was right.—*Larcher.*

Upon this subject the following whimsical passage occurs in Macrobius.—Nam quod Herodotus historiarum scriptor, contra omnium ferme qui hæc quæsiverunt opinionem scripsit, mare Bosporicum, quod et Cimmerium appellat, earumque partium mare omne quod Scythicum dicitur, id gelu constringi et consistere, aliter est quam putatur; nam non marina aqua contrahitur, sed quia plurimum in illis regionibus fluviorum est, et paludum in ipsa maria influentium, superficies maris cui dulces aquæ innatant, congelascit, et incolumi aqua marina videtur in mari gelu, sed de advenis undis coactum, &c.

2 *Bosphorus.*]—It is indifferently written Bosphorus and Bosporus; both signify the same thing, for φερειν and πορειν both have the same meaning with αγειν, to drive. See Hesychius, at the word πορευσαι. The inhabitants were herdsmen, which indeed the word implies. See Apollonius Rhodius, l. ii. ver. i. Their king Amycus is described with the herdsman's staff, instead of a sceptre, ver. 33. The people are represented as unlike the Argonauts in shape and manners, ver. 37; and Amycus as a savage giant, or son of the earth, ver. 38, 9. Valerius Flaccus thus describes the sea passing the straits:

> Qua rigidos eructat Bosphorus amnes.

See also Apollon. Rhod. ver. 322. much better:

> ——Ὑπερθε δε πολλον ἁλος κορθυεται ὑδωρ
> Βρασσομενον.——

The pastures Flaccus describes as exceedingly rich:

> Pingue solum et duris regio non invidia tauris.

But the behaviour of the inhabitants as savage and lawless:

> Non fœdera legum
> Ulla colunt, placidas aut jura tenentia gentes.

3 *Asses and mules frequently cannot.*]—This assertion of Herodotus is confirmed by Pliny, who says, "Ipsum animal (asinus) frigoris maxime impatiens: ideo non generatur in Ponto, nec æquinoctia verno, et cætera pecua admittatur sed solstitio." The ass is a native of Arabia; the warmer the climate in which they are produced, the larger and the better they are. "Their size and their spirit," says Mr. Pennant, "regularly decline as they advance into colder regions." Hollingshed says, that in his time "our lande did yeelde no asses." At present they appear to be naturalized in our country; and M. Larcher's observation, that they are not common in England, must have arisen from misinformation. That the English breed of asses is comparatively less beautiful, must be acknowledged.—*T.*

4 *Without horns.*]—Hippocrates, speaking of the Scythian chariots, says, they are drawn by oxen which have

has a line which confirms my opinion:—"And Libya, where the sheep have always horns;"[5] which is as much as to say, that in warm climates horns will readily grow; but in places which are extremely cold, they either will not grow at all, or are always diminutive.

XXX. The peculiarities of Scythia are thus explained from the coldness of the climate; but as I have accustomed myself from the commencement of this history to deviate occasionally from my subject, I cannot here avoid expressing my surprise, that the district of Elis never produces mules; yet the air is by no means cold, nor can any other satisfactory reason be assigned. The inhabitants themselves believe that their not possessing mules is the effect of some curse.[6] When their mares require the male, the Eleans take them out of the limits of their own territories and there suffer asses to cover them; when they have conceived they return.

XXXI. Concerning those feathers, which, as the Scythians say, so cloud the atmosphere that they cannot penetrate nor even discern what lies beyond them, my opinion is this:—In those remoter regions there is a perpetual fall of snow, which, as may be supposed, is less in summer than in winter. Whoever observes snow falling continually, will easily conceive what I say; for it has a great resemblance to feathers. These regions, therefore, which are thus situated remotely to the north, are uninhabitable from the unremitting severity of the climate; and the Scythians, with the neighbouring nations, mistake the snow for feathers.[7]—But on this subject I have said quite enough.

XXXII. Of the Hyperboreans[8] neither the Scythians nor any of the neighbouring people, the Issedones alone excepted, have any knowledge; and indeed what they say merits but little attention. The Scythians speak of these as they do of the Arimaspians. It must be confessed that Hesiod mentions these Hyperboreans, as does Homer also in the Epigonoi,[9] if he was really the author of those verses.

XXXIII. On this subject of the Hyperboreans the Delians are more communicative. They affirm, that some sacred offerings of this people, carefully folded in straw, were given to

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no horns, and that the cold prevents their having any.—*Larcher.*

5 *Always horns.*]—The line here quoted from Homer is thus rendered by Pope:

And two fair crescents of translucent horn
The brows of all their young increase adorn

6 *Of some curse.*]—The following passage is found in Plutarch's Greek questions.

Q. Why do the men of Elis lead their mares beyond their borders when they would have them covered?

A. Was it because Ænomaus, being remarkable for his great love of horses, imprecated many horrid curses upon mares that should be (thus) covered in Elis, and that the people in terror of his curses will not suffer it to be done within their district?

It is indisputably evident, that something is omitted or corrupted in this passage of Plutarch. As it stands at present it appears that the mares were to be covered by horses, and so the translators have rendered it; but the love of Ænomaus for horses, would hardly lead him to so absurd an inconsistency as that of cursing the breed of them within his kingdom. The truth is, it was the breed of mules which he loaded with imprecations; and it was only when the mares were to be covered by asses, that it was necessary to remove them, to avoid falling under his curse. Some word expressing this ought therefore to be found in Plutarch, and the suspicion of corruption naturally falls at once on the unintelligible word ενϑδε, which is totally omitted in the Latin version, and given up by Xylander as inexplicable; Wesseling would change it to ενθύρευς, but that does not remove the fault: if we read ινοδόκους all will be easy. The question will then stand thus: "Why do the men of Elis lead those mares *which are to receive asses*, beyond their borders to be covered?" And we must render afterwards, "that should be *thus* covered," instead of *covered* only: ονοδοκος being a compound formed at pleasure, according to the genius of the Greek language, but not in common use, might easily be corrupted by a careless or ignorant transcriber. I should not have dwelt so long on a verbal criticism of this kind, had not the emendation appeared important, and calculated to throw additional light on this passage of Herodotus.

Conformable to this, is the account of Pausanias:—"In Elis," says he, "mares will not produce from asses, though they will in the places contiguous: this the people impute to some curse." Book v. p. 384.

And Eustathius has a similar remark in his Comment on Dionysius, l. 409.

Upon the above Larcher remarks, that this doubtless was the reason why the race of chariots drawn by mules was abolished at the Olympic games, which had been introduced there in the seventieth Olympiad by Thersias of Thessaly.—*T.*

7 *Snow for feathers.*]—The comparison of falling snow to fleeces of wool as being very obvious and natural, is found in abundance of writers, ancient and modern.

See Psalm cxlvii. ver. 5.—Who sendeth his snow like wool. Martial beautifully calls snow densum tacitarum vellus aquarum.

In whose capacious womb
A vapoury deluge lies to snow congeal'd;
Heavy they roll their fleecy world along.—*Thomson.*

8 *Hyperboreans.*]—It appears from the Scholiast on Pindar, that the Greeks called the Thracians, Boreans; there is therefore great probability that they called the people beyond these the Hyperboreans.—*Larcher.*

9 *Epigonoi.*]—That Homer was the author of various poems besides the Iliad and the Odyssey, there seems little reason to doubt; that he was the author of these in question can hardly be made appear. The Scholiast of Aristophanes assigns them to Antimachus: but Antimachus of Colophon was later than Herodotus, or at least his cotemporary. The subject of these verses were, the supposed authors of the second Theban war. At the time in which Homer flourished, the wars of Thebes and of Troy were the subjects of universal curiosity and attention.—*T.*

the Scythians, from whom descending regularly through every contiguous nation,[1] they arrived at length at the Adriatic. From hence, transported towards the south, they were first of all received by the Dodoneans of Greece; from them again they were transmitted to the gulf of Melis; whence passing into Eubœa, they were sent from one town to another, till they arrived at Carystus; not stopping at Andros, the Carystians carried them to Tenos, the Tenians to Delos; at which place the Delians affirm they came as we have related. They farther observe, that to bring these offerings the Hyperboreans[2] sent two young women, whose names were Hyperoche and Laodice: five of their countrymen accompanied them as a guard, who are held in great veneration at Delos, and called the Peripheres.[3] As these men never returned, the Hyperboreans were greatly offended, and took the following method to prevent a repetition of this evil: They carried to their frontiers their offerings, folded in barley-straw, and committing them to the care of their neighbours, directed them to forward them progressively, till, as is reported, they thus arrived. This singularity observed by the Hyperboreans is practised, as I myself have seen, amongst the women of Thrace and Pæonia, who in their sacrifices to the regal Diana make use of barley-straw.

XXXIV. In honour of the Hyperborean virgins who died at Delos, the Delian youth of both sexes celebrate certain rites, in which they cut off their hair;[4] this ceremony is observed by virgins previous to their marriage, who, having deprived themselves of their hair, wind it round a spindle, and place it on the tomb. This stands in the vestibule of the temple of Diana, on the left side of the entrance, and is shaded by an olive, which grows there naturally. The young men of Delos wind some of their hair round a certain herb, and place it on the tomb. Such are the honours which the Delians pay to these virgins.

XXXV. The Delians add, that in the same age, and before the arrival of Hyperoche and Laodice at Delos, two other Hyperborean virgins came there, whose names were Argis and Opis;[5] their object was to bring an offering to Lucina, in acknowledgment of the happy delivery of their females; but that Argis and Opis were accompanied by the deities themselves. They are, therefore, honoured with

1 *Through every contiguous nation.*]—On this subject the Athenians have another tradition.—*See Pausanias*, c. xxxi. p. 77.

According to them, these offerings were given by the Hyperboreans to the Arimaspians, by the Arimaspians to the Scythians, by the Scythians, carried to Sinope. The Greeks from thence passed them from one to another, till they arrived at Prasis, a place dependent on Athens; the Athenians ultimately sent them to Delos. "This," says M. Larcher, "seems to me a less probable account than that of the Delians."

2 *Hyperboreans.*]—Upon the subject of the Hyperboreans, our learned mythologist Mr. Bryant has a very curious chapter. The reader will do well to consult the whole; but the following extract is particularly applicable to the chapter before us.

Of all other people the Hyperboreans seem most to have respected the people of Delos. To this island they used to send continually mystic presents, which were greatly reverenced: in consequence of this, the Delians knew more of their history than any other community of Greece. Callimachus, in his hymn to Delos, takes notice of the Hyperboreans and their offerings.

This people were esteemed very sacred; and it is said that Apollo, when exiled from heaven, and when he had seen his offspring slain, retired to their country. It seems he wept; and there was a tradition that every tear was amber.

See Apollonius Rhodius, book iv. 611.

The Celtic sages a tradition hold,
That every drop of amber was a tear
Shed by Apollo, when he fled from heaven;
For sorely did he weep, and sorrowing pass'd
Through many a doleful region, till he reach'd
The sacred Hyperboreans.

See Bryant, vol. iii. 491.

3 *Peripheres.*]—Those whom the different states of Greece sent to consult Apollo, or to offer him sacrifice in the name of their country, they called Theoroi. They gave the name of Deliastoi to those whom they sent to Delos; and of Pythastoi to those who went to Delphi. —*Larcher.*

4 *Cut off their hair.*]—The custom of offering the hair to the gods is of very great antiquity. Sometimes it was deposited in the temples, as in the case of Berenice, who consecrated hers in the temple of Venus; sometimes it was suspended upon trees.—*Larcher.*

When the hair was cut off in honour of the dead, it was done in a circular form. Allusion is made to this ceremony in the Electra of Sophocles, line 52. See also Ovid:

Scissa cum veste capillos.

This custom by the way, was strictly forbidden by the Jews. Pope has a very ludicrous allusion to it·

When fortune or a mistress frowns,
Some plunge in business, others shave their crowns.—*T.*

5 *Opis.*]—Orion, who was beloved by Aurora, and whom Pherecydes asserts to have been the son of Neptune and Euryale, or, according to other authors, of Terra, endeavouring to offer violence to Opis, was slain with an arrow by Diana.

The first Hyperboreans who carried offerings to Delos were, according to Callimachus, named Oupis, Loxo, and Hecaerge, daughter of Boreas.—*Larcher*

Opis is thus mentioned by Virgil:

Opis ad Æthereum pennis aufertur Olympum.

According to Servius, Opis, Loxo, and Hecaerge, were synonymous terms for the moon. Opis was also the name of a city of the Tigris.—*T.*

other solemn rites. The women assemble together, and, in a hymn composed for the occasion, by Olen of Lycia,[6] they call on the names of Argis and Opis. Instructed by these, the islanders and Ionians hold similar assemblies, introducing the same two names in their hymns. This Olen was a native of Lycia, who composed other ancient hymns in use at Delos. When the thighs of the victims are consumed on the altar, the ashes are collected and scattered over the tomb of Opis and Argis. This tomb is behind the temple of Diana, facing the east, and near the place where the Ceians celebrate their festivals.

XXXVI. On this subject of the Hyperboreans we have spoken sufficiently at large, for the story of Abaris,[7] who was said to be an Hyperborean, and to have made a circuit of the earth without food, and carried on an arrow,[8] merits no attention. As there are Hyperboreans, or inhabitants of the extreme parts of the north, one would suppose there ought also to be Hypernotians, or inhabitants of the corresponding parts of the south. For my own part, I cannot but think it exceedingly ridiculous to hear some men talk of the circumference of the earth, pretending, without the smallest reason or probability, that the ocean encompasses the earth; that the earth is round, as if mechanically formed so; and that Asia is equal to Europe. I will, therefore, concisely describe the figure and the size of each of these portions of the earth.

XXXVII. The region occupied by the Persians extends southward to the Red Sea; beyond these to the north are the Medes, next to them are the Sapirians. Contiguous to the Sapirians, and where the Phasis empties itself into the Northern Sea, are the Colchians. These four nations occupy the space between the two seas.

XXXVIII. From hence to the west two tracts of land stretch themselves towards the sea, which I shall describe: The one on the north side commences at the Phasis, and extends to the sea along the Euxine and the Hellespont, as far as the Sigeum of Troy. On the south side it begins at the Marandynian bay, contiguous to Phœnicia, and is continued to the sea as far as the Triopian promontory; this space of country is inhabited by thirty different nations.

XXXIX. The other district commences in Persia, and is continued to the Red Sea.[9] Besides Persia, it comprehends Assyria and Arabia, naturally terminating in the Arabian Gulf, into which Darius introduced [10] a channel of the Nile. The interval from Persia to Phœnicia is very extensive. From Phœnicia it again continues beyond Syria of Palestine, as far as Egypt, where it terminates. The whole of this region is occupied by three nations only.—Such is the division of Asia from Persia westward.

XL. To the east beyond Persia, Media, the Sapirians and Colchians, the country is bounded by the Red Sea; to the north by the Caspian

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6 *Olen of Lycia.*]—Olen, a priest and very ancient poet, was before Homer; he was the first Greek poet, and the first also who declared the oracles of Apollo. The inhabitants of Delphi chanted the hymns which he composed for them. In one of his hymns he called Ilithya the mother of Love; in another he affirmed that Juno was educated by the Hours, and was the mother of Mars and Hebe.—*Larcher*.

The word Olen was properly an Egyptian sacred term, and expressed Olen, Olenus, Ailinus, and Linus, but is of unknown meaning. We read of Olenium sidus, Olenia capella, and the like.

Nascitur Oleniæ sidus pluviale capellæ.—*Ovid.*

A sacred stone in Elis was called Petra Olenia. If then this Olen, styled a Hyperborean, came from Lycia and Egypt, it makes me persuaded of what I have often suspected, that the term Hyperborean is not of that purport which the Grecians have assigned to it. There were people of this family from the north, and the name has been distorted, and adapted solely to people of those parts. But there were Hyperboreans from the East, as we find in the history of Olen.—See Bryant farther on this subject, vol. iii. 492, 493.

7 *Abaris.*]—Jamblicus says of this Abaris, that he was the disciple of Pythagoras; some say that he was older than Solon; he foretold earthquakes, plagues, &c. Authors differ much as to the time of his coming into Greece: Harpocration says it was in the time of Crœsus.

8 *On an arrow.*]—There is a fragment preserved in the Anecdota Græca, a translation of which Larcher gives in his notes which throws much light upon this singular passage; it is this: a famine having made its appearance amongst the Hyperboreans, Abaris went to Greece and entered into the service of Apollo. The deity taught him to declare Oracles. In consequence of this, he travelled through Greece, declaring oracles, having in his hand an arrow, the symbol of Apollo.—*T.*

9 *The Red Sea.*]—It is necessary to be observed, that not only the Arabian Gulf was known by this name, but also the Persian Gulf, and the Southern Ocean, that is to say, that vast tract of sea which lies between the two gulfs.—*Larcher*.

What Herodotus calls the Erythrean Sea, he carefully distinguishes from the Arabian Gulf.

Both Herodotus and Agathemnus industriously distinguish the Erythrean Sea, from the Arabian Gulf, though the latter was certainly so called, and had the name of Erythrean. The Parthic empire which included Persia, is by Pliny said to be bounded to the south by the Mare Rubrum, which was the boundary also of the Persians: by Mare Rubrum he here means the great southern sea.—*Bryant*.

10 *Darius introduced.*]—See book the second, chap. 158.

and the river Araxes, which directs its course towards the east. As far as India, Asia is well inhabited; but from India eastward the whole country is one vast desert, unknown and unexplored.

XLI. The second tract comprehends Libya, which begins where Egypt ends. About Egypt the country is very narrow. One hundred thousand orgyiæ, or one thousand stadia, comprehend the space between this and the Red sea.[1] Here the country expands, and takes the name of Libya.

XLII. I am much surprised at those who have divided and defined the limits of Libya, Asia, and Europe, betwixt which the difference is far from small. Europe, for instance, in length much exceeds the other two, but is of far inferior breadth; except in that particular part which is contiguous to Asia, the whole of Libya is surrounded by the sea. The first person who has proved this, was, as far as we are able to judge, Necho king of Egypt. When he had desisted from his attempt to join by a canal the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, he despatched some vessels,[2] under the conduct of Phenicians, with directions to pass by the columns of Hercules, and after penetrating the Northern Ocean to return to Egypt. These Phenicians, taking their course from the Red Sea, entered into the Southern Ocean; on the approach of autumn they landed in Libya, and planted some corn in the place where they happened to find themselves; when this was ripe, and they had cut it down, they again departed. Having thus consumed two years, they in the third doubled the columns of Hercules, and returned to Egypt. Their relation may obtain attention from others, but to me it seems incredible,[3] for they affirmed, that having sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand.—Thus was Libya for the first time known.

XLIII. If the Carthaginian account may be credited, Sataspes, son of Teaspes, of the race of the Achæmenides, received a commission to circumnavigate Libya, which he never executed: alarmed at the length of the voyage, and the solitary appearance of the country, he returned without accomplishing the task enjoined him by his mother. This man had committed violence on a virgin, daughter of Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus, for which offence Xerxes had ordered him to be crucified; but the influence of his mother, who was sister to Darius, saved his life. She avowed, however, that it was her intention to inflict a still severer punishment upon him, by obliging him to sail round Africa, till he should arrive at the Arabian Gulf. To this Xerxes assented, and Sataspes accordingly departed for Egypt; he here embarked with his crew, and proceeded to the columns of Hercules; passing these, he doubled the promontory which is called Syloes, keeping a southern course. Continuing his voyage for several months, in which he passed over an immense tract of sea, he saw no probable termination of his labours, and therefore sailed back to Egypt. Returning to the court of Xerxes, he amongst other things related, that in the most remote places he had visited he had seen a people of diminutive appearance, clothed in red garments,[4] who on the approach of his vessel to

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1 *This and the Red Sea.*]—Here we must necessarily understand the isthmus between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf or Red Sea. Herodotus says, book ii. chap. 158, that the shortest way betwixt one sea and the other was one thousand stadia. Agrippa says, on the authority of Pliny, that from Pelusium to Arsinoe on the Red Sea was one hundred and twenty-five miles, which comes to the same thing, that author always reckoning eight stadia a mile.—*Larcher.*

3 *Despatched some vessels.*]—This Necho is the same who in scripture is called Pharaoh-Necho. He made an attempt to join the Nile and the Red Sea, by drawing a canal from the one to the other; but after he had consumed an hundred and twenty thousand men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking; for having gotten some of the expertest Phenician sailors into his service, he sent them out by the Red Sea through the straits of Babelmandel, to discover the coasts of Africa, who having sailed round it came home the third year through the straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean Sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of the loadstone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before Vasquez de Gama, a Portugueze, by discovering the Cape of Good Hope in 1497, found out the same way from hence to the Indies by which these Phenicians came from thence. Since that, it hath been made the common passage thither from all these western parts of the world.—*Prideaux.*

3 *To me it seems incredible.*]—Herodotus does not doubt that the Phenicians made the circuit of Africa, and returned to Egypt by the straits of Gibraltar; but he could not believe that in the course of the voyage they had the sun on their right hand. This, however, must necessarily have been the case after the Phenicians had passed the line; and this curious circumstance, which never could have been imagined in an age when astronomy was yet in its infancy, is an evidence to the truth of a voyage, which without this might have been doubted.—*Larcher.*

4 *Red Garments.*]—This passage has been indifferently rendered Phenician garments, and red garments; the original is ἐσθῆτι Φοινικηΐῃ.—Larcher, dissenting from both these, translates it "des habits de palmier:" his reasoning upon it does not appear quite satisfactory. "It

the shore, had deserted their habitations, and fled to the mountains. But he affirmed, that his people, satisfied with taking a supply of provisions, offered them no violence. He denied the possibility of his making the circuit of Africa, as his vessel was totally unable to proceed.[5] Xerxes gave no credit to his assertions; and, as he had not fulfilled the terms imposed upon him, he was executed according to his former sentence. An eunuch belonging to this Sataspes, hearing of his master's death, fled with a great sum of money to Samos, but he was there robbed of his property by a native of the place, whose name I know, but forbear to mention.

XLIV. Of Asia, a very considerable part was first discovered by Darius. He was very desirous of ascertaining where the Indus meets the ocean, the only river but one in which crocodiles are found; to effect this, he sent, amongst other men in whom he could confide, Scylax of Caryandia.[6] Departing from Caspatyrus in the Pactyian territories, they followed the eastern course of the river, till they came to the sea; then sailing westward, they arrived, after a voyage of thirty months, at the very point from whence, as I have before related, the Egyptian prince despatched the Phenicians to circumnavigate Libya. After this voyage, Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of that ocean: whence it appears that Asia in all its parts, except those more remotely to the east, entirely resembles Libya.

XLV. It is certain that Europe has not been hitherto carefully examined; it is by no means certain whether to the east and north it is limited by the ocean. In length it unquestionably exceeds the other two divisions of the earth; but I am far from satisfied, why to one continent three different names, taken from women, have been assigned. To one of these divisions some have given as a boundary the Egyptian Nile, and the Colchian Phasis; others the Tanais, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis. The names of those who have thus distinguished the earth, or the first occasion of their different appellations, I have never been able to learn. Libya, or Africa, is by many of the Greeks said to have been so named from Libya, a woman of the country; and Asia from the wife of Prometheus. The Lydians contradict this, and affirm that Asia[7] was so called from Asias, a son of Cotys, and grandson of Manis, and not from the wife of Prometheus; to confirm this,

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seems very suspicious," says he, "that people so savage as these are described by Herodotus, should either have cloth or stuff, or, if they had, should possess the means of dying it red." But in the first place, Herodotus does not call these a savage people; and in the next, the narrative of Sataspes was intended to excite astonishment, by representing to Xerxes what to him at least seemed marvellous. That a race of uncivilized men should clothe themselves with skins, or garments made of the leaves or bark of trees, could not appear wonderful to a subject of Xerxes, to whom many barbarous nations were perfectly well known. His surprise would be much more powerfully excited, at seeing a race of men of whom they had no knowledge, habited like the members of a civilized society; add to this, that granting them to be what they are not here represented, Barbarians, they might still have in their country some natural or prepared substances, communicative of different colours. I therefore accede to the interpretation of rubra utentes veste, which is given by Valla and Gronovius, and which the word φοινικηίῃ will certainly justify.—*T.*

5 *Unable to proceed.*]—This was, according to all appearances, the east wind which impeded the progress of the vessel, which constantly blows in that sea during a certain period.—*Larcher.*—See the note of Wesseling.

6 *Scylax of Caryandia.*]—About this time, Darius, being desirous to enlarge his dominions eastward, in order to the conquering of those countries, laid a design of first making a discovery of them: for which reason, having built a fleet of ships at Caspatyrus, a city on the river Indus, and as far upon it as the borders of Scythia, he gave the command of it to Scylax, a Grecian of Caryandia, a city in Caria, and one well skilled in maritime affairs, and sent him down the river to make the best discoveries he could, of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either side; ordering him for this end to sail down the current till he should arrive at the mouth of the river: and that then passing through it into the Southern Ocean, he should shape his course westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the straits of Babelmandel and the Red Sea; and on the thirtieth month after his first setting out from Caspatyrus landed in Egypt, at the same place from whence Necho king of Egypt formerly sent out his Phenicians to sail round the coasts of Africa, which it is most likely was the port where now the town of Suez stands, at the hither end of the said Red Sea.—*Prideaux.*

There were three eminent persons of this place, and of this name: the one flourished under Darius Hystaspes, the second under Darius Nothus, the third lived in the time of Polybius. This was also the name of a celebrated river in Cappadocia.—*T.*

7 *Asia.*]—In reading the poets of antiquity, it is necessary carefully to have in mind the distinction of this division of the earth into Asia Major and Minor.—When Virgil says

> Postquam res Asiæ, Priamique evertere gentem
> Immeritam visum superis,

it is evident that he can only mean to speak of a small portion of what we now understand to be Asia; neither may it be amiss to remember, that there was a large lake of this name near mount Tmolus, which had its first syllable long.

> Longa canoros
> Dant per colla modos, sonat amnis et Asia longe
> Pulsat palus.—*T.*

they adduce the name of a tribe at Sardis, called the Asian tribe. It has certainly never been ascertained, whether Europe be surrounded by the ocean; it is a matter of equal uncertainty, whence or from whom it derives its name. We cannot willingly allow that it took its name from the Syrian Europa, though we know that, like the other two, it was formerly without any. We are well assured that Europa was an Asiatic, and that she never saw the region which the Greeks now call Europe; she only went from Phenicia to Crete, from Crete to Lycia.—I shall now quit this subject, upon which I have given the opinions generally received.

XLVI. Except Scythia, the countries of the Euxine, against which Darius undertook an expedition, are of all others the most barbarous; amongst the people who dwell within these limits, we have found no individual of superior learning and accomplishments, but Anacharsis[1] the Scythian. Even of the Scythian nation I cannot in general speak with extraordinary commendation; they have, however, one observance, which for its wisdom excels every thing I have met with. The possibility of escape is cut off from those who attack them; and if they are averse to be seen, their places of retreat can never be discovered; for they have no towns nor fortified cities, their habitations they constantly carry along with them, their bows and arrows they manage on horseback, and they support themselves not by agriculture, but by their cattle;[2] their constant abode may be said to be in their waggons.[3] How can a people so circumstanced afford the means of victory, or even of attack?

XLVII. Their particular mode of life may be imputed partly to the situation of their country, and the advantage they derive from their rivers; their lands are well watered, and well adapted for pasturage. The number of the rivers is almost equal to the channels of the Nile; the more celebrated of them, and those which are navigable to the sea, I shall enumerate; they are these—The Danube, having five mouths, the Tyres, the Hypanis, the Borysthenes, Panticapes, Hypacyris, Gerrhus, and the Tanis.

XLVIII. No river of which we have any knowledge is so vast as the Danube; it is always of the same depth, experiencing no varia-

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1 *Anacharsis.*]—Of Anacharsis the life is given at some length by Diogenes Laertius; his moral character was of such high estimation, that Cicero does not scruple to call him sobrius, continens, abstinens, et temperans. He gave rise to the proverb applicable to men of extraordinary endowments, of Anacharsis inter Scythas: he flourished in the time of Solon. The idea of his superior wisdom and desire of learning, has given rise to an excellent modern work by the Abbe Barthelemy, called the Voyage du jeune Anacharsis. With respect to what Herodotus here says concerning Anacharsis, he seemingly contradicts himself in chap. xciv. xcv. of this book, where he confesses his belief that Zamolxis, the supposed deity of the Scythians, was a man eminent for his virtue and his wisdom.

Dicenus also was a wise and learned Scythian; and one of the most beautiful and interesting of Lucian's works is named from a celebrated Scythian physician, called Toxaris.

It must be remembered, that subsequent to the Christian era, many exalted and accomplished characters were produced from the Scythians or Goths.—*T.*

2 *By their cattle.*]—"The skilful practitioners of the medical art," says Mr. Gibbon, "may determine, if they are able to determine, how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the use of animal or of vegetable food; and whether the common association of carnivorous and cruel, deserves to be considered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a salutary prejudice of humanity. Yet if it be true, that the sentiment of compassion is imperceptibly weakened by the sight and practice of domestic cruelty, we may observe that the horrid objects which are disguised by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their naked and most disgusting simplicity in the tent of a Tartarian shepherd. The ox or the sheep are slaughtered by the same hand from which they were accustomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are served with very little preparation at the table of their unfeeling murderer." Mr. Gibbon afterwards gives the reader the following curious quotation from the Emile of Rousseau.

"Il est certain que les grands mangeurs de viande sont en general cruels et feroces plus que les autres hommes. Cette observation est de tous les lieux, et de tous les tems: la barbarite Angloise est connue," &c.—I hope this reproach has long ceased to be applied to England by those who really know it, and that the dispositions of our countrymen may furnish a proof against the system, in favour of which they were thus adduced.

3 *In their waggons.*]—See the advice of Prometheus to Io, in Æschylus:—

First then, from hence
Turn to the orient sun, and pass the height
Of these uncultured mountains: thence descend
To where the wandering Scythians, train'd to bear
The distant-wounding bow, on wheels aloft
Roll on their wattled cottages.—*Potter.*

See also Gibbon's description of the habitation of more modern Scythians. "The houses of the Tartars are no more than small tents of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation for the promiscuous youth of both sexes. The palaces of the rich consist of wooden huts, of such a size that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team, perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen." The same circumstance respecting the Scythians is thus mentioned by Horace:

Campestres melius Scythæ,
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
Vivunt, et rigidi Getæ
Immetata quibus jugera liberas
Fruges et Cererem ferunt,
Nec cultura placet longior annua.—*T.*

tion from summer or from winter. It is the first river of Scythia to the east, and it is the greatest of all, for it is swelled by the influx of many others: there are five which particularly contribute to increase its size; one of these the Greeks call Pyreton, the Scythians Porata; the other four are the Tiarantus, Ararus, Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first of these rivers is of immense size; flowing towards the east it mixes with the Danube; the second, the Tiarantus, is smaller, having an inclination to the west: betwixt these, the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus, have their course, and empty themselves into the Danube. These rivers have their rise in Scythia, and swell the waters of the Danube.[5]

XLIX. The Maris also, commencing among the Agathyrsi, is emptied into the Danube, which is likewise the case with the three great rivers, Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis; these flow from the summit of mount Hæmus, and have the same termination. Into the same river are received the waters of the Athres, Noes, and Artanes, which flow through Thrace, and the country of the Thracian Crobyzi. The Cius, which, rising in Pæonia, near mount Rhodope, divides mount Hæmus, is also poured into the Danube. The Angrus comes from Illyria, and with a northward course passes over the Triballian plains, and mixes with the Brongus; the Brongus meets the Danube, which thus receives the waters of these two great rivers. The Carpis, moreover, which rises in the country beyond the Umbrici, and the Alpis, which flows towards the north, are both lost in the Danube. Commencing with the Celtæ, who, except the Cynetæ, are the most remote inhabitants in the west of Europe, this river passes directly through the centre of Europe, and by a certain inclination enters Scythia.

L. By the union of these and of many other waters, the Danube becomes the greatest of all rivers; but if one be compared with another, the preference must be given to the Nile, into which no stream nor fountain enters.[6] The reason why in the two opposite seasons of the year the Danube is uniformly the same, seems to me to be this: in the winter it is at its full natural height, or perhaps somewhat more, at which season there is, in the regions through which it passes, abundance of snow, but very little rain: but in the summer all this snow is dissolved, and emptied into the Danube, which together with frequent and heavy rains greatly augment it. But in proportion as the body of its waters is thus multiplied, are the exhalations of the summer sun. The result of this action and reaction on the Danube, is, that its waters are constantly of the same depth.

LI. Thus, of the rivers which flow through Scythia, the Danube is the first; next to this, is the Tyres, which rising in the north from an immense marsh, divides Scythia from Neuris. At the mouth of this river, those Greeks live who are known by the name of the Tyritæ.

LII. The third is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, rising from an immense lake, round which are found wild white horses, and which is properly enough called the mother of the Hypanis.[7] This river, through a space of five days' journey from its first rise, is small and its waters are sweet, but from thence to the sea, which is a journey of four days more, it becomes exceedingly bitter. This is occasioned by a small fountain, which it receives in its passage, and which is of so very bitter a quality,[8] that it infects this river, though by no means contemptible in point of size: this fountain rises in the country of the ploughing Scy-

5 *Waters of the Danube.*]—Mr. Bryant's observations on this river are too curious to be omitted.

The river Danube was properly the river of Noah, expressed Da-Nau, Da-Nauas, Da-Nauvas, Da-Naubus. Herodotus plainly calls it the river of Noah, without the prefix: but appropriates the name only to one branch, giving the name of Ister to the chief stream.

It is mentioned by Valerius Flaccus:—

Quas Tanais, flavusque Lycus, Hypanisque Noasque.

This, some would alter to Novasque, but the true reading is ascertained from other passages where it occurs; and particularly by this author, who mentions it in another place:

Hyberna qui terga Noæ, geli dumque securi
Haurit, et in tota non audit Amazona ripa.

Most writers compound it with the particle Da, and express it Da-Nau, Da-Nauvis, Da-Naubis. Stephanus Byzantinus speaks of it both by the name of Danoubis and Danousis, &c.; vol. ii. 399.

6 *No stream nor fountain enters.*]—This is far from being the fact, if credit may be given to Mr. Bruce. See vol. iv. of his travels, p. 664, 5, &c.

7 *The Hypanis.*]—There were three rivers of this name:—one in Scythia, one in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and a third in India, the largest of that region, and the limits of the conquests of Alexander the Great.—This last was sometimes called the Hypasis.—*T.*

8 *Bitter a quality.*]—This circumstance respecting the Hypanis, is thus mentioned by Ovid:

Quid non et Scythicis Hypanis a montibus ortus
Qui fuerat dulcis salibus vitiatur amaris.

It is mentioned also by Pomponius Mela, book ii, c. 1.—*T.*

thians,[1] and of the Alazones. It takes the name of the place where it springs, which in the Scythian tongue is Exampæus, corresponding in Greek to the "Sacred Ways." In the district of the Alazones, the streams of the Tyres and the Hypanis have an inclination towards each other, but they soon separate again to a considerable distance.

LIII. The fourth river, and the largest next to the Danube, is the Borysthenes.[2] In my opinion this river is more productive, not only than all the rivers of Scythia, but than every other in the world, except the Egyptian Nile. The Nile, it must be confessed, disdains all comparison; the Borysthenes nevertheless affords most agreeable and excellent pasturage, and contains great abundance of the more delicate fish. Although it flows in the midst of many turbid rivers, its waters are perfectly clear and sweet; its banks are adorned by the richest harvests, and in those places where corn is not sown, the grass grows to a surprising height; at its mouth a large mass of salt is formed of itself. It produces also a species of large fish, which is called the Antacæus; these, which have no prickly fins, the inhabitants salt: it possesses various other things which deserve our admiration. The course of the stream may be pursued as far as the country called Gerrhus, through a voyage of forty days, and it is known to flow from the north. But of the remoter places through which it passes, no one can speak with certainty; it seems probable that it runs towards the district of the Scythian husbandmen, through a pathless desert. For the space of a ten days' journey, these Scythians inhabit its banks. The sources of this river only, like those of the Nile, are to me unknown, as I believe they are to every other Greek. This river, as it approaches the sea, is joined by the Hypanis, and they have both the same termination: the neck of land betwixt these streams is called the Hippoleon promontory, in which a temple is erected to Ceres.[3] Beyond this temple as far as the Hypanis, dwell the Borysthenites.—But on this subject enough has been said.

LIV. Next to the above, is a fifth river, called the Panticapes, this also rises in the north, and from a lake. The interval betwixt this and the Borysthenes, is possessed by the Scythian husbandmen. Having passed through Hylæa, the Panticapes mixes with the Borysthenes.

LV. The sixth river is called the Hypacyris: this, rising from a lake, and passing through the midst of the Scythian Nomades, empties itself into the sea near the town of Carcinitis.[4] In its course it bounds to the right Hylæa, and what is called the course of Achilles.

LVI. The name of the seventh river is the Gerrhus; it takes its name from the place Gerrhus, near which it separates itself from the Borysthenes, and where this latter river is first known. In its passage towards the sea, it divides the Scythian Nomades from the Royal Scythians, and then mixes with the Hypacyris.

LVII. The eighth river is called the Tanais;[5] rising from one immense lake, it empties itself into another still greater, named the Mæotis, which separates the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatæ. The Tanais is increased by the waters of another river, called the Hyrgis.

LVIII. Thus the Scythians have the advantage of all these celebrated rivers. The grass which this country produces, is, of all that we know, the fullest of moisture, which evidently appears from the dissection of their cattle.

1 Herodotus distinguishes the Σκυθαι αροτηρες, from the Σκυθαι γεωργοι.—*T.*

2 *Borysthenes.*]—The emperor Hadrian had a famous horse, to which he gave this name; when the horse died, his master, not satisfied with erecting a superb monument to his memory, inscribed to him some elegant verses, which are still in being.—*T.*

3 *To Ceres.*]—Some manuscripts read to "Ceres," others to "the Mother;" by this latter expression Ceres must be understood, and not Vesta, as Gronovius would have it. In his observation, that the Scythians were acquainted neither with Ceres nor Cybele, he was perfectly right; but he ought to have remembered that the Borysthenites or Olbiopolitæ were of Greek origin, and that they had retained many of the customs and usages of their ancestors.—*Larcher.*

4 *Carcinitis.*]—Many are of opinion that this is what is now called Golfo di Moscovia.—*T.*

5 *Tanais.*]—This river is now called the Don. According to Plutarch, in his Treatise of celebrated Rivers, it derived its name from a young man called Tanis, who avowing an hatred of the female sex, was by Venus caused to feel an unnatural passion for his own mother; and he drowned himself in consequence in this river. It was also called the river of the Amazons; and, as appears from an old scholiast on Horace, was sometimes confounded with the Danube.—It divides Europe from Asia:

Ευρωπην δ' Ασιης Ταναϊς δια μεσσον οριζει.

See Dionysius.

See also Quintus Curtius.—Tanais Europam et Asiam medius interfluit. l. vi. c. 2. Of this river very frequent mention is made by ancient writers; by Horace very elegantly, in the Ode beginning with "Extremum Tanaim si biberes Dyce, &c."—*T*

LIX. We have shown that this people possess the greatest abundance; their particular laws and observances[6] are these:—Of their divinities,[7] Vesta is without competition the first, then Jupiter and Tellus, whom they believe to be the wife of Jupiter;[8] next to these are Apollo, the Cœlestial Venus, Hercules, and Mars. All the Scythians revere these as deities, but the Royal Scythians pay divine rites also to Neptune. In the Scythian tongue Vesta is called Tabiti; Jupiter, and, as I think very properly, Papæus;[9] Tellus, Apia; Apollo, Œtosyrus; the Cœlestial Venus, Artimpasa; and Neptune, Thamimasadas. Among all these deities, Mars is the only one to whom they think it proper to erect altars, shrines, and temples.

LX. Their mode of sacrifice in every place appointed for the purpose, is precisely the same; it is this: The victim is secured with a rope, by its two fore feet; the person who offers the sacrifice,[10] standing behind, throws the animal down by means of this rope; as it falls he invokes the name of the divinity to whom the sacrifice is offered; he then fastens a cord round the neck of the victim, and strangles it, by winding the cord round a stick; all this is done without fire, without libations, or without any of the ceremonies in use amongst us. When the beast is strangled, the sacrificer takes off its skin, and prepares to dress it.

LXI. As Scythia is very barren of wood, they have the following contrivance to dress the flesh of the victim: Having flayed the animal, they strip the flesh from the bones, and, if they have them at hand, they throw it into certain pots made in Scythia, and resembling the Lesbian caldrons, though somewhat larger; under these a fire is made with the bones.[11] If these pots cannot be procured, they inclose the flesh with a certain quantity of water in the paunch of the victim, and make a fire with the bones as before. The bones being very inflammable, and the paunch without difficulty made to contain the flesh separated from the bone, the ox is thus made to dress itself, which is also the case with the other victims. When the whole is ready, he who sacrifices, throws with some solemnity before him the entrails, and the more choice pieces. They sacrifice different animals, but horses in particular.

LXII. Such are the sacrifices and ceremonies observed with respect to the other deities; but to the god Mars, the particular rites which are paid are these: in every district they construct a temple to this divinity of this

6 *Observances, &c.*]—Those who would wish to be more intimately acquainted with the virtues and wisdom of the ancient Scythians, I beg leave to refer to Lucian. His Toxaris, or Dialogue on Friendship, is one of the most agreeable of all his performances. Toxaris, who is there introduced as the principal personage and speaker, was an accomplished physician, and a native of Scythia.

7 *Of their divinities.*]—It is not unworthy the attention of the English reader, that Herodotus is the first author who makes mention of the religion of the Scythians. In most writings on the subject of ancient mythology, Vesta is placed next to Juno. whose sister she was generally supposed to be: Montfaucon also remarks, that the figures which remain of Vesta, have a great resemblance to those of Juno, With respect to this goddess, the ancients were much divided in opinion; Euripides and Dionysius Halicarnassensis, agree in calling her Tellus.—Ovid seems also to have had this in his mind when he said "Stat vi terra sua, vi stando Vesta vocatur." Most of the difficulties on this subject may be solved, by supposing there were two Vestas.—*T.*

8 *Tellus, wife of Jupiter.*]—See Spenser's Fairy Queen, book i. canto 1—6.

Thus as they past,
The day with clouds was sudden overcast,
And angry Jove an hideous storm of rain
Did pour into his leman's lap so fast,
That ev'ry wight to shroud it did constrain.

Lucretius i. 251:

Pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater æther
In gremium matris terrai precipitavit.

Virgil, Georg. ii. 325:

Tum pater omnipotens fœcundis imbribus æther
Conjugis in gremium lætæ descendit.

Jortin on Spenser.

9 *Papæus.*]—or Pappæus, signifying father; as being, according to Homer, πατηρ ανδρων τε θεων τε, *the sire of gods and men.*

10 *Who offers the sacrifice.*]—Montfaucon, in his account of the gods of the Scythians, apparently gives a translation of this passage, except that he says "the sacrificing priest, after having turned aside part of his veil:" Herodotus says no such thing, nor does any writer on this subject which I have had the opportunity of consulting.—*T.*

11 *Fire is made with the bones.*]—Montfaucon remarks on this passage, that he does not see how this could be done. Resources equally extraordinary seem to be applied in the eastern countries, where there is a great scarcity of fuel. In Persia, it appears from Sir John Chardin, they burn heath; in Arabia they burn cow-dung; and according to Dr. Russel, they burn parings of fruit, and such like things. The prophet Ezekiel was ordered to bake his food with human dung. See Ezekiel, chap. iv. 12. "Thou shalt bake it with dung that cometh out of man." Voltaire, in his remarks on this passage, pretends to understand that the prophet was to eat the dung with his food.—"Comme il n'est point d'usage de manger de telles confitures sur son pain, la plupart des hommes trouvent ces commandemens indignes de la Majeste divine." The passage alluded to admits of no such inference: but it may be concluded, that the burning of bones for the purpose of fuel was not a very unusual circumstance, from another passage in Ezekiel.—See chap. xxiv. 5. "Take also the choice of the flock, and burn the bones under it, and make it boil well."—*T.*

kind; bundles of small wood are heaped together, to the length of three stadia, and quite as broad, but not so high; the top is a regular square, three of the sides are steep and broken, but the fourth is an inclined plane forming the ascent. To this place are every year brought one hundred and fifty waggons full of these bundles of wood, to repair the structure, which the severity of the climate is apt to destroy. Upon the summit of such a pile, each Scythian tribe places an ancient scymetar,[1] which is considered as the shrine of Mars, and is annually honoured by the sacrifice of sheep and horses; indeed to this deity more victims are offered than to all the other divinities. It is their custom also to sacrifice every hundredth captive,[2] but in a different manner from their other victims. Having poured libations upon their heads, they cut their throats into a vessel placed for the purpose. With this, carried to the summit of the pile, they besmear the above-mentioned scymetar. Whilst this is doing above, the following ceremony is observed below: From these human victims they cut off the right arms[3] close to the shoulder, and throw them up into the air. This ceremony being performed on each victim severally, they depart; the arms remain where they happen to fall, the bodies elsewhere.

LXIII. The above is a description of their sacrifices. Swine are never used for this purpose, nor will they suffer them to be kept in their country.

LXIV. Their military customs are these: Every Scythian drinks the blood of the first person he slays: the heads of all the enemies who fall by his hand in battle, he presents to the king: this offering entitles him to a share of the plunder, which he could not otherwise claim. Their mode of stripping the skin from the head[4] is this: they make a circular incision behind the ears, then taking hold of the head at the top, they gradually flay it, drawing it towards them. They next soften it in their hands, removing every fleshy part which may remain, by rubbing it with an ox's hide; they afterwards suspend it, thus prepared, from the bridle of their horses, when they both use it as a napkin, and are proud of it as a trophy. Whoever possesses the greater number of these is deemed the most illustrious. Some there are who sew together several of these portions of human skins, and convert them into a kind of shepherd's garment. There are others who preserve the skins of the right arms, nails and all, of such enemies as they kill, and use them as a covering for their quivers. The human skin is of all others certainly the whitest, and of a very firm texture; many Scythians will take the whole skin of a man, and having stretched it upon wood, use it as a covering to their horses.

LXV. Such are the customs of this people:

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1 *Ancient scymetar.*]—It was natural enough that the Scythians should adore with peculiar devotion the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron cimeter.—*Gibbon.*

In addition to this iron scymeter or cimeter, Lucian tells us that the Scythians worshipped Zamolxis as a god. See also Ammianus Marcellinus, xxx. 2.—Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest, sed *gladius* Barbarico ritu humi figitur nudus, eumque et Martem regionem quas circumcircant præsulem verecundius colunt.

Larcher, who quotes the above passage from Amm. Mar. tells us from Varro, that anciently at Rome the head of a spear was considered as a representation of Mars.—*T.*

2 *Hundredth captive.*]—M. Monin, who, as I have before remarked, controverts the assertion that human victims anciently were sacrificed, says, that if allowed at all, it must be confined to prisoners of war, or condemned criminals. He quotes this sentence from Herodotus, to prove that even the Scythians, tout Scythes qu'ils etoient, were contented to sacrifice the hundreth captive.

3 *Cut off the right arms.*]—We are informed in the Memoirs of the Association for promoting the Discovery of the interior parts of Africa, that the negroes drive their captives like cattle before them. And, it is added, that if any of them, exhausted by fatigue, happen to linger in their pace, one of the horsemen seizes on the oldest, and cutting off his arm, uses it as a club to drive on the rest. The authority, however, on which this is related, does not seem to deserve the highest credit.

4 *The skin from the head.*]—To cut off the heads of enemies slain in battle, seems no unnatural action amongst a race of fierce and warlike barbarians. The art of scalping the head was probably introduced to avoid the trouble and fatigue of carrying these sanguinary trophies to any considerable distance. Many incidents which are here related of the Scythians, will necessarily remind the reader of what is told of the native Americans. The following war song, from Bossu's Travels through Louisiana, places the resemblance in a striking point of view:—"I go to war to revenge the death of my brothers—I shall kill—I shall exterminate—I shall burn my enemies—I shall bring away slaves—I shall devour their hearts, dry their flesh, drink their blood—I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups of their sculls."

The quickness and dexterity with which the Indians perform the horrid operation of scalping, is too well known to require any description. This coincidence of manners is very striking, and serves greatly to corroborate the hypothesis that America was peopled originally from the northern parts of the old continent.—*T.*

this treatment, nowever, of their enemies' heads, is not universal, it is only perpetrated on those whom they most detest.—They cut off the skull below the eye-brows, and having cleansed it thoroughly, if they are poor, they merely cover it with a piece of leather; if they are rich, in addition to this they decorate the inside with gold; it is afterwards used as a drinking cup. They do the same with respect to their nearest connections, if any dissensions have arisen, and they overcome them in combat before the king. If any stranger whom they deem of consequence, happen to visit them, they make a display of these heads,[5] and relate every circumstance of the previous connection, the provocations received, and their subsequent victory: this they consider as a testimony of their valour.

LXVI. Once a year the prince or ruler of every district, mixes a goblet of wine, of which those Scythians drink[6] who have destroyed a public enemy. But of this, they who have not done such a thing are not permitted to taste; these are obliged to sit apart by themselves, which is considered as a mark of the greatest ignominy.[7] They who have killed a number of enemies, are permitted on this occasion to drink with two cups joined togteher.

LXVII. They have amongst them a great number who practise the art of divination;[8] for this purpose they use a number of willow twigs,[9] in this manner:—They bring large

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5 *Display of these heads.*]—Many instances may be adduced, from the Roman and Greek historians, of the heads of enemies vanquished in battle being carried in triumph, or exposed as trophies; examples also occur in Scripture of the same custom. Thus David carried the Philistine's head in triumph; the head of Ishbosheth was brought to David as a trophy; why did Jael *smite off* the head of Sisera, but to present it triumphantly to Barak? It is at the present day practised in the east, many examples of which occur in Niebuhr's Letters. This is too well known to require further discussion; but many readers may perhaps want to be informed, that it was also usual to cut off the hands and the feet of vanquished enemies.—The hands and feet of the sons of Rimmon, who slew Ishbosheth, were cut off and hanged up over the pool of Hebron.—See also Lady Wortley Montague, vol. ii. p. 19.

"If a minister displeases the people, in three hours' time he is dragged even from his master's arms: they cut off his hands, head, and feet, and throw them before the palace gate with all the respect in the world; while the sultan, to whom they all profess unlimited adoration, sits trembling in his apartment."—*T.*

6 *Those Scythians drink.*]—These, with many other customs of the ancient Scythians, will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader various circumstances of the Gothic mythology, as represented in the poems imputed to Ossian, and as may be seen described at length in Mallet's Introduction to the History of Denmark. To sit in the hall of Odin, and quaff the flowing goblets of mead and ale, was an idea ever present to the minds of the Gothic warriors; and the hope of attaining this glorious distinction, inspired a contempt of danger, and the most daring and invincible courage. See Gray's Descent of Odin:—

O. Tell me what is done below;
For whom yon glittering board is spread,
Dress'd for whom yon golden bed.
Pr. Mantling in the goblet see
The pure beverage of the bee;
O'er it hangs the shield of gold,
'Tis the drink of Balder bold.

See also in the Edda, the Ode of king Regner Lodbrog.

"Odin sends his goddesses to conduct me to his palace.—I am going to sit in the place of honour, to drink ale with the gods.—The hours of my life are passed away, I die in rapture." Some of my readers may probably thank me for giving them a specimen of the original stanzas, as preserved by Olaus Wormius.

25.

Pugnavimus ensibus:
Hoc ridere me facit semper,
Quod Balderi patris scamna
Parata scio in aula.
Bibemus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum.
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem
Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio desperabundus
Verbis ad Odini aulam.

29.

Fert animus finire;
Invitant me Dysæ,
Quas ex Odini aula
Odinus mihi misit.
Lætus cerevisiam cum Asis
In summa sede bibam;
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ;
Ridens moriar.—*T.*

7 *Greatest ignominy.*]—Ut quisque plures interemit, ita apud eos habetur eximius: cæterum expertem esse cædis, inter opprobria vel maximum.—*Pomp. Mela.* l. ii. c. 1.

8 *Divination.*]—The history of divination is almost coeval with the history of mankind. It was first reduced to a system in Egypt, the Greeks borrowed it of the Egyptians, the Etruscans were taught it by the Greeks, and by the Etruscans it was communicated to the Romans. The Roman religion (see Middleton's Life of Cicero) was divided into two branches: the observation of the auspices, and the worship of the gods. The priests of all denominations were of the first nobility of Rome; and the augurs especially were men of consular rank, who had passed through all the dignities of the republic. This constitution of a religion, among a people naturally superstitious, necessarily threw the chief influence in affairs into the hands of the senate, and the better sort, who, by this advantage, frequently checked the violences of the populace, and the factious attempts of the tribunes. It is perpetually applauded by Cicero as the main bulwark of the republic, though considered all the while by men of sense as merely political, and of human invention.

9 *Willow twigs.*]—Ammianus Marcellinus, in speaking of the Huns, says, "Futura miro præsagiunt modo; nam rectiores virgas vimineas colligentes, easque cum incantamentis quibusdam secretis præstituto tempore

bundles of these together, and having united them, dispose of them one by one on the ground, each bundle at a distance from the rest. This done, they pretend to foretell the future, during which they take up the bundles separately, and tie them again together.—This mode of divination is hereditary amongst them. The enaries, or "effeminate men," affirm that the art of divination[1] was taught them by the goddess Venus. They take also the leaves of the lime-tree, which dividing into three parts they twine round their fingers; they then unbind it, and exercise the art to which they pretend.

LXVIII. Whenever the Scythian monarch happens to be indisposed, he sends for three of the most celebrated of these diviners. When the Scythians desire to use the most solemn kind of oath, they swear by the king's throne;[2] these diviners therefore make no scruple of affirming, that such or such individual, pointing him out by name, has forsworn himself by the royal throne.—Immediately the person thus marked out is seized and informed that, by their art of divination, which is infallible, he has been indirectly the occasion of the king's illness, by having violated the oath which we have mentioned. If the accused not only denies the charge, but expresses himself enraged at the imputation, the king convokes a double number of diviners, who, examining into the mode which has been pursued in criminating him, decide accordingly. If he be found guilty, he immediately loses his head, and the three diviners who were first consulted, share his effects. If these last diviners acquit the accused, others are at hand, of whom if the greater number absolve him, the first diviners are put to death.

LXIX. The manner in which they are executed is this:—Some oxen are yoked to a waggon filled with faggots, in the midst of which, with their feet tied, their hands fastened behind, and their mouths gagged, these diviners are placed; fire is then set to the wood, and the oxen are terrified to make them run violently away. It sometimes happens that the oxen themselves are burned; and often when the waggon is consumed, the oxen escape severely scorched. This is the method by which, for the above-mentioned or similar offences, they put to death those whom they call false diviners.

LXX. Of those whom the king condemns to death, he constantly destroys the male children, leaving the females unmolested. Whenever the Scythians form alliances,[3] they observe these ceremonies:—A large earthen vessel is filled with wine, into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties, obtained by a slight incision of a knife or sword; in this cup they dip a scymetar, some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After this, they pronounce some solemn prayers, and the parties who form the contract, with such of their friends as are of superior dignity, finally drink the contents of the vessel.

LXXI. The sepulchres of the kings are in the district of the Gerrhi. As soon as the king dies,[4] a large trench of a quadrangular form is sunk, near where the Borysthenes begins to be navigable. When this has been done, the body is inclosed in wax, after it has been thoroughly cleansed, and the entrails taken out; before it is sown up, they fill it with anise, parsley-seed, bruised cypress, and various aromatics. They then place it on a carriage, and remove it to another district, where the persons who receive it, like the royal Scythians, cut off a part of their ear, shave their heads in a circular form,[5]

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discernentes, aperte quid portendatur norunt."—Larcher, in quoting the above passage, remarks, that he has somewhere in the country seen some traces of this superstition practised. There is an animated fragment of Ennius remaining, in which he expresses a most cordial contempt for all soothsayers: as it is not perhaps familiar to every reader, I may be excused inserting it.

> Non vicinos aruspices, non de circo astrologos,
> Non Isiacos conjectores, non interpretes somnium,
> Non enim sunt ii aut sapientia aut arte divina,
> Sed superstitiosi vates, impudentesque harioli,
> Aut inertes, aut insani, aut quibus egestas imperat.

A similar contempt for diviners, is expressed by Jocasta, in the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles:

> Εμου 'πακουσον, και μαθ' ουνεκ' εστι σοι
> Βροτειον ουδεν μαντικης εχον τεχνης.

> Let not fear perplex thee, Œdipus;
> Mortals know nothing of futurity,
> And these prophetic seers are all impostors.—*T.*

1 *Art of divination.*]—To enumerate the various modes of divination which have at different times been practised by the ignorant and superstitious, would be no easy task. We read of hydromancy, libanomancy, onyctomancy, divinations by earth, fire, and air: we read in Ezekiel of divination by a rod or wand. To some such mode of divination, in all probability, the following passage from Hosea alludes: "My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them."

2 *King's throne.*]—"The Turks at this day," says Larcher, "swear by the Ottoman Porte." Reiske has the same remark: "Adhuc obtinet apud Turcas, per Portam Ottomanicam, hoc est domicilium sui principis, jurare."—*T.*

3 *Form alliances.*]—See book i. c. 74.

4 *King dies.*]—A minute and interesting description of the funeral ceremonies of various ancient nations, may be found in Montfaucon, vol. v. 126, &c.

5 *Shave their heads in a circular form.*]—The Lycians, about Phaselis, plaited and folded their hair into a circu-

take a round piece of flesh from their arm, wound their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. The body is again carried to another province of the deceased king's realms, the inhabitants of the former district accompanying the procession. After thus transporting the dead body through the different provinces of the kingdom, they come at last to the Gerrhi, who live in the remotest parts of Scythia, and amongst whom the sepuchres are. Here the corpse is placed upon a couch, round which at different distances daggers are fixed; upon the whole are disposed pieces of wood, covered with branches of willow. In some other part of this trench, they bury one of the deceased's concubines, whom they previously strangle, together with the baker, the cook, the groom, his most confidential servant, his horses, the choicest of his effects, and, finally, some golden goblets, for they possess neither silver nor brass: to conclude all, they fill up the trench with earth, and seem to be emulous in their endeavours to raise as high a mound as possible.

LXXII. The ceremony does not here terminate.—They select such of the deceased king's attendants, in the following year, as have been most about his person; these are all native Scythians, for in Scythia there are no purchased slaves, the king selecting such to attend him as he thinks proper: fifty of these they strangle,[6] with an equal number of his best horses. Of all these they open and cleanse the bodies, which having filled with straw, they sew up again: then upon two pieces of wood they place a third, of a semicircular form, with its concave side uppermost, a second is disposed in like manner, then a third, and so on, till a sufficient number have been erected. Upon these semicircular pieces of wood they place the horses, after passing large poles through them, from the feet to the neck. One part of the structure, formed as we have described, supports the shoulders of the horse, the other his hinder parts, whilst the legs are left to project upwards. The horses are then bridled, and the reins fastened to the legs; upon each of these they afterwards place one of the youths who have been strangled, in the following manner: a pole is passed through each, quite to the neck, through the back, the extremity of which is fixed to the piece of timber with which the horse has been spitted; having done this with each, they so leave them.

LXXIII. The above are the ceremonies observed in the interment of their kings: as to the people in general, when any one dies, the neighbours place the body on a carriage, and carry it about to the different acquaintance of the deceased; these prepare some entertainment for those who accompany the corpse, placing before the body the same as before the rest. Private persons after being thus carried about for the space of forty days, are then buried.[7] They who have been engaged in the performance of these rites, afterwards use the following mode of purgation:—After thoroughly washing the head, and afterwards drying it, they do thus with regard to the body: they place in the

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lar form, from whence they were called Cabaleis, and the hair or lock so plaited was termed Sisse. Hence also they were named (τροχοκουραδες) round-heads. The poet Chœrilus, in Josephus, hints that this custom had a slovenly and dirty aspect, and for this reason might, in later ages, induce the magistrates of Rhodes to enact a law, prohibiting the Rhodians to cut their hair. But they were so attached to this ancient practice, that neither magistrates nor people regarded the prohibition.

6 *They strangle.*]—Voltaire supposes that they impaled alive the favourite officers of the khan of the Scythians, around the dead body; whereas Herodotus expressly says that they strangled them first.—*Larcher.*

Whoever has occasion minutely to examine any of the more ancient authors, will frequently feel his contempt excited, or his indignation provoked, from finding a multitude of passages ignorantly misunderstood, or wilfully perverted. This remark is in a particular manner applicable to M. Voltaire, in whose work false and partial quotations, with ignorant misconceptions of the ancients, obviously abound. The learned Pauw cannot in this respect be entirely exculpated; and I have a passage now before me, in which the fault I would reprobate is eminently conspicuous.—Speaking of the Chinese laws, he says, "they punish the relations of a criminal convicted of a capital offence with death, excepting the females *whom they sell as slaves*, following in this respect the maxim of the Scythians, recorded by Herodotus." On the contrary, our historian says, chap. 70, that the females are not molested. A similar remark, as it respects M. Pauw, is somewhere made by Larcher.—*T.*

7 *Are then buried.*]—The Scythians did not all of them observe the same customs with respect to their funerals: there were some who suspended the dead bodies from a tree, and in that state left them to putrefy. "Of what consequence," says Plutarch, "is it to Theodorus, whether he rots in the earth, or upon it:—Such with the Scythians is the most honourable funeral."

Silius Italicus mentions also this custom:

At gente in Scythica suffixa cadavera truncis
Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia tabo.

It is not perhaps without its use to observe, that barbarous nations have customs barbarous like themselves, and that these customs much resemble each other, in nations which have no communication. Captain Cook relates, that in Otaheite they leave dead bodies to putrefy on the surface of the ground, till the flesh is entirely wasted, they then bury the bones.—*Larcher.* See *Hawkesworth's Voyages.*

ground three stakes inclining towards each other, round these they bind fleeces of wool as thickly as possible, and finally, into the space betwixt the stakes, they throw red-hot stones.

LXXIV. They have amongst them a species of hemp resembling flax, except that it is both thicker and larger; it is indeed superior to flax, whether it is cultivated or grows spontaneously. Of this the Thracians[1] make themselves garments, which so nearly resemble those of flax, as to require a skilful eye to distinguish them: they who had never seen this hemp, would conclude these vests to be made of flax.

LXXV. The Scythians take the seed of this hemp, and placing it beneath the woollen fleeces which we have before described, they throw it upon the red-hot stones, when immediately a perfumed vapour[2] ascends stronger than from any Grecian stove. This, to the Scythians, is in the place of a bath, and it excites from them cries of exultation. It is to be observed that they never bathe themselves: the Scythian women bruise under a stone some wood of the cypress, cedar, and frankincense: upon this they pour a quantity of water, till it becomes of a certain consistency, with which they anoint the body[3] and the face; this at the time imparts an agreeable odour, and when removed on the following day, gives the skin a soft and beautiful appearance.

LXXXVI. The Scythians have not only a great abhorrence of all foreign customs, but each province seems unalterably tenacious of its own. Those of the Greeks they particularly avoid, as appears both from Anacharsis and Scyles. Of Anacharsis it is remarkable, that having personally visited a large part of the habitable world, and acquired great wisdom, he at length returned to Scythia. In his passage over the Hellespont, he touched at Cyzicus,[4] at the very time when the inhabitants were celebrating a solemn and magnificent festival to the mother of the gods. He made a vow, that if he should return safe and without injury to his country, he would institute, in honour of this deity, the same rites he had seen performed at Cyzicus, together with the solemnities observed on the eve of her festival.[5] Arriving therefore in Scythia, in the district of Hylæa, near the Course of Achilles, a place abounding with trees, he performed all the particulars of

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1 *Of this the Thracians.*]—Hesychius says that the Thracian women make themselves garments of hemp; consult him at the word Καννaβις—"Hemp is a plant which has some resemblance to flax, and of which the Thracian women make themselves vests."—*T.*

2 *A perfumed vapour.*]—As the story of the magic powers imputed to Medea seem in this place particularly applicable, I translate, for the benefit of the reader, what Palæphatus says upon the subject.

Concerning Medea, who was said, by the process of boiling, to make old men young again, the matter was this: she first of all discovered a flower which could make the colour of the hair black or white; such therefore as wished to have black hair rather than white, by her means obtained their wish. Having also invented baths, she nourished with warm vapours those who wished it, but not in public, that the professors of the medical art might not know her secret. The name of this application was περιψησις, or "the boiling." When therefore by these fomentations men became more active, and improved in health, and her apparatus, namely the caldron, wood, and fire, was discovered, it was supposed that her patients were in reality boiled. Pelias, an old and infirm man, using this operation, died in the process.—*T.*

3 *Anoint the body.*]—When we read in this place of the custom of anointing the body amongst an uncivilized race, in a cold climate, and afterwards find that in warmer regions it became an indispensable article of luxury and elegance with the politest nations, we pause to admire the caprice and versatility of the human mind. The motive of the Scythians was at first perhaps only to obtain agility of body, without any views to cleanliness, or thoughts of sensuality. In hot climates, fragrant oils were probably first used to disperse those fœtid smells which heat has a tendency to generate: precious ointments therefore soon became essential to the enjoyment of life; and that they really were so, may be easily made appear from all the best writers of antiquity. See Anacreon, Ode xv.

Εμοι μελει μυροισι
Καταβρεχειν υπηνην
Εμοι μελει ῥοδοισι
Καταστεφειν καρηνα.

Let my hair with unguents flow,
With rosy garlands crown my brow.

See also Horace:

————fundo capacibus
Unguenta de conchis.

The same fact also appears from the sacred scriptures; see the threat of the prophet Micah: "Thou shalt tread the olive, but thou shalt not anoint thee with oil."—These instances are only adduced to prove that fragrant oils were used in private life for the purpose of elegant luxury; how they were applied in athletic exercises, and always before the bath, is sufficiently notorious.—*T.*

4 *Cyzicus.*]—An account of the ruins of this place may be found in Pococke. It now produces a quantity of rich wine in great repute at Constantinople.

This city was once possessed of considerable territory, and was governed by its own laws. There was here a temple built to Dindymene by the Argonauts. This must not be confounded with the Cyzicus, a city of Mysia, on the Propontis, built by the Milesians.—*T.*

5 *Eve of her festival.*]—These festivals probably commenced early on the evening before the day appointed for their celebration; and it seems probable that they passed the night in singing hymns in honour of the god or goddess to whom the feast was instituted. See the Pervigilium Veneris.—*Larcher.*

The Pervigilia were observed principally in honour of Ceres and of Venus, and, as appears from Aulus Gellius, and other writers, were converted to the purposes of excess and debauchery.—*T.*

the above-mentioned ceremonies, having a number of small statues fastened about him,[6] with a cymbal in his hand. In this situation he was observed by one of the natives, who gave intelligence of what he had seen to Saulius, the Scythian king. The king went instantly to the place, and seeing Anacharsis so employed, killed him with an arrow.—If any one now make inquiries concerning this Anacharsis, the Scythians disclaim all knowledge of him, merely because he visited Greece, and had learned some foreign customs; but as I have been informed by Timnes, the tutor of Spargapithes, Anacharsis was the uncle of Ianthyrsus, a Scythian king, and that he was the son of Gnurus, grandson of Lycus, and great-grandson of Spargapithes. If therefore this genealogy be true, it appears that Anacharsis was killed by his own brother; for Saulus, who killed Anacharsis, was the father of Idanthyrsus.

LXXVII. It is proper to acknowledge, that from the Peloponnesians I have received a very different account: they affirm that Anacharsis was sent by the Scythian monarch to Greece, for the express purpose of improving himself in science; and they add, that at his return he informed his employer, that all the people of Greece were occupied in scientific pursuits, except the Lacedæmonians; but they alone endeavoured to perfect themselves in discreet and wise conversation. This, however, is a tale of Grecian invention; I am convinced that Anacharsis was killed in the manner which has been described, and that he owed his destruction to the practice of foreign customs and Grecian manners.

LXXVIII. Not many years afterwards, Scyles, the son of Aripithes, experienced a similar fortune. Aripithes, king of Scythia, amongst many other children, had this son Scyles by a woman of Istria, who taught him the language and sciences of Greece. It happened that Aripithes was treasonably put to death by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi. He was succeeded in his dominions by this Scyles, who married one of his father's wives, whose name was Opæa. Opæa was a native of Scythia, and had a son named Oricus by her former husband. When Scyles ascended the Scythian throne, he was exceedingly averse to the manners of his country, and very partial to those of Greece, to which he had been accustomed from his childhood. As often therefore as he conducted the Scythian forces to the city of the Borysthenites, who affirm that they are descended from the Milesians, he left his army before the town, and entering into the place, secured the gates. He then threw aside his Scythian dress, and assumed the habit of Greece. In this, without guards or attendants, it was his custom to parade through the public square, having the caution to place guards at the gates, that no one of his countrymen might discover him. He not only thus showed his partiality to the customs of Greece, but he also sacrificed to the gods in the Grecian manner. After continuing in the city for the space of a month, and sometimes for more, he would resume his Scythian dress and depart. This he frequently repeated, having built a palace in this town, and married an inhabitant of the place.

LXXXI. It seemed however ordained[7] that his end should be unfortunate, which accordingly happened. It was his desire to be initiated into the mysteries of Bacchus; and he was already about to take some sacred utensils in his hands, when the following prodigy appeared to him. I have before mentioned the palace which he had in the city of the Borysthenites; it was a very large and magnificent structure, and the front of it was decorated with sphinxes and griffins of white marble; the lightning[8] of heaven descended upon it, and it

6 *Statues fastened about him.*]—These particularities are related at length in Apollonius Rhodius, book i. 1139.—This circumstance of the small figures tied together, is totally omitted by Mr. Fawkes in his version, who satisfies himself by saying,

The Phrygians still their goddess' favour win
By the revolving wheel and timbrel's din.

The truest idea perhaps of the rites of Cybele, may be obtained from a careful perusal of the Atys of Catullus, one of the most precious remains of antiquity, and perhaps the only perfect specimen of the old dithyrambic verse.—*T.*

7 *It seemed however ordained.*]—This idea, which occurs repeatedly in the more ancient writers, is most beautifully expressed in the Persæ of Æschylus; which I give the reader in the animated version of Potter.

For when misfortune's fraudful hand
Prepares to pour the vengeance of the sky,
What mortal shall her force withstand,
What rapid speed th' impending fury fly?
Gentle at first, with flattering smiles,
She spreads her soft enchanting wiles;
So to her toils allures her destined prey,
Whence man ne'er breaks unhurt away.—*T.*

8 *The lightning.*]—The ancients believed that lightning never fell but by the immediate interposition of the gods; and whatever thing or place was struck by it, was ever after deemed sacred, and supposed to have been consecrated by the deity to himself. There were at Rome, as we learn from Cicero de Divinatione, certain

was totally consumed. Scyles nevertheless persevered in what he had undertaken. The Scythians reproach the Greeks on account of their Bacchanalian festivals, and assert it to be contrary to reason to suppose that any deity should prompt men to acts of madness. When the initiation of Scyles was completed, one of the Borysthenites discovered to the Scythians what he had done.—"You Scythians," says he, "censure us on account of our Bacchanalian rites, when we yield to the impulse of the deity. This same deity has taken possession of your sovereign; he is now obedient in his service, and under the influence of his power. If ye disbelieve my words, you have only to follow me, and have ocular proof that what I say is true." The principal Scythians accordingly followed him, and by a secret avenue were by him conducted to the citadel. When they beheld Scyles approach with his thiasus, and in every other respect acting the Bacchanal,[1] they deemed the matter of most calamitous importance, and returning, informed the army of all they had seen.

LXXX. As soon as Scyles returned, an insurrection was excited against him; and his brother Octomasades, whose mother was the daughter of Tereus, was promoted to the throne. Scyles having learned the particulars and the motives of this revolt, fled into Thrace: against which place, as soon as he was informed of this event, Octomasades advanced with an army. The Thracians met him at the Ister; when they were upon the point of engaging, Sitalces sent a herald to Octomasades, with this message; "A contest betwixt us would be absurd, for you are the son of my sister. My brother is in your power; if you will deliver him to me, I will give up Scyles to you, thus we shall mutually avoid all danger." As the brother of Sitalces had taken refuge with Octomasades, the above overtures effected a peace. The Scythian king surrendered up his uncle, and received the person of his brother. Sitalces immediately withdrew his army, taking with him his brother; but on that very day Octomasades deprived Scyles of his head. Thus tenacious are the Scythians of their national customs, and such is the fate of those who endeavour to introduce foreign ceremonies amongst them.

LXXXI. On the populousness of Scythia I am not able to speak with decision; they have been represented to me by some as a numerous people, whilst others have informed me, that of real Scythians there are but few. I shall relate however what has fallen within my own observation. Betwixt the Borysthenes and the Hypanis there is a place called Exampæus: to this I have before made some allusion, when speaking of a fountain which it contained, whose waters were so exceedingly bitter as to render the Hypanis, into which it flows, perfectly impalatable. In this place is a vessel of brass, six times larger than that which is to be seen in the entrance of Pontus, consecrated there by Pausanias[2] the son of Cleombrotus. For the benefit of those who may not have seen it, I shall here describe it. This vessel, which is in Scythia, is of the thickness of six digits, and capable of containing six hundred amphoræ. The natives say that it was made of the points of arrows, for that Ariantas,[3] one of their kings, being anxious to ascertain the number of the Scythians, commanded each of his subjects, on pain of death, to bring him the point

books called "Libri Fulgurales," expressly treating on this subject. In Ammianus Marcellinus this expression occurs, "contacta loca nec intueri nec calcari debere pronuntiant libri fulgurales." The Greeks placed an urn over the place where the lightning fell: the Romans had a similar observance.

1 *Bacchanal.*]—Upon the subject of the rites of Bacchus a whole volume has been written in verse by Nonnus; and it is not a little remarkable, that to the same pen we are indebted for a metrical paraphrase of St. John's Gospel, which is clear and useful as a commentary, but has little poetical merit. The author is supposed to have lived in the beginning of the fifth century.

2 *Consecrated there by Pausanias.*]—Nimphis, of Heraclea relates, in the sixteenth book of his history of his country, that Pausanias, who vanquished Mardonius at Platea, in violation of the laws of Sparta, and yielding to his pride, consecrated, whilst he was near Byzantium a goblet of brass to those gods whose statues may be seen at the mouth of the Euxine, which goblet may still be seen. Vanity and insolence had made him so far forget himself, that he presumed to specify in the inscription, that it was he himself who had consecrated it: "Pausanias of Lacedæmon, son of Cleombrotus, and of the ancient race of Hercules, general of Greece, has consecrated this goblet to Neptune, as a monument of his valour."—*Athenæus.*

What would have been the indignation of this or any historian of that period, if he could have foreseen the base and servile inscriptions dedicated in aftertimes, in almost all parts of the habitable world, to the Cæsars and their vile descendants? Many of these have been preserved, and are an outrage against all decency.—*T.*

3 *Ariantas.*]—I have now a remarkable instance before me, how dangerous it is to take upon trust what many learned men put down upon the authority of ancient writers. Hoffman, whose Lexicon is a prodigy of learning and of industry, speaking of this Ariantas, says, "that he made each of his subjects bring him *every year* the point of an arrow." For the truth of this he refers the reader to Herodotus, and the passage before us. Herodotus says no such thing.—*T.*

of an arrow. By these means, so prodigious a quantity were collected, that this vessel was composed from them. It was left by the prince as a monument of the fact, and by him consecrated at Exampæus. This is what I have heard of the populousness of Scythia.

LXXXII. This country has nothing remarkable except its rivers, which are equally large and numerous. If besides these and its vast and extensive plains, it possesses any thing worthy of admiration, it is an impression which they show of the foot of Hercules.[4] This is upon a rock, two cubits in size, but resembling the footstep of a man: it is near the river Tyras.

LXXXIII. I shall now return to the subject from which I originally digressed.—Darius, preparing to make an expedition against Scythia, despatched emissaries different ways, commanding some of his dependants to raise a supply of infantry, others to prepare a fleet, and others to throw a bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus. Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, endeavoured to persuade the prince from his purpose, urging with great wisdom the indigence of Scythia; nor did he desist till he found all his arguments ineffectual. Darius, having completed his preparations, advanced from Susa with his army.

LXXXIV. Upon this occasion a Persian, whose name was Œbazus, and who had three sons in the army, asked permission of the king to detain one of them. The king replied, as to a friend, that the petition was very modest, "and that he would leave him all the three." Œbazus was greatly delighted, and considered his three sons as exempted from the service: but the king commanded his guards to put the three young men to death; and thus were the three sons of Œbazus left, deprived of life.

LXXXV. Darius marched from Susa to where the bridge had been thrown over the Bosphorus at Chalcedon. Here he embarked and set sail for the Cyanean islands, which, if the Greeks may be believed, formerly floated.[5] Here, sitting in the temple,[6] he cast his eyes over the Euxine, which of all seas most deserves admiration. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred stadia; its breadth, where it is greatest, is three thousand two hundred. The breadth of the entrance is four stadia; the length of the neck, which is called the Bosphorus, where the bridge had been erected, is about one hundred and twenty stadia. The Bosphorus is connected with the Propontis,[7] which flowing into the Hellespont,[8] is five hundred stadia in breadth, and four hundred in length. The Hellespont itself, in its narrowest part, where it enters the Ægean sea, is forty stadia long, and seven wide.

4 *Foot of Hercules.*]—The length of the foot of Hercules was ascertained by that of the stadium at Olympia, which was said to have been measured by him to the length of 600 of his own feet: hence Pythagoras estimated the size of Hercules by the rule of proportion; and hence too the proverb, *ex pede Herculem*, a more modern substitution for the ancient one of εξ ονυχων λεοντα.,—See Aul. Gell. l. i. and Erasmus' Adagia, in which the proverb of *ex pede Herculem* has no place.—*T.*

5 *Formerly floated.*]—The Cyanean rocks were at so little distance one from the other, that viewed remotely they appeared to touch. This optic illusion probably gave place to the fable, and the fable gained credit from the dangers encountered on this sea.—*Larcher.*

See a description of these rocks in Apollonius Rhodius: I give it from the version of Fawkes.

When hence your destined voyage you pursue,
Two rocks will rise, tremendous to the view,
Just in the entrance of the watery waste
Which never mortal yet in safety pass'd.
Not firmly fix'd, for oft, with hideous shock,
Adverse they meet, and rock encounters rock.
The boiling billows dash their airy brow,
Loud thundering round the ragged shore below.

The circumstance of their floating is also mentioned by Valerius Flaccus;

Errantesque per altum
Cyaneas——————

6 *In the temple.*]—Jupiter was invoked in this temple, under the name of Urius, because this deity was supposed favourable to navigation, ουρος signifying a favourable wind. And never could there be more occasion for his assistance than in a sea remarkably tempestuous.—*Larcher.*

7 *Propontis.*]—Between the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, the shores of Europe and Asia, receding on either side, inclose the sea of Marmora, which was known to the ancients by the denomination of Propontis. The navigation from the issue of the Bosphorus to the entrance of the Hellespont, is about one hundred and twenty miles. Those who steer their westward course through the middle of the Propontis may at once descry the high lands of Thrace and Bithynia, and never lose sight of the lofty summit of mount Olympus, covered with eternal snows. They leave on the left a deep gulf, at the bottom of which Nicomedia was seated, the imperial residence of Diocletian; and they pass the small islands of Cyzicus and Proconnesus, before they cast anchor at Gallipoli, where the sea which separates Asia from Europe is again contracted into a narrow channel.—*Gibbon.*

8 *Hellespont.*]—The geographers, who, with the most skilful accuracy, have surveyed the form and extent of the Hellespont, assign about sixty miles for the winding course, and about three miles for the ordinary breadth of these celebrated straits. But the narrowest part of the channel is found to the northward of the old Turkish castles, between the cities of Cestus and Abydos. It was here that the adventurous Leander braved the passage of the flood for the possession of his mistress.—It was here likewise, in a place where the distance between the opposite banks cannot exceed five hundred paces, that Xerxes composed a stupendous bridge of boats for the purpose of transporting into Europe a hundred and seventy myriads of Barbarians. A sea contracted within such narrow limits may seem but ill to deserve the epithet of *broad*, which Homer as well as Orpheus has frequently bestowed on the Hellespont.—*Gibbon.*

LXXXVI. The exact mensuration of these seas is thus determined: in a long day[1] a ship will sail the space of seventy thousand orgyiæ, and sixty thousand by night. From the entrance of the Euxine to Phasis, which is the extreme length of this sea, is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, which is equal to eleven hundred and ten thousand orgyiæ or eleven thousand one hundred stadia. The broadest part of this sea, which is from Sindica[2] to Themiscyra, on the river Thermodon, is a voyage of three days and two nights, which is equivalent to three thousand three hundred stadia, or three hundred and thirty thousand orgyiæ. The Pontus, the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, were thus severally measured by me; and circumstanced as I have already described. The Palus Mæotis flows into the Euxine, which in extent almost equals it, and which is justly called the mother of the Euxine.

LXXXVII. When Darius had taken a survey of the Euxine, he sailed back again to the bridge constructed by Mandrocles the Samian. He then examined the Bosphorus, near which[3] he ordered two columns of white marble to be erected; upon one were inscribed in Assyrian, on the other in Greek characters, the names of the different nations which followed him. In this expedition he was accompanied by all the nations which acknowledged his authority, amounting, cavalry included, to seventy thousand men independent of his fleet, which consisted of six hundred ships. These columns the Byzantines afterwards removed to their city, and placed before the altar of the Orthosian Diana,[4] excepting only one stone, which they deposited in their city before the temple of Bacchus, and which was covered with Assyrian characters. That part of the Bosphorus where Darius ordered the bridge to be erected, is, as I conjecture, nearly at the point of middle distance between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the Euxine.

LXXXVIII. With this bridge Darius was so much delighted, that he made many valuable presents[5] to Mandrocles the Samian who constructed it; with the produce of these the artist caused a representation to be made of the Bosphorus, with the bridge thrown over it, and the king seated on a throne, reviewing his troops as they passed. This he afterwards consecrated in the temple of Juno, with this inscription;

Thus was the fishy Bosphorus inclosed,
When Samian Mandrocles his bridge imposed:
Who there, obedient to Darius' will,
Approved his country's fame, and private skill.

LXXXIX. Darius, having rewarded the artist, passed over into Europe; he had previously ordered the Ionians to pass over the Euxine to the Ister, where having erected a bridge, they were to wait his arrival. To assist this expedition, the Ionians and Æolians, with the inhabitants of the Hellespont, had assembled a fleet: accordingly, having passed the Cyanean islands, they sailed directly to the Ister; and arriving after a passage of two days from the sea, at that part of the river where it begins to branch off, they constructed a bridge. Darius crossed the Bosphorus, and marched through Thrace; and arriving at the sources of the river Tearus, he encamped for the space of three days.

XC. The people who inhabit its banks, affirm the waters of the Tearus to be an excellent remedy for various diseases, and particularly for ulcers, both in men and horses. Its sources are thirty-eight in number, issuing from the same rock, part of which are cold, and part warm; they are at an equal distance from Heræum, a city near Perinthus,[6] and from Apollonia on the

1 *In a long day.*]—That is, a ship in a long day would sail eighty miles by day, and seventy miles by night. See Wesseling's notes on this passage.

2 *Sindica.*]—The river Indus was often called the Sindus. There were people of this name and family in Thrace. Some would alter it to Sindicon, but both terms are of the same purport. Herodotus speaks of a regio Sindica upon the Pontus Euxinus, opposite to the river Thermodon. This some would alter to Sindica, but both terms are of the same amount. The Ind or Indus of the east is at this day called the Sind; and was called so in the time of Pliny.—*Bryant.*

3 *Near which.*]—The new castles of Europe and Asia are constructed on either continent upon the foundation of two celebrated temples of Serapis, and of Jupiter Urius. The old castles, a work of the Greek emperors, command the narrowest part of the channel, in a place where the opposite banks advance within five hundred paces of each other. These fortresses were restored and strengthened by Mahomet the Second, when he meditated the siege of Constantinople: but the Turkish conqueror was most probably ignorant that near two thousand years before his reign, Darius had chosen the same situation to connect the two continents by a bridge of boats.—*Gibbon.*

4 *Orthosian Diana.*]—We are told by Plutarch, that in honour of the Orthosian Diana, the young men of Lacedæmon permitted themselves to be flagellated at the altar with the extremest severity, without uttering the smallest complaint.

5 *Valuable presents.*]—Gronovius retains the reading of παισι δεκα which is very absurd in itself, and ill agrees with the context: the true reading is κατα δεκα, that is, ten of each article presented.—See Casaubon on Athenæus, and others.—*T.*

6 *Perinthus.*]—This place was anciently known by the

Euxine, being a two days' journey from both. The Tearus flows into the Contadesdus, the Contadesdus into the Agrianis, the Agrianis into the Hebrus, the Hebrus into the sea, near the city Ænus.

XCI. Darius arriving at the Tearus, there fixed his camp: he was so delighted with this river, that he caused a column to be erected on the spot, with this inscription: "The sources of the Tearus afford the best and clearest waters in the world:—In prosecuting an expedition against Scythia, Darius son of Hystaspes, the best and most amiable of men, sovereign of Persia, and of all the continent, arrived here with his forces."

XCII. Leaving this place, Darius advanced towards another river, called Artiscus, which flows through the country of the Odrysians,[7] On his arrival here, he fixed upon one certain spot, on which he commanded every one of his soldiers to throw a stone as he passed: this was accordingly done, and Darius, having thus raised an immense pile of stones, proceeded on his march.

XCIII. Before he arrived at the Ister, he first of all subdued the Getæ, a people who pretend to immortality. The Thracians of Salmydessus, and they who live above Apollonia, and the city of Mesambria, with those who are called Cyrmianians, and Mypsæans, submitted themselves to Darius without resistance. The Getæ[8] obstinately defended themselves, but were soon reduced: these, of all the Thracians, are the bravest and most upright.

XCIV. They believe themselves to be immortal;[9] and whenever any one dies, they are of opinion that he is removed to the presence of their god Zamolxis,[10] whom some believe to be the same with Gebeleizes. Once in every five years they choose one by lot, who is to be despatched as a messenger to Zamolxis, to make known to him their several wants.

The ceremony they observe on this occasion is this:—Three amongst them are appointed to hold in their hands three javelins, whilst others seize by the feet and hands the person who is appointed to appear before Zamolxis; they throw him up, so as to make him fall upon the javelins. If he dies in consequence, they imagine that the deity is propitious to them; if not, they accuse the victim of being a wicked man. Having disgraced him, they proceed to the election of another, giving him, whilst yet alive, their commands. This same people, whenever it thunders or lightens, throw their weapons into the air, as if menacing their god; and they seriously believe that there is no other deity.

XCV. This Zamolxis, as I have been informed by those Greeks who inhabit the Hellespont and the Euxine, was himself a man, and formerly lived at Samos, in the service of Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus; having obtained his liberty, with considerable wealth, he returned to his country. Here he found the Thracians distinguished equally by their profligacy and their ignorance; whilst he himself had been accustomed to the Ionian mode of life, and to manners more polished than those of Thrace; he had also been connected with Pythagoras, one of the most celebrated philosophers of Greece. He was therefore induced to build a large mansion, to which he invited the most eminent of his fellow-citizens: he took the opportunity of the festive hour to

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different names of Mygdonia, Heraclea, and Perinthus. —It is now called Pera.—*T.*

7 *Odrysians.*]—These people are supposed to be the Moldavians: they had a city named Odrysa. Mention is made of them by Claudian in his Gigantomachia:

> Primus terrificum Mavors non segnis in hostem
> Odrisios impellit equos.

Silius Italicus also speaks of Odrisius Boreas.—*T.*

8 *Getæ.*]—It is contended by many learned men, that the Scythians, the Getæ, and the Goths, were the same people. See Pinkerton's Dissertation on the Goths.

Herodotus in this place makes an obvious distinction betwixt the Scythians and the Getæ, though it must be granted, that he places them very near each other.

9 *They believe themselves to be immortal.*]—Arrian calls these people Dacians. "The first exploits of Trajan," says Mr. Gibbon, "were against the Dacians, the most warlike of men, who dwell beyond the Danube, and who, during the reign of Domitian, had insulted with impunity the majesty of Rome. To the strength and fierceness of Barbarians, they added a contempt for life, which was derived from a vain persuasion of the immortality of the soul."

The Getæ are represented by all the classic writers as the most daring and ferocious of mankind; in the Latin language particularly, every harsh term has been made to apply to them: Nulla Getis toto gens est trucilentior orbe, says Ovid. Hume speaks thus of their principles of belief, with respect to the soul's immortality:—"The Getes, commonly called immortal, from their steady belief of the soul's immortality, were genuine Theists and Unitarians. They affirmed Zamolxis, their deity, to be the only true God, and asserted the worship of all other nations to be addressed to mere fictions and chimeras: but were their religious principles any more refined on account of these magnificent pretensions?"—*T.*

10 *Zamolxis.*]—Larcher, in conformity to Wesseling, prefers the reading of Zalmoxis.—In the Thracian tongue, Zalmos means the skin of a bear; and Porphyry, in the life of Pythagoras, observes, that the name of Zalmoxis was given him, because as soon as he was born he was covered with the skin of that animal.

assure them, that neither himself, his guests, nor any of their descendants, should ever die, but should be removed to a place where they were to remain in the perpetual enjoyment of every blessing. After saying this, and conducting himself accordingly, he constructed a subterranean edifice: when it was completed, he withdrew himself from the sight of his countrymen, and resided for three years beneath the earth.—During this period, the Thracians regretted his loss, and lamented him as dead. In the fourth year he again appeared amongst them, and by this artifice, gave the appearance of probability to what he had before asserted.

XCVI. To this story of the subterraneous apartment, I do not give much credit, though I pretend not to dispute it; I am, however, very certain that Zamolxis must have lived many years before Pythagoras: whether, therefore, he was a man, or the deity of the Getæ, enough has been said concerning him. These Getæ, using the ceremonies I have described, after submitting themselves to the Persians under Darius, followed his army.

XCVII. Darius, when he arrived at the Ister, passed the river with his army; he then commanded the Ionians to break down the bridge, and to follow him with all the men of their fleet. When they were about to comply with his orders, Coes, son of Erxander, and leader of the Mitylenians, after requesting permission of the king to deliver his sentiments, addressed him as follows:

"As you are going, Sir, to attack a country, which, if report may be believed, is without cities and entirely uncultivated, suffer the bridge to continue as it is, under the care of those who constructed it:—By means of this, our return will be secured, whether we find the Scythians, and succeed against them according to our wishes, or whether they elude our endeavours to discover them. I am not at all apprehensive that the Scythians will overcome us; but I think that if we do not meet them, we shall suffer from our ignorance of the country. It may be said, perhaps, that I speak from selfish considerations, and that I am desirous of being left behind; but my real motive is a regard for your interest, whom at all events I am determined to follow."

With this counsel Darius was greatly delighted, and thus replied:—"My Lesbian friend when I shall return safe and fortunate from this expedition, I beg that I may see you, and I will not fail amply to reward you, for your excellent advice."

XCVIII. After this speech, the king took a cord, upon which he tied sixty knots,[1] then sending for the Ionian chiefs, he thus addressed them:—

"Men of Ionia, I have thought proper to change my original determination concerning this bridge; do you take this cord, and observe what I require; from the time of my departure against Scythia, do not fail every day to untie one of these knots. If they shall be all loosened before you see me again, you are at liberty to return to your country; but in the meantime it is my desire that you preserve and defend this bridge, by which means you will effectually oblige me." As soon as Darius had spoken, he proceeded on his march.

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1 *Sixty knots.*]—Larcher observes that this mode of notation proves extreme stupidity on the part of the Persians. It is certain, that the science of arithmetic was first brought to perfection in Greece, but when or where it was first introduced is entirely uncertain; I should be inclined to imagine, that some knowledge of numbers would be found in regions the most barbarous, and amongst human beings the most ignorant, had I not now before me an account of some American nations, who have no term in their language to express a greater number than three, and even this they call by the uncouth and tedious name of patarrarorincoursac. In the Odyssey, when it is said that Proteus will count his herd of sea-calves, the expression used is, πεμπασσεται, *he will reckon them by fives*, which has been remarked, as being probably a relic of a mode of counting practised in some remote age, when five was the greatest numeral. To count the fingers of one hand, was the first arithmetical effort: to carry on the account through the other hand, was a refinement, and required attention and recollection.

M. Goguet thinks, that in all numerical calculations pebbles were first used: ψηφιζω, to calculate, comes from ψηφος, a little stone, and the word *calculation* from *calculi*, pebbles. This is probably true; but between counting by the five fingers and standing in need of pebbles to continue a calculation, there must have been many intervening steps of improvement. A more complicated mode of counting by the fingers, was also used by the ancients, in which they reckoned as far as 100 on the left hand, by different postures of the fingers; the next hundred was counted on the right hand, and so on, according to some authors, as far as 9000. In allusion to this, Juvenal says of Nestor,

——Atque suos jam *dextra* computat annos.

Sat. x. 249.

and an old lady is mentioned by Nicharchus, an Anthologic poet, who made Nestor seem young, having returned to the *left* hand again:

——————ἡ χειρι λαιη
Γηρας αριθμεισθαι δευτερον αρξαμενη—

Antholog. l. ii.

This, however, must be an extravagant hyperbole, as it would make her above 9000 years old, or there is some error in the modern accounts.—There is a tract of Bede's

XCIX. That part of Thrace[2] which stretches to the sea, has Scythia immediately contiguous to it; where Thrace ends, Scythia begins, through which the Ister passes, commencing at the south-east, and emptying itself into the Euxine. It shall be my business to describe that part of Scythia which is continued from the mouth of the Ister to the sea-coast. Ancient Scythia extends from the Ister, westward, as far as the city Carcinitis. The mountainous country above this place, in the same direction, as far as what is called the Trachean Chersonese, is possessed by the people of Taurus; this place is situated near the sea to the east. Scythia, like Attica, is in two parts bounded by the sea, westward and to the east. The people of Taurus are circumstanced with respect to Scythia, as any other nation would be with respect to Attica, who, instead of Athenians, should inhabit the Sunian promontory, stretching from the district of the Thonicus, as far as Anaphlystus. Such, comparing small things with great, is the district of Tauris: but as there may be some who have not visited these parts of Attica, I shall endeavour to explain myself more intelligibly. Suppose, that beginning at the port of Brundusium,[3] another nation, and not the Iapyges,[4] should occupy that country, as far as Tarentum, separating it from the rest of the continent: I mention these two, but there are many other places similarly situated, to which Tauris might be compared.

C. The country above Tauris, as well as that towards the sea to the east,[5] is inhabited by Scythians, who possess also the lands which lie to the west of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and the Palus Mæotis, as far as the Tanais, which empties itself into this lake; so that as you advance from the Ister inland, Scythia is terminated first by the Agathyrsi, then by the Neuri, thirdly by the Androphagi, and, last of all, by the Melanchlæni.

CI. Scythia thus appears to be of a quadrangular form, having two of its sides terminated by the sea, to which its other two towards the land are perfectly equal: from the Ister to the Borysthenes is a ten days' journey, which is also the distance from the Borysthenes to the Palus Mæotis. Ascending from the sea inland, as far as the country of the Melanchlæni, beyond Scythia, is a journey of twenty days: according to my computation, a day's journey is equal to two hundred stadia:[6] thus the extent of Scy-

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on this subject which I have not seen; it is often cited. Macrobius and Pliny tell us, that the statues of Janus were so formed, as to mark the number of days in the year by the position of his fingers, in Numa's time 355, after Cæsar's correction 365.—*Saturn.* i. 9. and *Nat. Hist.* xxxiv. 7.—*T.*

2 *That part of Thrace.*]—This chapter will, doubtless, appear perplexed on a first and casual view, but whoever will be at the trouble to examine M. D'Anville's excellent maps, illustrative of ancient geography, will in a moment find every difficulty respecting the situation of the places here described effectually removed.—*T.*

3 *Brundusium.*]—This place, which is now called Brindisi, was very memorable in the annals of ancient Rome: here Augustus first took the name of Cæsar, here the poet Pacuvius was born, and here Virgil died:—It belongs to the king of Naples, and it is the opinion of modern travellers, that the kingdom of Naples possesses no place so advantageously situated for trade.—*T.*

4 *Iapyges.*]—The region of Iapygia has been at different times called Messapia, Calabria, and Salentum; it is now called Terra d'Otranto: it derived its name of Iapyges from the wind called Iapyx:

> Sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu
> Pronus Orion. Ego quid sit ater
> Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus
> Peccet Iapyx.

Where I suppose the Albus, contrasted to Ater, means that this wind surprised the unwary mariner, during a very severe sky.

Others are of opinion, that the Iapyges were so named from Iapyx, the son of Dædalus; and that the wind was named Iapyx, from blowing in the direction of that extremity of Italy; which is indeed more conformable to the analogy of the Latin names for several other winds.

5 *To the east.*]—This description of Scythia is attended with great difficulties; it is not, in the first place, easy to seize the true meaning of Herodotus; in the second, I cannot believe that the description here given accords correctly with the true position of the places. I am, nevertheless, astonished that it should be generally faithful, when it is considered how scanty the knowledge of this country was: the historian must have laboured with remarkable diligence to have told us what he has. By the phrase of "the sea to the east," Bellanger understands the Palus Mæotis; but I am convinced that when he describes the sea which is to the south, and to the west, he means only to speak of different points of the Euxine.—*Larcher.*

6 *Two hundred stadia.*]—Authors do not agree with each other, nor indeed with themselves, about the length of the day's journey; Herodotus here gives two hundred stadia to a day's journey; but in the fifth book he gives no more than one hundred and fifty.

Strabo and Pliny make the length of the Arabian Gulf a thousand stadia, which the first of these authors says will take up a voyage of three or four days: what Livy calls a day's journey, Polybius describes as two hundred stadia. The Roman lawyers assigned to each day twenty miles, that is to say, one hundred and sixty stadia.—See *Casaubon on Strabo*, page 61 of the Amsterdam edition, page 23 of that of Paris.

The evangelist Luke tells us, that Joseph and Mary went a day's journey before they sought the child Jesus; now Maundrel, page 64, informs us, that according to tradition this happened at Beer, which was no more than ten miles from Jerusalem; according therefore to this estimation, a day's journey was no more than eighty

thia, along its sides, is four thousand stadia; and through the midst of it inland, is four thousand more.

CII. The Scythians, conferring with one another, conceived that of themselves they were unable to repel the forces of Darius; they therefore made application to their neighbours. The princes also to whom they applied, held a consultation concerning the powerful army of the invader; at this meeting were assembled the princes of the Agathyrsi, Tauri, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ.

CIII. Of these nations, the Tauri are distinguished by these peculiar customs:[1] All strangers shipwrecked on their coasts, and particularly every Greek who falls into their hands, they sacrifice to a virgin, in the following manner: after the ceremonies of prayer, they strike the victim on the head with a club. Some affirm, that, having fixed the head upon a cross, they precipitate the body from the rock, on the craggy part of which the temple stands: others again, allowing that the head is thus exposed, deny that the body is so treated, but say that it is buried. The sacred personage to whom this sacrifice is offered, the Taurians themselves assert to be Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon. The manner in which they treat their captives is this:—Every man cuts off the head of his prisoner, and carries it to his house; this he fixes on a stake, which is placed generally at the top of the chimney: thus situated, they affect to consider it as the protector of their families: their whole subsistence is procured by acts of plunder and hostility.

CIV. The Agathyrsi[2] are a people of very effeminate manners, but abounding in gold: they have their women in common, so that, being all connected by the ties of consanguinity, they know nothing of envy or of hatred: in other respects they resemble the Thracians.

CV. The Neuri observe the Scythian customs. In the age preceding this invasion of Darius, they were compelled to change their habitations, from the multitude of serpents[3] which infested them: besides what their own soil produced, these came in far greater numbers from the deserts above them; till they were at length compelled to take refuge with the Budini: these people have the character of being magicians. It is asserted by the Scythians, as well as by those Greeks who dwell in Scythia, that once in every year they are all of them changed into wolves;[4] and that after remaining so for the space of a few days, they resume their former shape; but this I do not believe, although they swear that it is true.

CVI. The Androphagi are perhaps, of all

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stadia. When we recollect that the day has different acceptations, and has been divided into the natural day, the artificial day, the civil day, the astronomical day, &c. we shall the less wonder at any apparent want of exactness in the computations of space passed over in a portion of time by no means determinate.—*T.*

1 *Peculiar customs.*]—These customs, as far as they relate to the religious ceremonies described in the subsequent paragraphs of this chapter, must have been rendered by the Iphigenia of Euripedes, and other writers, too familiar to require any minute discussion. The story of Iphigenia also, in all its particulars, with the singular resemblance which it bears to the account of the daughter of Jephtha in the sacred Scriptures, must be equally well known.—*T.*

It has been a matter of much and serious dispute among the learned whether Jephtha actually sacrificed his daughter. I, for my own part, scruple not to profess my decided opinion that he did not, but that he consecrated her, for the remainder of her life, to some religious employment in the temple.

If he had actually sacrificed her, he would have acted in positive disobedience to the Mosaic law, by which human victims were unequivocally forbidden. In confirmation also of his own parental feeling of tenderness and affection, he might have quoted the example of Abraham, of whom an easy commutation was in a similar case accepted. Dr. Jortin thinks it even "strange that any commentators should have imagined that she was sacrificed."—*Tracts*, vol. i. p. 380.

The reader will remember the beautiful episode of Idomeneus, king of Crete, in the Telemachus of Fenelon, where a like preposterous vow is described to have been literally performed.

See also the description of the sacrifice of Polyxena, in Ovid, which is thus beautifully alluded to in Virgil:

O felix una ante alias Priameia virgo,
Hostilem ad tumulum Trojæ sub mœnibus altis
Jussa mori. Æn. iii. 322.

2 *Agathyrsi.*]—The country inhabited by this people is now called Vologhda, in Muscovy: the Agathyrsi were by Juvenal called cruel;

Sauromatæque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi.

Virgil calls them the painted Agathyrsi:

Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi.

They are said to have received the name of Agathyrsi from Agathyrsus, a son of Hercules.—*T.*

3 *Multitude of Serpents.*]—These serpents were no other than the Dibii, who fed their cattle on the high grounds, and securing themselves in the fastnesses, and secret retirements of the mountains, made incursions on the Neuri, and interrupted their settlements. See Hesiod, Διβων σφιν κερτης.

4 *Into wolves.*]—Pomponius Mela mentions the same fact, as I have observed in page 194. It has been supposed by some, that this idea might arise from the circumstance of these people clothing themselves in the skins of wolves during the colder months of winter; but this is rejected by Larcher, without giving any better hypothesis to solve the fable.—*T.*

mankind, the rudest: they have no forms of law or justice, their employment is feeding of cattle; and though their dress is Scythian, they have a dialect appropriate to themselves.

CVII. The Melanchlæni[5] have all black garments; from whence they derive their name: these are the only people known to feed on human flesh;[6] their manners are those of Scythia.

CVIII. The Budini[7] are a great and numerous people; their bodies are painted of a blue and red colour; they have in their country a town called Gelonus, built entirely of wood. Its walls are of a surprising height: they are on each side three hundred stadia in length; the houses and the temples are all of wood. They have temples built in the Grecian manner to Grecian deities, with the statues, altars, and shrines of wood. Every three years[8] they have a festival in honour of Bacchus. The Geloni are of Grecian origin; but being expelled from the commercial towns, they established themselves amongst the Budini. Their language is a mixture of Greek and Scythian.

CIX. The Budini are distinguished equally in their language and manner of life from the Geloni: they are the original natives of the country, feeders of cattle, and the only people of the country who eat vermin. The Geloni,[9] on the contrary, pay attention to agriculture, live on corn, cultivate gardens, and resemble the Budini neither in appearance nor complexion. The Greeks, however, are apt, though erroneously, to confound them both under the name of the Geloni. Their country is covered with trees of every species; where these are the thickest, there is a large and spacious lake with a marsh surrounded with reeds. In this lake are found otters, beavers, and other wild animals, who have square snouts: of these the skins are used to border the garment;[10] and their testicles are esteemed useful in hysterical diseases.

CX. Of the Sauromatæ[11] we have this account. In a contest which the Greeks had with the Amazons, whom the Scythians call Oiorpata,[12] or, as it may be interpreted, men-slayers (for Oeor signifies a man, and pata to kill) they obtained a victory over them at Thermodon. On their return as many Amazons[13] as they were able to take captive, they

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5 *Melanchlæni.*]—

Melanchlænis atra vestis: et ex ea nomen.—
Pomp. Mela.

6 *Human flesh.*]—M. Larcher very naturally thinks this a passage transposed from the preceding chapter, as indeed the word Androphagi literally means eaters of human flesh.

7 *Budini.*]—The district possessed by this people is now called Podolia: Pliny supposes them to have been so called from using waggons drawn by oxen.—*T.*

8 *Every three years.*]—This feast, celebrated in honour of Bacchus, was named the Trieterica, to which there are frequent allusions in the ancient authors.—See Statius:

——Non hæc Trieterica vobis
Nox patrio de more venit.

From which we may presume that this was kept up throughout the night.

9 *Geloni.*]—These people are called Picti by Virgil:

Pictosque Gelonos.—*Georg.* ii. 115.

And by Lucan fortes:

Massagetes quo fugit equo fortesque Gelonos.—L. iii. 283.

10 *Border the garment.*]—It is perhaps not unworthy remark, that throughout the sacred Scriptures we find no mention made of furs; and this is the more remarkable, as in Syria and Egypt, according to the accounts of modern travellers, garments lined and bordered with costly furs are the dresses of honour and of ceremony. Purple and fine linen are what we often read of in Scripture; but never of fur.—*T.*

11 *Sauromatæ.*]—This people were also called Sarmatæ or Sarmatians. It may perhaps tend to excite some novel and interesting ideas in the mind of the English reader, when he is informed, that amongst a people rude and uncivilized as these Sarmatians are here described, the tender and effeminate Ovid was compelled to consume a long and melancholy exile. It was on the banks of the Danube that he wrote those nine books of epistles, which are certainly not the least valuable of his works. The following lines are eminently harmonious and pathetic:

At puto cum requies medicinaque publica curæ
Somnus adest, solitis nox venit orba malis,
Somnia me terrent veros imitantia casus,
Et vigilant sensus in mea damna mei;
Aut ego Sarmaticas videor vitare sagittas,
Aut dare captivas ad fera vincla manus:
Aut ubi decipior melioris imagine somni,
Aspicio patriæ tecta relicta meæ,
Et modo vobiscum quos sum veneratus amici,
Et modo cum cara conjuge multa loquor.—*T.*

Herodotus relates the origin of this people in this and the subsequent chapters. The account of Diodorus Siculus differs materially: the Scythians, says this author, having subdued part of Asia, drove several colonies out of the country, and amongst them one of the Medes; this, advancing towards the Tanais, formed the nation of the Sauromatæ.—*Larcher.*

12 *Oiorpata.*]—This etymology is founded upon a notion that the Amazons were a community of women who killed every man with whom they had any commerce, and yet subsisted as a people for ages. This title was given them from their worship; for Oiorpata, or as some manuscripts have it, Aorpata, is the same as Patah-Or, the priest of Orus, or, in a more lax sense, the votaries of that god. They were Ανδροκτονοι, for they sacrificed all strangers whom fortune brought upon their coast: so that the whole Euxine sea, upon which they lived, was rendered infamous from their cruelty.—*Bryant.*

13 *Amazons.*]—The more striking peculiarities relating to this fancied community of women, are doubtless familiar to the most common reader. The subject, considered in a scientific point of view, is admirably discussed by Bryant. His chapter on the Amazons is too long to transcribe, and it would be injurious to mutilate it.

"Among barbarous nations," says Mr. Gibbon, "women have often combated by the side of their husbands: but it is *almost* impossible that a society of Amazons should ever have existed in the old or new world."—*T.*

distributed in three vessels: these, when they were out at sea, rose against their conquerors, and put them all to death. But as they were totally ignorant of navigation, and knew nothing at all of the management either of helms, sails, or oars, they were obliged to resign themselves to the wind and the tide, which carried them to Cremens, near the Palus Mæotis, a place inhabited by the free Scythians. The Amazons here disembarked, and advanced towards the part which was inhabited, and meeting with a stud of horses in their route, they immediately seized them, and, mounted on these, proceeded to plunder the Scythians.

CXI. The Scythians were unable to explain what had happened, being neither acquainted with the language, the dress, nor the country of the invaders. Under the impression that they were a body of men nearly of the same age, they offered them battle. The result was, that having taken some as prisoners, they at last discovered them to be women. After a consultation amongst themselves, they determined not to put any of them to death, but to select a detachment of their youngest men, equal in number, as they might conjecture, to the Amazons. They were directed to encamp opposite to them, and by their adversaries' motions to regulate their own; if they were attacked, they were to retreat without making resistance; when the pursuit should be discontinued, they were to return, and again encamp as near the Amazons as possible. The Scythians took these measures, with the view of having children by these invaders.

CXII. The young men did as they were ordered. The Amazons, seeing that no injury was offered them, desisted from hostilities. The two camps imperceptibly approached each other. The young Scythians, as well as the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses; and both obtained their subsistence from the chace.

CXIII. It was the custom of the Amazons, about noon, to retire from the rest, either alone or two in company, to ease nature. The Scythians discovered this, and did likewise. One of the young men met with an Amazon, who had wandered alone from the rest, and who, instead of rejecting his caresses, suffered him to enjoy her person. They were not able to converse with each other, but she intimated by signs, that if on the following day he would come to the same place, and bring with him a companion, she would bring another female to meet him. The young man returned, and told what had happened: he was punctual to his engagement, and the next day went with a friend to the place, where he found the two Amazons waiting to receive them.

CXIV. This adventure was communicated to the Scythians, who soon conciliated the rest of the women. The two camps were presently united, and each considered as his wife her to whom he had first attached himself. As they were not able to learn the dialect of the Amazons, they taught them theirs; which having accomplished, the husbands thus addressed their wives:—"We have relations and property, let us therefore change this mode of life; let us go hence, and communicate with the rest of our countrymen, where you and you only *shall* be our wives." To this the Amazons thus replied: "We cannot associate with your females, whose manners are so different from our own; we are expert in the use of the javelin and the bow, and accustomed to ride on horseback, but we are ignorant of all feminine employments: your women are very differently accomplished: instructed in female arts, they pass their time in their waggons,[1] and despise the chace with all similar exercises: we cannot therefore live with them. If you really desire to retain us as your wives, and to behave yourselves honestly towards us, return to your parents, dispose of your property, and afterwards come back to us, and we will live together, at a distance from your other connections."

CXV. The young men approved of their advice; they accordingly took their share of the property which belonged to them, and returned to the Amazons, by whom they were thus addressed. "Our residence here occasions us much terror and uneasiness; we have not only deprived you of your parents, but have greatly wasted your country. As you think us worthy of being your wives, let us leave this place, and dwell beyond the Tanais."

CXVI. With this also the young Scythians complied, and having passed the Tanais, they marched forwards a three days' journey towards the east, and three more from the Palus Mæotis towards the north. Here they fixed themselves, and now remain. The women of the

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1 *In their waggons.*]—These waggons served them instead of houses. Every one knows that in Greece the women went out but seldom; but I much fear that Herodotus attributes to the Scythian women the manners of those of Greece.—*Larcher.*

Sauromatæ still retain their former habits of life; they pursue the chace on horseback, sometimes with and sometimes without their husbands, and, dressed in the habits of the men, frequently engage in battle.

CXVII. The Sauromatæ use the Scythian language, but their dialect has always been impure, because the Amazons themselves had learned it but imperfectly. With respect to their institutions concerning marriage, no virgin is permitted to marry till she first have killed an enemy.[2] It sometimes therefore happens that many women die single at an advanced age, having never been able to fulfil the conditions required.

CXVIII. To these nations, which I have described, assembled in council, the Scythian ambassadors were admitted;—they informed the princes, that the Persian, having reduced under his authority all the nations of the adjoining continent, had thrown a bridge over the neck of the Bosphorus, in order to pass into theirs: that he had already subdued Thrace, and constructed a bridge over the Ister, ambitiously hoping to reduce them also. "Will it be just," they continued, "for you to remain inactive spectators of our ruin? Rather, having the same sentiments, let us advance together against this invader: unless you do this, we shall be reduced to the last extremities, and be compelled either to forsake our country, or to submit to the terms he may propose. If you withhold your assistance, what may we not dread? Neither will you have reason to expect a different or a better fate: for are not you the object of the Persian's ambition as well as ourselves? or do you suppose that, having vanquished us, he will leave you unmolested? That we reason justly, you have sufficient evidence before you. If his hostilities were directed only against us, with the view of revenging upon us the former servile condition of his nation, he would immediately have marched into our country, without at all injuring or molesting others; he would have shown by his conduct, that his indignation was directed against the Scythians only. On the contrary, as soon as ever he set foot upon our continent, he reduced all the nations which he met, and has subdued the Thracians, and our neighbours the Getæ."

CXIX. When the Scythians had thus delivered their sentiments, the princes of the nations who were assembled, deliberated among themselves, but great difference of opinion prevailed; the sovereigns of the Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatæ were unanimous in their inclination to assist the Scythians; but those of the Agathyrsi, Neuri, Androphagi, Melanchlæni, and Tauri, made this answer to the ambassadors: "If you had not been the first aggressors in this dispute, having first of all commenced hostilities against Persia, your desire of assistance would have appeared to us reasonable; we should have listened to you with attention, and yielded the aid which you require: but without any interference on our part, you first made incursions into their territories, and as long as fortune favoured you, ruled over Persia. The same fortune now seems propitious to them, and they only retaliate your own conduct upon you. We did not before offer any injury to this people, neither without provocation shall we do so now: but if he attack our country, and commence hostilities against us, he will find that we shall not patiently endure the insult. Until he shall do this we shall remain neutral. We cannot believe that the Persians intend any injury to us, but to those alone who first offended them."

CXX. When the Scythians heard this, and found that they had no assistance to expect, they determined to avoid all open and decisive encounters: with this view they divided themselves into two bodies, and retiring gradually before the enemy, they filled up the wells and fountains which lay in their way, and destroyed the produce of their fields. The Sauromatæ were directed to advance to the district under the authority of Scopasis, with orders, upon the advance of the Persians, to retreat towards the Mæotis, by the river Tanais. If the Persians retreated, they were to harass and pursue them. This was the disposition of one part of their power. The two other divisions of their country, the greater one under Indathyrsus, and the third under Taxacis, were to join themselves to the Geloni and Budini, and advancing a day's march before the Persians, were gradually to retreat, and in other respects

2 *Killed an enemy.*]—The account which Hippocrates gives is somewhat different: the women of the Sauromatæ mount on horseback, draw the bow, lance the javelin from on horseback, and go to war as long as they remain unmarried: they are not suffered to marry till they have killed three enemies; nor do they cohabit with their husbands till they have performed the ceremonies which their laws require. Their married women do not go on horseback, unless indeed it should be necessary to make a national expedition.

perform what had been previously determined in council. They were particularly enjoined to allure the enemy to pass the dominions of those nations who had withheld their assistance, in order that their indignation might be provoked; that as they were unwilling to unite in any hostilities before, they should now be compelled to take arms in their own defence. They were finally to retire into their own country, and to attack the enemy, if it could be done with any prospect of success.[1]

CXXI. The Scythians, having determined upon these measures, advanced silently before the forces of Darius, sending forwards as scouts a select detachment of their cavalry: they also despatched before them the carriages in which their wives and children usually live, together with their cattle, reserving only such a number as was necessary to their subsistence, giving directions that their route should be regularly towards the north.

CXXII. These carriages accordingly advanced as they were directed; the Scythian scouts, finding that the Persians had proceeded a three days' journey from the Ister, encamped at the distance of one day's march from their army, and destroyed all the produce of their lands. The Persians, as soon as they came in sight of the Scythian cavalry, commenced the pursuit; whilst the Scythians regularly retired before them. Directing their attention to one part of the enemy in particular, the Persians continued to advance eastward towards the Tanais. The Scythians having crossed this river, the Persians did the same, till passing over the country of the Sauromatæ, they came to that of the Budini.

CXXIII. As long as the Persians remained in Scythia and Sarmatia, they had little power of doing injury; the country around them was so vast and extensive; but as soon as they came amongst the Budini, they discovered a town built entirely of wood, which the inhabitants had totally stripped and deserted; to this they set fire. This done, they continued their pursuit through the country of the Budini, till they came to a dreary solitude. This is beyond the Budini, and of the extent of a seven days' journey, without a single inhabitant. Farther on are the Thyssagetæ,[2] from whose country four great rivers, after watering the intermediate plains, empty themselves into the Palus Mæotis. The names of these rivers are the Lycus, the Oarus, the Tanais, and the Syrgis.

CXXIV. As soon as Darius arrived at the above solitude, he halted, and encamped his army upon the banks of the Oarus: he then constructed eight large forts, at the distance of sixty stadia from each other, the ruins of which have been visible to my time. Whilst he was thus employed, that detachment of the enemy which he had pursued, making a circuit by the higher parts of the country, returned into Scythia. When these had disappeared, and were no more to be discovered, Darius left his forts in an unfinished state, and directed his march westward, thinking that the Scythians whom he had pursued were the whole of the nation, and had fled towards the west: accelerating therefore his march, he arrived in Scythia, and met with two detachments of Scythians; these also he pursued, who took care to keep from him at a distance of one day's march.

CXXV. Darius continued his pursuit, and the Scythians, as had been previously concerted, led him into the country of those who had refused to accede to their alliance, and first of all into that of the Melanchlæni. When the lands of this people had been effectually harassed by the Scythians, as well as the Persians, the latter were again led by the former into the district of the Androphagi. Having in like manner distressed these, the Persians were allured on to the Neuri: the Neuri being also alarmed and harassed, the attempt was made to carry the Persians amongst the Agathyrsi. This people however had observed that before their own country had suffered any injury from the invaders, the Scythians had taken care to distress the lands of their neighbours; they accordingly despatched to them a messenger, forbidding their nearer approach, and threatening that any attempt to advance should meet with their hostile resistance: with this determination, the Agathyrsi appeared in arms upon their borders.

1 *Prospect of success.*]—The very judicious plan of operation here portrayed, seems rather to belong to a civilized nation, acquainted with all the subterfuges of the most improved military discipline, than to a people so rude and barbarous as the Scythians are elsewhere represented. The conduct of the Roman Fabius, who, to use the words of Ennius, cunctando restituit rem, was not very unlike this.—*T.*

2 *Thyssagetæ.*]—This people are indifferently named the Thyssagetæ, the Thyrsagetæ, and the Tyrregetæ; mention is made of them by Strabo, Pliny, and Valerius Flaccus.—This latter author says,

> Non ego sanguineis gestantem tympana bellis
> Thyrsagetem, cinctumque vagis post terga silebo
> Pellibus.

But the Melanchlæni, the Androphagi, and the Neuri, although they had suffered equally from the Persians and the Scythians, neither made any exertions, nor remembered what they had before menaced, but fled in alarm to the deserts of the north. The Scythians, turning aside from the Agathyrsi, who had refused to assist them, retreated from the country of the Neuri, towards Scythia, whither they were pursued by the Persians.

CXXVI. As they continued to persevere in the same conduct, Darius was induced to send a messenger to Indathyrsus the Scythian prince. "Most wretched man," said the ambassador, "why do you thus continue to fly, having the choice of one of these alternatives—If you think yourself able to contend with me, stop and let us engage; if you feel a conscious inferiority, bring to me, as to your superior, earth and water.[3]—Let us come to a conference."

CXXVII. The Scythian monarch made this reply: "It is not my disposition, O Persian, to fly from any man through fear; neither do I now fly from you. My present conduct differs not at all from that which I pursue in a state of peace. Why I do not contend with you in the open field, I will explain: we have no inhabited towns nor cultivated lands of which we can fear your invasion or your plunder, and have therefore no occasion to engage with you precipitately: but we have the sepulchres of our fathers, these you may discover; and if you endeavour to injure them, you shall soon know how far we are able or willing to resist you; till then we will not meet you in battle. Remember farther, that I acknowledge no master or superior, but Jupiter, who was my ancestor, and Histia the Scythian queen. Instead of the presents which you require of earth and water, I will send you such as you better deserve; and in return for your calling yourself my master, I only bid you weep."—Such was the answer of the Scythian,[4] which the ambassador related to Darius.

CXXVIII. The very idea of servitude exasperated the Scythian princes; they accordingly despatched that part of their army which was under Scopasis, together with the Sauromatæ, to solicit a conference with the Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; those who remained did not think it necessary any more to lead the Persians about, but regularly endeavoured to surprise them when at their meals; they watched, therefore, their proper opportunities, and executed their purpose. The Scythian horse never failed of driving back the cavalry of the Persians, but these last, in falling back upon their infantry, were always secured and supported. The Scythians, notwithstanding their advantage over the Persian horse, always retreated from the foot; they frequently, however, attacked them under cover of the night.

CXXIX. In these attacks of the Scythians upon the camp of Darius, the Persians had one advantage, which I shall explain—it arose from the braying of the asses, and appearance of the mules: I have before observed, that neither of these animals are produced in Scythia,[5] on account of the extreme cold. The braying, therefore, of the asses greatly distressed the Scythian horses, which as often as they attacked the Persians, pricked up their ears and ran back, equally disturbed by a noise which they had never heard, and figures they had never

3 *Earth and water.*]—Amongst the ancient nations of the west, to show that they confessed themselves overcome, or that they surrendered at discretion, they gathered some grass, and presented it to the conqueror. By this action they resigned all the claims they possessed to their country. In the time of Pliny, the Germans still observed this custom. Summum apud antiquos signum victoriæ erat herbam porrigere victos, hoc est terra et altrice ipsa humo et humatione etiam cedere; quem morem etiam nunc durare apud Germanos scio.—Festus and Servius, upon verse 128, book viii. of the Æneid of Virgil,

Et vitta comptos voluit prætendere ramos,—

affirm, that herbam do, is the same thing as victum me fateor, et cedo victoriam. The same ceremony was observed, or something like it, when a country, a fief, or a portion of land, was given or sold to any one.—See Du Cange, Glossary, at the word Investitura. In the east, and in other countries, it was by the giving of earth and water, that a prince was put in possession of a country; and the investiture was made him in this manner. By this they acknowledged him their master without control, for earth and water involve every thing—Aristotle says, that to give earth and water, is to renounce one's liberty.—*Larcher.*

Amongst the Romans, when an offender was sent into banishment, he was emphatically interdicted the use of fire and water; which was supposed to imply the absence of every aid and comfort.—*T.*

4 *Answer of the Scythian.*]—To bid a person weep, was a kind of proverbial form of wishing him ill; thus Horace,

——— Demetri, teque Tigelli
Discipularum inter jubeo plorare cathedras.

Afterwards, *the answer of the Scythians* became a proverb to express the same wish; as was also the bidding a person eat onions.—See *Diog. Laert.* in the Life of Bias, and Erasmus in *Scytharum oratio*, and *cepas edere.—T.*

5 *Are produced in Scythia.*]—The Scythians nevertheless, if Clemens Alexandrinus may be believed, sacrificed asses; but it is not improbable that he confounded this people with the Hyperboreans, as he adduces in proof of his assertion a verse from Callimachus, which obviously refers to this latter people. We are also informed by Pindar, that the Hyperboreans sacrificed hecatombs of asses to Apollo.—*Larcher.*

seen: this was of some importance in the progress of hostilities.

CXXX. The Scythians discovering that the Persians were in extreme perplexity, hoped that by detaining them longer in their country, they should finally reduce them to the utmost distress: with this view, they occasionally left exposed some of their cattle with their shepherds, and artfully retired; of these, with much exultation, the Persians took possession.

CXXXI. This was again and again repeated; Darius nevertheless became gradually in want of almost every necessary: the Scythian princes, knowing this, sent to him a messenger, with a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows,[1] as a present. The Persians inquired of the bearer, what these might mean; but the man declared, that his orders were only to deliver them and return; he advised them, however, to exert their sagacity, and interpret the mystery.

CXXXII. The Persians accordingly held a consultation on the subject. Darius was of opinion, that the Scythians intended by this to express submission to him, and give him the earth and the water which he required. The mouse, as he explained it, was produced in the earth, and lived on the same food as man; the frog was a native of the water; the bird bore great resemblance to a horse;[2] and in giving the arrows they intimated the surrender of their power: this was the interpretation of Darius. Gobryas, however, one of the seven who had dethroned the magus, thus interpreted the presents: "Men of Persia, unless like birds ye shall mount into the air, like mice take refuge in the earth, or like frogs leap into the marshes, these arrows shall prevent the possibility of your return to the place from whence you came." This explanation was generally accepted.

CXXXIII. That detachment of the Scythians who had before been entrusted with the defence of the Palus Mæotis, but who were afterwards sent to the Ionians at the Ister, no sooner arrived at the bridge, than they thus spake: "Men of Ionia, if you will but hearken to our words, we come to bring you liberty: we have been told that Darius commanded you to guard this bridge for sixty days only; if in that time he should not appear, you were permitted to return home. Do this, and you will neither disobey him nor offend us: stay, therefore, till the time which he has appointed, and then depart." With this injunction the Ionians promising to comply, the Scythians instantly retired.

CXXXIV. The rest of the Scythians, having sent the present to Darius which we have described, opposed themselves to him, both horse and foot, in order of battle. Whilst they were in this situation, a hare was seen in the space betwixt the two armies; the Scythians immediately pursued it with loud cries. Darius, inquiring the cause of the tumult which he heard, was informed that the enemy were pursuing a hare; upon this, turning to some of his confidential attendants, "These men," he exclaimed, "do indeed seem greatly to despise us; and Gobryas has properly interpreted the Scythian presents: I am now of the same opinion myself, and it becomes us to exert all our sagacity to effect a safe return to the place from whence we came." "Indeed, Sir," answered Gobryas, "I had before heard of the poverty of this people, I have now clearly seen it, and can

1 *A bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows.*]—This naturally brings to the mind of an Englishman a somewhat similar present, intended to irritate and provoke, best recorded and expressed by our immortal Shakspeare.—See his Life of Henry the Fifth:—

French Ambassador.——Thus then, in few,
Your highness lately sending into France,
Did claim some certain dukedoms, in the right
Of your great predecessor Edward the Third;
In answer of which claim, the prince our master
Says, that you favour too much of your youth,
And bids you be advised—There's nought in France
That can be with a nimble galliard won,
You cannot revel into dukedoms there;
He therefore sends you, meeter for your spirit,
This tun of treasure, and in lieu of this
Desires you, let the dukedoms that you claim
Hear no more of you.—Thus the Dauphin speaks.
K. Henry. What treasure, uncle?
Exet. Tennis-balls, my liege.
K. Henry. We are glad the Dauphin is so pleasant with us:
His present and your pains we thank you for.
When we have matched our rackets to these balls,
We will in France, by God's grace, play a set
Shall strike his father's crown into the hazard.
Tell him that he hath made a match with such a wrangler,
That all the courts of France will be disturb'd
With chaces.

It may not be improper to remark, that of this enigmatical way of speaking and acting, the ancients appear to have been remarkably fond. In the Pythagorean school, the precept to abstain from beans, κυαμων απεχεσθαι, involved the command of refraining from unlawful love; and in an epigram imputed to Virgil, the letter Y intimated a systematic attachment to virtue; this may be found in Lactantius, book vi. c. iii. The act of Tarquin, in striking off the heads from the tallest poppies in his garden, is sufficiently notorious; and the fables of Æsop, and of Phædrus may serve to prove that this partiality to allegory was not more universal than it was founded in a delicate and just conception of things.—*T.*

2 *To a horse.*]—It is by no means easy to find out any resemblance which a bird bears to a horse, except, as Larcher observes, in swiftness, which is, however, very far-fetched.—*T.*

perceive that they hold us in extreme contempt. I would therefore advise, that, as soon as the night sets in, we light our fires as usual;[3] and, farther to delude the enemy, let us tie all the asses together, and leave behind us the more infirm of our forces; this done, let us retire, before the Scythians shall advance towards the Ister, and break down the bridge, or before the Ionians shall come to any resolution which may cause our ruin."

CXXXV. Darius having acceded to this opinion of Gobryas, as soon as the evening approached, the more infirm of the troops, and those whose loss was deemed of little importance, were left behind; all the asses also were secured together: the motive for this was, the expectation that the presence of those who remained would cause the asses to bray as usual. The sick and infirm were deserted, under the pretence, that whilst the king was marching with his best troops to engage the Scythians, they were to defend the camp. After circulating this report, the fires were lighted, and Darius with the greatest expedition directed his march towards the Ister: the asses, missing the usual multitude, made so much the greater noise, by hearing which the Scythians were induced to believe that the Persians still continued in their camp.

CXXXVI. When morning appeared, they who were left, perceiving themselves deserted by Darius, made signals to the Scythians, and explained their situation; upon which intelligence, the two divisions of the Scythians forming a junction with the Sauromatæ, the Budini, and Geloni, advanced towards the Ister, in pursuit of the Persians; but as the Persian army consisted principally of foot, who were ignorant of the country, through which there were no regular paths; and as the Scythians were chiefly horse, and perfectly acquainted with the ways, they mutually missed each other, and the Scythians arrived at the bridge much sooner than the Persians. Here, finding that the Persians were not yet come, they thus addressed the Ionians, who were on board their vessels:—"Ionians, the number of days is now past, and you do wrong in remaining here; if motives of fear have hitherto detained you, you may now break down the bridge, and having recovered your liberties, be thankful to the gods and to us: we will take care that he who was formerly your master, shall never again make war upon any one."

CXXXVII. The Ionians being met in council upon this subject, Miltiades, the Athenian leader, and prince of the Chersonese,[4] on the Hellespont, was of opinion that the advice of the Scythians should be taken, and Ionia be thus relieved from servitude. Histiæus, the Milesian, thought differently; he represented, that through Darius each of them now enjoyed the sovereignty of their several cities; that if the power of Darius was once taken away, neither he himself should continue supreme at Miletus, nor would any of them be able to retain their superiority; for it was evident that all their fellow citizens would prefer a popular government to that of a tyrant. This argument appeared so forcible, that all they who had before assented to Miltiades, instantly adopted it.

CXXXVIII. They who acceded to this opinion were also in great estimation with the king. Of the princes of the Hellespont, there were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus,[5] Herophantus of Parium,[6] Metrodorus

3 *Fires as usual.*]—This incident is related, with very little variation, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, a book which I may venture to recommend to all young students in Greek, from its entertaining matter, as well as from the easy elegance and purity of its style; indeed I cannot help expressing my surprise, that it should not yet have found its way into our public schools: it might, I think, be read with much advantage as preparatory to Xenophon.—*T.*

4 *Prince of the Chersonese.*]—All these petty princes had imposed chains upon their country, and were only supported in their usurpations by the Persians, whose interest it was to prefer a despotic government to a democracy; this last would have been much less obsequious, and less prompt to obey their pleasure.—*Larcher.*

5 *Lampsacus.*]—Lampsacus was first called Pityusa on the Asiatic shore, nearly opposite to Gallipoli; this place was given to Themistocles, to furnish him with wine. Several great men amongst the ancients were natives of Lampsacus, and Epicurus lived here for some time.—*Pococke.*

From this place Priapus, who was here worshipped, took one of his names:

Et te ruricola Lampsace tuta deo.—*Ovid.*

and from hence Lampsacius was made to signify wanton; see Martial, book ii. ep. 17.—

Nam mea Lampsacio lascivit pagina versu.—*T.*

6 *Parium.*]—Parium was built by the Milesians, Erythreans, and the people of the isle of Paros; it flourished much under the kings of Pergamus, of the race of Attalus, on account of the services this city did to that house.—*Pococke.*

It has been disputed whether Archilochos, the celebrated writer of iambics, was a native of this place, or of the island of Paros. Horace says,

Parios ego primus Iambos
Ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi.

the Proconnesian,[1] Aristagoras of Cyzicum, and Ariston the Byzantian.[2] Amongst the Ionian leaders were Stratias of Chios, Æacides of Samos, Laodamas the Phocean, and Histiæus the Milesian, whose opinion prevailed in the assembly in opposition to that of Miltiades: the only Æolian of consequence who was present on this occasion, was Aristagoras of Cyme.

CXXXIX. These leaders, acceding to the opinion of Histiæus, thought it would be advisable to break down that part of the bridge which was towards Scythia, to the extent of a bow-shot. This, although it was of no real importance, would prevent the Scythians from passing the Ister on the bridge, and might induce them to believe that no inclination was wanting on the part of the Ionians, to comply with their wishes: accordingly, in the name of the rest, Histiæus thus addressed them; "Men of Scythia, we consider your advice as of consequence to our interest, and we take in good part your urging it upon us. You have shown us the path which we ought to pursue, and we are readily disposed to follow it; we shall break down the bridge as you recommend, and in all things shall discover the most earnest zeal to secure our liberties: in the meantime, whilst we shall be thus employed, it becomes you to go in pursuit of the enemy, and having found them, revenge yourselves and us."

CXL. The Scythians, placing an entire confidence in the promises of the Ionians, returned to the pursuit of the Persians; they did not, however, find them, for in that particular district they themselves had destroyed all the fodder for the horses, and corrupted all the springs; they might otherwise easily have found the Persians; and thus it happened, that the measure which at first promised them success became ultimately injurious. They directed their march to those parts of Scythia where they were secure of water and provisions for their horses, thinking themselves certain of here meeting with the enemy; but the Persian prince, following the track he had before pursued, found, though with the greatest difficulty, the place he aimed at: arriving at the bridge by night, and finding it broken down, he was exceedingly disheartened, and conceived himself abandoned by the Ionians.

CXLI. There was in the army of Darius an Egyptian, very remarkable for the loudness of his voice:[3] this man Darius ordered to advance to the banks of the Ister, and to pronounce with all his strength the name of "Histiæus the Milesian:" Histiæus immediately heard him, and approaching with all the fleet, enabled the Persians to repass, by again forming a bridge.

CXLII. By these means the Persians escaped, whilst the Scythians were a second time engaged in a long and fruitless pursuit. From this period the Scythians considered the Ionians as the basest and most contemptible of mankind, speaking of them as men attached to servitude, and incapable of freedom; and always using towards them the most reproachful terms.

CXLIII. Darius proceeding through Thrace, arrived at Sestos of the Chersonese, from whence he passed over into Asia: he left, however, some troops in Europe, under the

1 *Metrodorus the Proconnesian.*]—This personage must not be confounded with the celebrated philosopher of Chios, who asserted the eternity of the world. The ancients make mention of the old and new Proconnesus; the new Proconnesus is now called Marmora, the old is the island of Alonia.

2 *Ariston the Byzantian.*]—This is well known to be the modern Constantinople, and has been too often and too correctly described to require any thing from my pen. Its situation was perhaps never better expressed, than in these two lines from Ovid:

Quaque tenent ponti Byzantia littora fauces
Hic locus est gemini janua vasta maris.

This city was originally founded by Byzas, a reputed son of Neptune, 656 years before Christ. Perhaps the most minute and satisfactory account of every thing relating to Byzantium, may be found in Mr. Gibbon's history.—*T.*

3 *Loudness of his voice.*]—By the use here made of this Egyptian, and the particular mention of Stentor in the Iliad, it may be presumed that it was a customary thing for one or more such personages to be present on every military expedition. At the present day, perhaps we may feel ourselves inclined to dispute the utility, or ridicule the appearance of such a character; but before the invention of artillery, and when the firm but *silent* discipline of the ancients, and of the Greeks in particular, is considered, such men might occasionally exert their talents with no despicable effect.

Heaven's empress mingles with the mortal crowd,
And shouts in Stentor's sounding voice aloud;
Stentor the strong, endued with brazen lungs,
Whose throat surpass'd the force of fifty tongues.

The shouting of Achilles from the Grecian battlements, is represented to have had the power of impressing terror on the hearts of the boldest warriors, and of suspending a tumultuous and hard fought battle.

Forth march'd the chief, and distant from the crowd
High on the rampart raised his voice aloud;
With her own shout Minerva swells the sound;
Troy starts astonish'd, and the shores rebound;
So high his brazen voice the hero rear'd,
Hosts drop their arms, and tremble as they heard.

command of Megabyzus,[4] a Persian, of whom it is reported, that one day in conversation the king spoke in terms of the highest honour.—He was about to eat some pomegranates, and having opened one, he was asked by his brother Artabanus, what thing there was which he would desire to possess in as great a quantity as there were seeds in the pomegranate?[5] "I would rather," he replied, "have so many Megabyzi, than see Greece under my power." This compliment he paid him publicly, and at this time he left him at the head of eighty thousand men.

CXLIV. This same person also, for a saying which I shall relate, left behind him in the Hellespont a name never to be forgotten. Being at Byzantium, he learned upon inquiry that the Chalcedonians[6] had built their city seventeen years before the Byzantians had founded theirs: he observed, that the Chalcedonians must then have been blind,—or otherwise, having the choice of a situation in all respects better, they would never have preferred one so very inferior. Megabyzus being thus left with the command of the Hellespont, reduced all those who were in opposition to the Medes.[7]

CXLV. About the same time another great expedition was set on foot in Libya, the occasion of which I shall relate: it will be first necessary to premise this:—The posterity of the Argonauts[8] having been expelled from Lemnos, by the Pelasgians, who had carried off from Brauron, some Athenian women, sailed to Lacedæmon; they disembarked at Taygetus,[9] where they made a great fire. The Lacedæmonians perceiving this, sent to inquire of them who and whence they were; they returned for answer that they were Minyæ, descendants of those heroes who, passing the ocean in the Argo, settled in Lemnos and there begot them.—When the Lacedæmonians heard this account of their descent, they sent a second messenger, inquiring what was the meaning of the fire they had made, and what their intentions by coming among them. Their reply was to this effect, that being expelled by the Pelasgians, they had returned, as was reasonable, to the country of their ancestors, and were desirous to fix their residence with them, as partakers of their lands and honours. The Lacedæmonians expressed themselves willing to receive them upon their own terms; and they were induced to this as well from other considerations, as because the Tyndaridæ[10] had sailed in the Argo; they accordingly admitted the Minyæ among them, assigned them lands, and distributed them among their tribes. The Minyæ in return parted with the women whom they had brought from Lemnos, and connected themselves in marriage with others.

XCLVI. In a very short time these Minyæ became distinguished for their intemperance, making themselves not only dangerous from their ambition, but odious by their vices. The Lacedæmonians conceived their enormities worthy of death and accordingly cast them into prison: it is to be remarked, that this people always inflict capital punishments by night, never by day. When things were in this situation, the wives of the prisoners, who were natives of the country, and the daughters of the principal citizens, solicited permission to visit their husbands in confinement; as no stratagem was suspected, this was granted. The wives of the Minyæ[11] accordingly entered

4 *Megabyzus.*]—The text reads Megabazus, Herodotus elsewhere says Megabyzus, which is supported by the manuscripts.—*T.*

5 *Seeds in the pomegranate.*]—Plutarch relates this incident in his apothegms of kings and illustrious generals, but applies it to Zopyrus, who by mangling his nose, and cutting off his ears, made himself master of Babylon.—*T.*

6 *The Chalcedonians.*] -The promontory on which the ancient Chalcedon stood, is a very fine situation, being a gentle rising ground from the sea, with which it is almost bounded on three sides; farther on the east side of it, is a small river which falls into the little bay to the south, that seems to have been their port; so that Chalcedon would be esteemed a most delightful situation, if Constantinople was not so near it, which is indeed more advantageously situated.—*Pococke.*

7 *The Medes.*]—Herodotus, and the greater part of the ancient writers, almost always comprehend the Persians under the name of Medes. Claudian says,

Remige Medo
Sollicitatus Athos.—*Larcher.*

8 *Posterity of the Argonauts.*]—An account of this incident, with many variations and additions, is to be found in Plutarch's Treatise on the Virtues of Women.

9 *Taygetus.*]—This was a very celebrated mountain of antiquity; it was sacred to Bacchus, for here, according to Virgil, the Spartan virgins acted the Bacchanal in his honour:—

Virginibus Bacchata Lacænis
Taygeta.

Its dogs are also mentioned by Virgil,—Taygetique canes; though perhaps this may poetically be used for Spartan dogs.—*T.*

10 *Tyndaridæ*]—Castor and Pollux, so called from Tyndarus, the husband of their mother Leda.—*T.*

11 *The wives of the Minyæ.*]—This story is related at some length by Valerius Maximus, book iv. chap. 6, in which he treats of conjugal affection. The same author tells us of Hipsicratea, the beloved wife of Mithridates, who to gratify her husband, assumed and constantly wore the habit of a man.—*T.*

the prison, and exchanged dresses with their husbands: by this artifice they effected their escape, and again took refuge on Taygetus.

CXLVII. It was about this time that Theras,[1] the son of Autesion, was sent from Lacedæmon to establish a colony: Autesion was the son of Tisamenus, grandson of Thersander, great-grandson of Polynices. This Theras was of the Cadmean family, uncle of Eurysthenes and Procles, the sons of Aristodemus: during the minority of his nephews the regency of Sparta was confided to him. When his sister's sons grew up, and he was obliged to resign his power, he was little inclined to acknowledge superiority where he had been accustomed to exercise it; he therefore refused to remain in Sparta, but determined to join his relations. In the island now called Thera, but formerly Callista, the posterity of Membliares, son of Pœciles[2] the Phenician, resided; to this place Cadmus, son of Agenor, was driven, when in search of Europa; and either from partiality to the country, or from prejudice of one kind or other, he left there among other Phenicians, Membliares[3] his relation. These men inhabited the island of Callista eight years before Theras arrived from Lacedæmon.

LXVIII. To this people Theras came, with a select number from the different Spartan tribes: he had no hostile views, but a sincere wish to dwell with them on terms of amity. The Minyæ having escaped from prison, and taken refuge on mount Taygetus, the Lacedæmonians were still determined to put them to death; Theras, however, interceded on their behalf, and engaged to prevail on them to quit their situation. His proposal was accepted, and accordingly with three vessels of thirty oars he sailed to join the descendants of Membliares, taking with him only a small number of the Minyæ. The far greater part of them had made an attack upon the Paroreatæ, and the Caucons, and expelled them from their country; dividing themselves afterwards into six bodies, they built the same number of towns, namely, Lepreus, Magistus, Thrixas, Pyrgus, Epius, and Nudius: of these, the greater part have in my time been destroyed by the Eleans.—The island before mentioned is called Theras, from the name of its founder.

CXLIX. The son of Theras refusing to sail with him, his father left him, as he himself observed, a sheep amongst wolves; from which saying the young man got the name of Oiolycus, which he ever afterwards retained. Oiolycus had a son named Ægeus, who gave his name to the Ægidæ, a considerable Spartan tribe, who, finding themselves in danger of leaving no posterity behind them, built, by the direction of the oracle, a shrine to the Furies[4] of Laius and

1 *Theras.*]—This personage was the sixth descendant from Œdipus, and the tenth from Cadmus.—See Callimachus, Hymn to Apollo, v. 6.

2 *Pœciles.*]—M. Larcher makes no scruple of translating this Procles; and in a very elaborate note attempts to establish his opinion, that this must be an abbreviation for Patrocles; but as, by the confession of this ingenious and learned Frenchman, the authorities of Herodotus, Pausanias, Apollodorus, and Porphyry, are against the reading, even of Procles for Pœciles, it has too much the appearance of sacrificing plain sense and probability at the shrines of prejudice and system, for me to adopt it without any thing like conviction.—*T.*

3 *Membliares*]—Pausanias differs from Herodotus in his account of the descent of Membliares; he represents him as a man of very mean origin; to mark these little deviations, may not perhaps be of consequence to the generality of English readers, but none surely will be displeased at being informed, where, if they think proper, they may compare what different authors have said upon the same subject.—*T.*

4 *The furies.*]—With a view to the information and amusement of the English reader, I subjoin a few particulars concerning the furies.

They were three in number, the daughters of Night and Acheron: some have added a fourth; their names, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megæra: their residence in the infernal regions; their office to orment the wicked.

They were worshipped at Athens, and first of all by Orestes, when acquitted by the Areopagites of matricide. Æschylus was the first person who represented them as having snakes instead of hair. Their name in heaven was Diræ, from the Greek word Δειναί, transposing ε for ι: on earth they were called Furiæ, and Eumenides; their name in the region below was Stygiæ Canes. The ancient authors, both Greek and Latin, abound with passages descriptive of their attributes and influence: the following animated apostrophe to them is from Æschylus.—Mr. Potter's version:

> See this grisly troop,
> Sleep has oppress'd them, and their baffled rage
> Shall fail.—Grim-visaged hags, grown old
> In loathed virginity: nor god nor man
> Approach'd their bed, nor savage of the wilds;
> For they were born for mischiefs, and their haunts
> In dreary darkness, 'midst the yawning gulfs
> Of Tartarus beneath, by men abhorr'd,
> And by the Olympian gods.

After giving the above quotation from Æschylus, it may not be unnecessary to add, that the three whom I have specified by name, were only the three principal, or supreme of many furies. Here the furies of Laius and Œdipus are mentioned, because particular furies were, as it seems, supposed ready to avenge the murder of every individual;

> Thee may th' Erinnys of thy sons destroy.
>
> *Eurip. Medea.* Potter, 1523.

Or the manes themselves became furies for that purpose;

> Their shades shall pour their vengeance on thy head.
>
> *Ib.* 1508.

Orestes in his madness calls Electra one of his furies; that is, one of those which attended to torment him:

Œdipus; this succeeded to their wish. A circumstance similar to this happened afterwards in the island of Thera, to the descendants of this tribe.

CL. Thus far the accounts of the Lacedæmonians and Thereans agree; what follows, is related on the authority of the latter only:—Grinus, son of Æsanias, and descended from the above Theras, was prince of the island; he went to Delphi, carrying with him a hecatomb for sacrifice, and accompanied, amongst others of his citizens, by Battus, the son of Polymnestus, of the family of Euthymus a Minyan; Grinus, consulting the oracle about something of a different nature, was commanded by the Pythian to build a city in Libya. "I," replied the prince, "am too old and too infirm for such an undertaking; suffer it to devolve on some of these younger persons who accompany me;" at the same time he pointed to Battus. On their return they paid no regard to the injunction of the oracle, being both ignorant of the situation of Libya, and not caring to send from them a colony on so precarious an adventure.

CLI. For seven years after the above event, it never rained in Thera; in consequence of which every tree in the place perished, except one. The inhabitants consulted the oracle, when the sending a colony to Libya was again recommended by the Pythian: as therefore no alternative remained, they sent some emissaries into Crete, to inquire whether any of the natives or strangers residing among them had ever visited Libya. The persons employed on this occasion, after going over the whole island, came at length to the city Itanus,[5] where they became acquainted with a certain dyer of purple, whose name was Corobius; this man informed them, that he was once driven by contrary winds into Libya, and had landed there, on the island of Platea; they therefore bargained with him for a certain sum, to accompany them to Thera. Very few were induced to leave Thera upon this business; they who did go were conducted by Corobius, who was left upon the island he had described, with provisions for some months; the rest of the party made their way back by sea as expeditiously as possible, to acquaint the Thereans with the event.

CLII. By their omitting to return at the time appointed, Corobius was reduced to the greatest distress; it happened, however, that a Samian vessel, whose commander's name was Colæus, was, in its course towards Egypt, driven upon the island of Platea; these Samians, hearing the story of Corobius, left him provisions for a twelvemonth. On leaving this island, with a wish to go to Egypt, the winds compelled them to take their course westward, and continuing without intermission, carried them beyond the Columns of Hercules, till, as it should seem by somewhat more than human interposition, they arrived at Tartessus.[6] As this was a port then but little known, their voyage ultimately proved very advantageous: so that, excepting Sostrates, with whom there can be no competition, no Greeks were ever before so fortunate in any commercial undertaking. With six talents, which was a tenth part of what they gained, the Samians made a brazen vase, in the shape of an Argolic goblet, round the brim of which the heads of griffins[7] were regularly disposed: this was deposited in the temple of Juno, where it is supported by three colossal figures, seven cubits high, resting on their knees. This was the first occasion of the particular intimacy, which afterwards subsisted between the Samians and the people of Cyrene and Thera.

CLIII. The Thereans, having left Corobius behind, returned, and informed their countrymen that they had made a settlement in an island belonging to Libya: they, in consequence, determined that from each of their seven cities a select number should be sent, and that if these happened to be brothers, it should be determined by lot who should go; and that finally,

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Off, let me go: I know thee who thou art,
One of *my* furies, and thou grapplest with me,
To whirl me into Tartarus.—Avaunt!

Orestes, 260.

It stands at present in the version *the* furies; which is wrong.

5 *Itanus.*]—Some of the dictionaries inform us, that this place is now called Paleo-Castro; but Savary, in his Letters on Greece, remarks, that the modern Greeks give this name to all ancient places.—*T.*

6 *Tartessus.*]—This place is called by Ptolemy, Cartela, and is seen in D'Anville's maps under that name, at the entrance of the Mediterranean: mention is made in Ovid of Tartessia litora.—*T.*

7 *Griffins.*]—In a former note upon this word I neglected to inform the reader, that in Sir Thomas Brown's Vulgar Errors there is a chapter upon the subject of griffins, very curious and entertaining, p. 142. This author satisfactorily explains the Greek word Γρυψ, or Gryps, to mean no more than a particular kind of eagle or vulture: being compounded of a lion and an eagle, it is a happy emblem of valour and magnanimity, and therefore applicable to princes, generals, &c.; and from this it is borne in the coat of arms of many noble families in Europe.—*T.*

Battus should be their prince and leader; they sent accordingly to Platea two ships of fifty oars.

CLIV. With this account, as given by the Thereans, the Cyreneans agree, except in what relates to Battus; here they differ exceedingly, and tell, in contradiction the following history:—There is a town in Crete, named Oaxus, where Etearchus was once king; having lost his wife, by whom he had a daughter, called Phronima, he married a second time: no sooner did his last wife take possession of his house, than she proved herself to Phronima a real step-mother. Not content with injuring her by every species of cruelty and ill-treatment, she at length upbraided her with being unchaste, and persuaded her husband to believe so. Deluded by the artifice of his wife, he perpetrated the following act of barbarity against his daughter: there was at Oaxus a merchant of Thera, whose name was Themison; of him, after showing him the usual rites of hospitality, he exacted an oath that he would comply with whatever he should require; having done this, he delivered him his daughter, ordering him to throw her into the sea. Themison reflected with unfeigned sorrow on the artifice which had been practised upon him, and the obligation imposed; he determined, however, what to do: he took the damsel, and having sailed to some distance from land, to fulfil his oath, secured a rope about her, and plunged her into the sea; but he immediately took her out again and carried her to Thera.

CLV. Here Polymnestus, a Therean of some importance, took Phronima to be his concubine, and after a certain time had by her a son, remarkable for his shrill and stammering voice: his name, as the Thereans and Cyreneans assert, was Battus,[1] but I think it was something else. He was not, I think, called Battus till after his arrival in Libya; he was then so named, either on account of the answer of the oracle, or from the subsequent dignity which he attained. Battus, in the Libyan tongue, signifies a prince; and I should think that the Pythian, foreseeing he was to reign in Libya, distinguished him by this African title. As soon as he grew up he went to Delphi, to consult the oracle concerning the imperfection of his voice: the answer he received was this:

> Hence, Battus! of your voice inquire no more;
> But found a city on the Libyan shore.

This is the same as if she had said in Greek, "Inquire no more, O king, concerning your voice." To this Battus replied, "O king, I came to you on account of my infirmity of tongue; you in return, impose upon me an undertaking which is impossible: for how can I, who have neither forces nor money, establish a colony in Libya?" He could not, however, obtain any other answer, which, when he found to be the case, he returned to Thera.

CLVI. Not long afterwards, he, with the rest of the Thereans, were visited by many and great calamities; and not knowing to what cause they should impute them, they sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle on the subject. The Pythian informed them that if they would colonize Cyrene in Libya, under the conduct of Battus, things would certainly go better with them: they accordingly despatched Battus to accomplish this, with two fifty-oared vessels. These men acting from compulsion, set sail for Libya, but soon returned to Thera; but the Thereans forcibly preventing their landing, ordered them to return from whence they came. Thus circumstanced, they again set sail, and founded a city in an island contiguous to Libya, called, as we have before remarked, Platea;[2] this city is said to be equal in size to that in which the Cyreneans now reside.

CLVII. They continued in this place for the space of two years, but finding their ill fortune still pursue them, they again sailed to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, leaving only one of their party behind them: when they desired to know why, having established themselves in Libya, they had experienced no favourable reverse of fortune, the Pythian made them this answer:—

> Know'st thou then Libya better than the god,
> Whose fertile shores thy feet have never trod?
> He who has well explored them thus replies;
> I can but wonder at a man so wise!

1 *Battus.*]—Battus, according to Hesychius, also signifies, in the Libyan tongue, a king: from this person, and his defect of pronunciation, comes, according to Suidas, the word Βατταρίζειν, to stammer. There was also an ancient foolish poet of this name, from whom, according to the same authority, Βαττολογία signified an unmeaning redundance of expression. Neither must the Battus here mentioned be confounded with the Battus whom Mercury turned into a direction-post, and whose story is so well told by Ovid.—*T.*

2 *Platea.*]—This name is written also *Platæa*: Stephanus Byzantinus has it both in that form, and also *Platea* or *Plateia*. Pliny speaks of three *Plateas* and a *Plate* off the coast of Troas; but they must have been very inconsiderable spots, and have not been mentioned by any other author. The best editions of Herodotus read *Platea* here; but I suspect *Plateia* to be right, for Scylax has it so as well as Stephanus.—The place of the celebrated battle in Bœotia was Platææ.

On hearing this, Battus, and they who were with him, again returned; for the deity still persevered in requiring them to form a settlement in Libya, where they had not yet been: touching, therefore, at Platea, they took on board him whom they had left, and established their colony in Libya itself. The place they selected was Aziris, immediately opposite to where they had before resided; two sides of which were inclosed by a beautiful range of hills, and a third agreeably watered by a river.

CLVIII. At this place they continued six years; when at the desire of the Libyans, who promised to conduct them to a better situation, they removed. The Libyans accordingly became their guides, and had so concerted the matter, as to take care that the Greeks should pass through the most beautiful part of their country by night: the direction they took was westward, the name of the country they were not permitted to see was Irasa.[3]—They came at length to what is called the fountain of Apollo:[4]—"Men of Greece," said the Libyans, "the heavens are here opened to you, and here it will be proper for you to reside."

CLIX. During the life of Battus, who reigned forty years, and under Arcesilaus his son, who reigned sixteen, the Cyreneans remained in this colony without any alteration with respect to their numbers: but under their third prince, who was also called Battus, and who was surnamed the Happy, the Pythian, by her declarations, excited a general propensity in the Greeks to migrate to Libya, and join themselves to the Cyreneans. The Cyreneans, indeed, had invited them to a share of their possessions, but the oracle had also thus expressed itself:

> Who seeks not Libya till the lands are shared,
> Let him for sad repentance be prepared.

The Greeks, therefore, in great numbers, settled themselves at Cyrene. The neighbouring Libyans with their king Adicran, seeing themselves injuriously deprived of a considerable part of their lands, and exposed to much insulting treatment, made a tender of themselves and their country to Apries, sovereign of Egypt: this prince assembled a numerous army of Egyptians, and sent them to attack Cyrene. The Cyreneans drew themselves up at Irasa, near the fountain Thestis, and in a fixed battle routed the Egyptians, who, till now, from their ignorance, had despised the Grecian power. The battle was so decisive, that very few of the Egyptians returned to their country; they were on this account so exasperated against Apries, that they revolted from his authority.

CLX. Arcesilaus, the son of this Battus, succeeded to the throne; he was at first engaged in some contest with his brothers, but they removed themselves from him to another part of Libya, where, after some deliberation, they founded a city. They called it Barce, which name it still retains. Whilst they were employed upon this business, they endeavoured to excite the Libyans against the Cyreneans. Arcesilaus without hesitation commenced hostilities both against those who had revolted from him, and against the Africans who had received them; intimidated by which, these latter fled to their countrymen, who were situated more to the east. Arcesilaus persevered in pursuing them till he arrived at Leucon, and here the Libyans discovered an inclination to try the event of a battle. They accordingly engaged, and the Cyreneans were so effectually routed, that seven thousand of their men in arms fell in the field. Arcesilaus, after this calamity, fell sick, and was strangled by his brother Aliarchus, whilst in the act of taking some medicine. The wife of Arcesilaus, whose name was Eryxo,[5] revenged by some stratagem on his murderer, the death of her husband.

CLXI. Arcesilaus was succeeded in his authority by his son Battus, a boy who was lame, and had otherwise an infirmity in his feet. The Cyreneans, afflicted by their recent calamities, sent to Delphi, desiring to know what system of life would most effectually secure their tranquillity. The Pythian in reply, recommended them to procure from Mantinea,[6]

3 *Irasa.*]—The reader is referred to the following note of Jortin on this place:

Milton writes it Irassa:

> As when earth's son, Antæus (to compare
> Small things with greatest) in Irassa strove
> With Jove's Alcides.

Pindar mentions this place, Pith. ix. but he writes it with a double *s*. In Herodotus, Irasa, is the name of a place; in Pindar, and his scholiast, the name of a town.

4 *Fountain of Apollo.*]—The name of this fountain was Cyre, from which the town of Cyrene had afterwards its name. Herodotus calls it, in the subsequent paragraph, Thestis; but there were probably many fountains in this place.—*Larcher.*

5 *Eryxo.*]—The story is related at considerable length by Plutarch, in his treatise on the Virtues of Women. Instead of Aliarchus, he reads Learchus; the woman he calls Eryxene, and the murderer he supposes to have been not the brother, but the friend of Arcesilaus.—*T.*

6 *Mantinea.*]—This place became celebrated by the death of Epaminondas, the great Theban general, who was here slain.—*T.*

in Arcadia, some one to compose their disturbances. Accordingly, at the request of the Cyreneans, the Mantineans sent them Demonax, a man who enjoyed the universal esteem of his countrymen. Arriving at Cyrene, his first care was to make himself acquainted with their affairs; he then divided the people into three distinct tribes: the first comprehended the Thereans and their neighbours; the second the Peloponnesians and Cretans; the third all the inhabitants of the islands. He assigned a certain portion of land, with some distinct privileges, to Battus; but all the other advantages which the kings had before arrogated to themselves, he gave to the power of the people.

CLXII. Things remained in this situation during the life of Battus: but in the time of his son, an ambitious struggle for power was the occasion of great disturbances. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus, by Pheretime, refused to submit to the regulations of Demonax the Mantinean, and demanded to be restored to the dignity of his ancestors. A great tumult was excited, but the consequence was, that Arcesilaus was compelled to take refuge at Samos, whilst his mother Pheretime fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Euelthon had at this time the government of Salamis: the same person who dedicated at Delphi a most beautiful censer, now deposited in the Corinthian treasury. To him Pheretime made application, entreating him to lead an army against Cyrene, for the purpose of restoring her and her son. He made her many presents, but refused to assist her with an army. Pheretime accepted his liberality with thanks, but endeavoured to convince him that his assisting her with forces would be much more honourable. Upon her persevering in this request, after every present she received, Euelthon was at length induced to send her a gold spindle, and a distaff with wool; observing, that for a woman this was a more suitable present than an army.

CLXIII. In the meantime Arcesilaus was indefatigable at Samos; by promising a division of lands he assembled a numerous army: he then sailed to Delphi, to make inquiry concerning the event of his return. The Pythian made him this answer: "To four Batti,[1] and to as many of the name of Arcesilaus, Apollo has granted the dominion of Cyrene. Beyond these eight generations the deity forbids even the attempt to reign: to you it is recommended to return, and live tranquilly at home. If you happen to find a furnace filled with earthen vessels, do not suffer them to be baked, but throw them into the air: if you set fire to the furnace, beware of entering a place surrounded by water. If you disregard this injunction, you will perish yourself, as will also a very beautiful bull."

CLXIV. The Pythian made this reply to Arcesilaus: he, however, returned to Cyrene with the forces he had raised at Samos; and having recovered his authority, thought no more of the oracle. He proceeded to institute a persecution against those who, taking up arms against him, had compelled him to fly. Some of these sought and found a refuge in exile, others were taken into custody and sent to Cyprus, to undergo the punishment of death. These the Cnidians delivered, for they touched at their island in their passage, and they were afterwards transported to Thera: a number of them fled to a large tower, the property of an individual named Aglomachus, but Arcesilaus destroyed them, tower and all, by fire. No sooner had he perpetrated this deed than he remembered the declaration of the oracle, which forbade him to set fire to a furnace filled with earthen vessels: fearing therefore to suffer for what he had done, he retired from Cyrene, which place he considered as surrounded by water. He had married a relation, the daughter of Alazir, king of Barce, to him therefore he went: but upon his appearing in public, the Barceans, in conjunction with some Cyrenean fugitives, put him to death, together with Alazir his father-in-law. Such was the fate of Arcesilaus, he having, designedly or from accident, violated the injunctions of the oracle.

CLXV. Whilst the son was thus hastening his destiny at Barce, Pheretime,[2] his mother, enjoyed at Cyrene the supreme authority: and amongst other regal acts presided in the senate. But as soon as she received intelligence of the death of Arcesilaus, she sought refuge in Egypt. Her son had some claims upon the liberality of Cambyses, son of Cyrus; he had delivered Cyrene into his power, and paid him tribute. On her arrival in Egypt, she present-

1 *To four Batti.*]—According to the scholiast on Pindar, the Battiades reigned at Cyrene for the space of two hundred years. Battus, son of the last of these, endeavoured to assume the government, but the Cyreneans drove him from their country, and he retired to the Hesperides, where he finished his days.—*Larcher.*

2 *Pheretime.*]—See this story well related in the Strategemata of Polyænus, book viii. c. 47.

ed herself before Aryandes in the character of a suppliant, and besought him to revenge her cause, pretending that her son had lost his life, merely on account of his attachment to the Medes.

CLXVI. This Aryandes had been appointed prefect of Egypt by Cambyses; but afterwards, presuming to rival Darius, he was by him put to death. He had heard, and indeed he had seen, that Darius was desirous to leave some monument of himself, which should exceed all the efforts of his predecessors. He thought proper to attempt somewhat similar, but it cost him his life.—Darius had issued a coin[3] of the very purest gold: the prefect of Egypt issued one of the purest silver, and called it an Aryandic. It may still be seen, and is much admired for its purity. Darius hearing of this, condemned him to death, pretending that he rebelled against him.

CLXVII. At this time Aryandes, taking compassion on Pheretime, delivered to her command all the land and sea forces of Egypt. To Amasis, a Maraphian, he entrusted the conduct of the army; and Badre, a Pasargadian[4] by birth, had the direction of the fleet. Before however they proceeded on any expedition, a herald was despatched to Barce, demanding the name of the person who had assassinated Arcesilaus. The Barceans replied, that they were equally concerned, for he had repeatedly injured them all. Having received this answer, Aryandes permitted his forces to proceed with Pheretime.

CLXVIII. This was the pretence with Aryandes for commencing hostilities; but I am rather inclined to think that he had the subjection of the Libyans in view. The nations of Libya are many and various; few of them had ever submitted to Darius, and most of them held him in contempt. Beginning from Egypt, the Libyans are to be enumerated in the order following.—The first are the Adyrmachidæ,[5] whose manners are in every respect Egyptian; their dress Libyan. On each leg their wives wear a ring of brass. They suffer their hair to grow; if they catch any fleas upon their bodies, they first bite and then throw them away. They are the only people of Libya who do this. It is also peculiar to them to present their daughters to the king just before their marriage,[6] who may en-

3 *Darius had issued a coin.*]—"About the same time seem to have been coined these famous pieces of gold called Darics, which by reason of their fineness were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout the east; for we are told that the author of this coin was not Darius Hystaspes, as some have imagined, but a more ancient Darius. But there is no ancienter Darius mentioned to have reigned in the east, excepting only this Darius whom the Scripture calls Darius the Median; and therefore it is most likely he was the author of this coin, and that during the two years that he reigned at Babylon, while Cyrus was absent on his Syrian, Egyptian, and other expeditions, he caused it to be made there out of the vast quantity of gold which had been brought thither into the treasury; from hence it became dispersed all over the east, and also into Greece, where it was of great reputation; according to Dr. Bernard, it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but the fineness added much more to its value; for it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at least very little alloy in it; and therefore may be well reckoned, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us, to be worth twenty-five shillings of our money. In those parts of the Scripture which were written after the Babylonish captivity, these pieces are mentioned by the name of Adarkonim; and in the Talmudists, by the name of Darkoneth, both from the Greek Δαρεικοι, Darics. And it is to be observed, that all those pieces of gold which were afterwards coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding kings, not only of the Persian, but also of the Macedonian race, were all called Darics, from the Darius who was the first author of them. And there were either whole Darics or half-Darics, as with us there are guineas and half-guineas."—*Prideaux.*

4 *Pasargadian.*]—There was a city in Persia called Pasargada, which doubtless gave its name to the nation of Pasargades. This place is now, in the Arabian tongue, called Databegend.

5 *Adyrmachidæ.*]—It is well known that in the age which followed, the Greeks drove these Adyrmachidæ into the higher parts of Libya, and took possession of the sea-coast. When, therefore, Ptolemy describes the Adyrmachidæ as inhabiting the interior parts of Libya, there is no contradiction betwixt his account and that of Herodotus. The manners of this people are thus described by Herodotus, and they are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:—

Versicolor contra cetra et falcatus ab arte
Ensis Adyrmachidæ ac lævo tegmina crure;
Sed mensis asper populus, victuque maligno
Nam calida tristes epulæ torrentur arena.—

L. iii. 278.

They are again mentioned by the same author, book ix. 223, 224.

——————ferro vivere lætum
Vulgus Adyrmachidæ.

6 *Before their marriage.*]—A play of Beaumont and Fletcher is founded upon the idea of this obscene and unnatural custom. The following note is by Mr. Theobald upon the "Custom of the Country." *Beaumont and Fletcher*, 1778.

The custom on which a main part of the plot of this comedy is built, prevailed at one time, as Bayle tells us, in Italy, till it was put down by a prudent and truly pious cardinal. It is likewise generally imagined to have obtained in Scotland for a long time; and the received opinion hath hitherto been, that Eugenius, the third king of Scotland, who began his reign A. D. 535, ordained that the lord or master should have the first night's lodging with every woman married to his tenant or bondsman. This obscene ordinance is supposed to have

joy the persons of such as are agreeable to him. The Adyrmachidæ occupy the country between Egypt and the Port of Pleunos.

CLXIX. Next to these are the Giligammæ, who dwell towards the west as far as the island of Aphrodisias. In the midst of this region is the island of Platea, which the Cyreneans colonized. The harbour of Menelaus and Aziris,[1] possessed also by the Cyreneans, is upon the continent. Silphium[2] begins where these terminate, and is continued from Platea to the mouth of the Syrtes.[3] The manners of these people nearly resemble those of their neighbours.

CLXX. From the west and immediately next to the Giligammæ, are the Asbystæ. They are above Cyrene, but have no communication with the sea-coasts, which are occupied by the Cyreneans: They are beyond all the Libyans remarkable for their use of chariots drawn by four horses, and in most respects they imitate the manners of the Cyreneans.

CLXXI. On the western borders of this people, dwell the Auschisæ; their district commences above Barce, and is continued to the sea, near the Euesperides.[4] The Cabales,[5] an inconsiderable nation, inhabit towards the centre of the Auschisæ, and extend themselves to the sea-coast near Tauchira,[6] a town belonging to Barce.[7] The Cabales have the same customs as the people beyond Cyrene.

CLXXII. The powerful nation of the

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been abrogated by Malcolm the third, who began his reign A. D. 1061, about five years before the Norman Conquest, having lasted in force somewhat above five hundred years.—See Blount, in his Law Dictionary, under the word Mercheta. Another commentator remarks, that Sir David Dalrymple denies the existence of this custom in Scotland.—Judge Blackstone is of opinion that this custom never prevailed in England, but that it certainly did in Scotland.

1 *Aziris.*]—See the hymn of Callimachus to Apollo, verse 89. where this place is written Αζιλις.

Herodotus in this place speaks of two islands, inhabited by the Giligammæ, Platea, and Aphrodisias; it is not certain whether the first of these is what Ptolemy called Ædonis: the second was afterwards named Læa, and was, according to Scylax, a good harbour for ships.

The country of the Giligammæ produced a species of the silphium, called by the Latins laserpitiicum, from which a medical drug was extracted; see Pliny, Nat. Hist. ix. 3. "In the country of the Cyrene (where the best silphium grew) none of late years has been found, the farmers turning their cattle into the places where it grew; one stem only has been found in my time, this was sent as a present to Nero."

2 *Silphium.*]—Either M. Larcher or myself must be grossly mistaken in the interpretation of this passage. "The plant silphium," says his version, "begins in this place to be found, and is continued," &c. This in my opinion neither agrees with the context, nor is in itself at all probable. In various authors, mention is made of the Silphii, and reference is made by them to this particular passage of Herodotus.—*T.*

3 *Syrtes.*]—The Great Syrtes must be here meant, which is in the neighbourhood of Barce, and nearer Egypt than the small Syrtes.—*Larcher.*

There were the Greater and the Lesser Syrtes, and both deemed very formidable to navigators. Their nature has never been better described than in the following lines from Lucan, which I give the reader in Rowe's version.

When nature's hand the first formation tried,
When seas from lands she did at first divide,
The Syrts not quite of sea nor land bereft,
A mingled mass uncertain still she left;
For nor the land with sea is quite o'erspread,
Nor sink the waters deep their oozy bed,
Nor earth defends its shore, nor lifts aloft its head;
The scite with neither, and with each complies,
Doubtful and inaccessible it lies;
Or 'tis a sea with shallows bank'd around,
Or 'tis a broken land with waters drown'd;
Here shores advanced o'er Neptune's rule we find,
And there an inland ocean lags behind;
Thus nature's purpose, by herself destroyed,
Is useless to herself, and unemployed.
And part of her creation still is void.

Perhaps, when first the world and time began,
Her swelling tides and plenteous waters ran;
But long confining on the burning zone,
The sinking seas have felt the neighbouring sun:
Still by degrees we see how they decay,
And scarce resist the thirsty god of day.
Perhaps, in distant ages 'twill be found,
When future suns have run the burning round.
These Syrts shall all be dry and solid ground:
Small are the depths their scanty waves retain,
And earth grows daily on the yielding main.

4 *Euesperides.*]—This city was afterwards named Berenice; of this appellation some vestiges now remain, for the place is called Bernic, Berbic, and by some Beric.

The fertility of the contiguous country gave rise to the Grecian fable of the gardens of the Hesperides.

5 *Cabales.*]—This word is sometimes written Bacales; and Wesseling hesitates what reading to prefer.

What Herodotus says of the Nasamones, c. 173, is confirmed by Pliny, Nat. Hist. vii. c. 2; Silius Italicus, i. 408; Lucan, ix. 439, &c.

Concerning their manner of plighting troth, c. 172, Shaw tells us, that the drinking out of each other's hands is the only ceremony which the Algerines at this time use in marriage.

The story which Herodotus relates of the Psylli, 173. is told also by Aulus Gellius, Noct. Att. 16.—11. It seems more probable that they were destroyed by the Nasamones.—See Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 1.—See also Hardouin ad Plin. and Larcher, vii. 312.

6 *Tauchira.*]—Called by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, Teuchira; afterwards it was known by the name of Arsinoe, and lastly by Antony it was named Cleopatris, in honour of Cleopatra: in modern times it has been called Teukera (d'Anville); Trochare (de la Croix); Trochara (Hardouin); Tochara (Simlenus); Trochata (Dapper).

7 *Barce.*]—Many of the ancients believed that this place was anciently called Ptolemais, as Strabo, Pliny, Servius, and others.

Of Cyrene, about which Strabo speaks less fabulously than Herodotus, but few traces now remain; they are differently mentioned under the names of Keroan, Currin, and Guirina.

Nasamones border on the Auschisæ towards the west. This people during the summer season leave their cattle on the sea-coast, and go up the country to a place called *Augila* to gather dates. Upon this spot the palms are equally numerous, large, and fruitful: they also hunt for locusts,[8] which having dried in the sun, they reduce to a powder, and eat mixed with milk. Each person is allowed to have several wives, with whom they cohabit in the manner of the Massagetæ, first fixing a staff in the earth before their tent. When the Nasamones marry, the bride on the first night permits every one of the guests to enjoy her person, each of whom makes her a present brought with him for the purpose. Their mode of divination and of taking an oath is this: they place their hands on the tombs[9] of those who have been most eminent for their integrity and virtue, and swear by their names. When they exercise divination, they approach the monuments of their ancestors, and there, having said their prayers, compose themselves to sleep. They regulate their subsequent conduct by such visions[10] as they may then have. When they pledge their word, they drink alternately from each other's hands.[11] If no liquid is near, they take some dust from the ground, and lick it with their tongue.

CLXXIII. Next to the Nasamones are the Psylli,[12] who formerly perished by the following accident: A south wind had dried up all their reservoirs, and the whole country, as far as the Syrtes, was destitute of water. They resolved accordingly, after a public consultation, to make a hostile expedition against this south wind, the consequence was (I only relate what the Africans inform me) that on their arrival in the deserts, the south wind overwhelmed them beneath the sands. The Psylli being thus

8 *Locusts.*]—The circumstance of locusts being dried and kept for provision, I have before mentioned: the following apposite passage having since occurred to me from Niebuhr, I think proper to insert it.

On vendit dans tous les marches des sauterelles a vil prix: car elles etoient si prodigieusement repandues dans la plaine pres de Jerim, qu'on pouvoit les prendres a pleines mains. Nous vimes un paysan qui en avoit rempli un sac, et qui alloit les secher pour sa provision d'hyver.

9 *On the tombs.*]—The following singular remark from Niebuhr seems particularly applicable in this place.

Un marchand de la Mecque me fit sur ses saints une reflection, qui me surprit dans la bouche d'un Mahometan. "Il faut toujours a la populace," me dit-il, "un objet visible qu'elle puisse honorer et craindre. C'est ainsi qu'a la Mecque tous les sermens se sont au nom de Mahomet, au lieu qu'on devroit s'adresser a Dieu. A Molcha je ne me fierois pas a un homme qui affirmeroit une chose en prenant Dieu a temoin; mais je pourrois compter plutot sur la foi de celui qui jureroit par le nom de Schaedeli, dont la mosquee et le tombeau sont sous ses yeux."

10 *By such visions, &c.*]—See Virgil, Æn. vii. 86:

Huc dona sacerdos
Cum tulit, et cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit,
Multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris,
Et varias audit voces, fruiturque deorum
Colloquio, atque imis Acheronta affatur Avernis.

The priest on skins of offerings takes his ease,
And nightly visions in his slumbers sees;
A swarm of thin aerial shapes appears,
And fluttering round his temples, deafs his ears,
These he consults, the future fates to know,
From powers above, and from the fiends below.

See also Spenser, book v. canto 7, stanza 8, where Britomartis is represented as sleeping in the temple of Isis, and has visions of what should befall her. See Jortin on Spenser.

11 *Each other's hands.*]—The ancient ceremony of the Nasamones to drink from each other's hands, in pledging their faith, is at the present period the only ceremony observed in the marriages of the Algerines.—*Shaw.*

The English phrase of, I'll pledge you, first, as it is said, took rise from the death of young king Edward the Martyr, who, by the contrivance of Elfrida, his step-mother, was treacherously stabbed in the back, whilst he was drinking.

Anciently, in this country, the person who was going to drink, asked any one of the company who sate next him, whether he would pledge him, on which he answering that he would, held up his knife or sword to him whilst he drank.

12 *The Psylli.*]—A measure like this would have been preposterous in the extreme. Herodotus therefore does not credit it: "I only relate," says he, "what the Africans inform me," which are the terms always used by our historian when he communicates any dubious matter. It seems very probable, that the Nasamones destroyed the Psylli to possess their country, and that they circulated this fable amongst their neighbours.—See Pliny, book vii. chapter 2.—*Larcher.*

Herodotus makes no mention of the quality which these people possessed, and which in subsequent times rendered them so celebrated, that of managing serpents with such wonderful dexterity.—See Lucan, book ix. Rowe's version, line 1523.

Of all who scorching Afric's sun endure,
None like the swarthy Psyllians are secure,
Skill'd in the lore of powerful herbs and charms,
Them, nor the serpent's tooth nor poison harms;
Nor do they thus in arts alone excel,
But nature too their blood has temper'd well,
And taught with vital force the venom to repel.
With healing gifts and privileges graced,
Well in the land of serpents were they placed:
Truce with the dreadful tyrant, Death, they have,
And border safely on his realm, the grave.

See also Savary, vol. i. p. 63.

"You are acquainted with the Psylli, those celebrated serpent-eaters of antiquity, who sported with the bite of vipers, and the credulity of the people. Many of them inhabited Cyrene, a city west of Alexandria, and formerly dependent on Egypt. You know the pitiful vanity of Octavius, who wished the captive Cleopatra should grace his triumphal car; and, chagrined to see that proud woman escape by death, commanded one of the Psylli to suck the wound the aspic had made. Fruitless were his efforts; the poison had perverted the whole mass of blood, nor could the art of the Psylli restore her to life."

destroyed, the Nasamones took possession of their lands.

CLXXIV. Beyond these southward, in a country infested by savage beasts, dwell the Garamantes,[1] who avoid every kind of communication with men, are ignorant of the use of all military weapons, and totally unable to defend themselves.

CLXXV. These people live beyond the Nasamones; but towards the sea-coast westward are the Macæ.[2] It is the custom of this people to leave a tuft of hair in the centre of the head, carefully shaving the rest. When they make war, their only coverings are the skins of ostriches. The river Cinyps rises amongst these in a hill, said to be sacred to the Graces, whence it continues its course to the sea. This hill of the Graces is well covered with trees: whereas the rest of Africa, as I have before observed, is very barren of wood. The distance from this hill to the sea is two hundred stadia.

CLXXVI. The Gindanes[3] are next to the Macæ. Of the wives of this people it is said that they wear round their ancles as many bandages as they have known men. The more of these each possesses, the more she is esteemed, as having been beloved by the greater number of the other sex.

CLXXVII. The neck of land which stretches from the country of the Gindanes towards the sea, is possessed by the Lotophagi,[4] who live entirely upon the fruit of the lotos. The lotos is of the size of the mastick, and sweet like the date; and the Lotophagi make of it a kind of wine.

CLXXVIII. Towards the sea, the Machyles,[5] border on the Lotophagi. They also feed on the lotos, though not so entirely as their neighbours. They extend as far as a great stream called the Triton, which enters into an extensive lake named Tritonis, in which is the island of Phla. An oracular declaration, they say, had foretold that some Lacedæmonians should settle themselves here.

CLXXIX. The particulars are these: when Jason had constructed the Argo at the foot of mount Pelion, he carried on board a hecatomb for sacrifice, with a brazen tripod: he sailed round the Peloponnese, with the intention to visit Delphi. As he approached Malea, a north wind drove him to the African coast;[6] and before he could discover land, he got amongst the shallows of the lake Tritonis: not being able to extricate himself from this situation, a Triton[7] is said to have appeared to him, and to have promised him a secure and easy passage, provided he would give him the tripod. To this Jason assented, and the Triton having fulfilled his engagement, he placed the tripod in his temple, from whence he communicated to Jason and his companions what was afterwards to happen. Amongst other things, he said, that whenever a descendant of these Ar-

1 *Garamantes.*]—Mentioned by Mela, book viii. and by him called Gamphasantes.

These people are said to have been so named from Garamas, a son of Apollo.—See Virgil, vi. 794.

> Supra Garamantas et Indos
> Proferet imperium.—*T.*

2 *Macæ.*]—These people are thus mentioned by Silius Italicus:

> Tum primum castris Phœnicum tendere ritu
> Cinyphiis didicere Macæ, squallentia barba
> Ora viris, humerosque tegunt velamina capri.—*T.*

Amongst these people was the fountain of Cinyps, called by Strabo and Ptolemy Κινυφος, by Pliny Cinyps; its modern name, according to d'Anville, is Wadi-Quaham.

3 *Gindanes.*]—This people, according to Stephanus, lived on the lotus, as well as the Lotophagi.

4 *Lotophagi.*]—Whether from the same lotus the Lotophagi obtained both meat and wine, is laboriously disputed by Vossius ad Scyll. 114. and Stapel. ad Theophrast, l. iv. c. 4. p. 327. A delineation of the lotus may be seen in Shaw and De la Croix: it is what the Arabs of the present day call seedra, and is plentiful in Barbary, and the deserts of Barbary.

5 *Machyles.*]—There was a people of this name also in Scythia: the name, however, is written different ways.—See Wesseling ad Herod. 178.

The river Triton is the same with that now called Gabs.—See Shaw.

Stephanus Byzantinus confounds the Phla of Herodotus with the island of Phila, which was in Ethiopia, not far from Egypt.—See also Shaw on this island, 129, 4to. edition.

6 *To the African coast.*]—"Some references to the Argonautic expedition," says Mr. Bryant, "are interspersed in most of the writings of the ancients, but there is scarce a circumstance concerning it in which they are agreed. In respect to the first setting out of the Argo, most make it pass northward to Lemnos and the Hellespont; but Herodotus says that Jason first sailed towards Delphi, and was carried to the Syrtic sea of Libya, and then pursued his voyage to the Euxine. Neither can the era of the expedition be settled without running into many difficulties."—See the Analysis, vol. ii. 491.

7 *A Triton.*]—From various passages in the works of Lucian, Pliny, and other authors of equal authority, it should seem that the ancients had a firm belief of the existence of Tritons, Nereids, &c. The god Triton was a distinct personage, and reputed to be the son of Neptune and the nymph Salacia; he was probably considered as supreme of the Tritons, and seems always to have been employed by Neptune for the purpose of calming the ocean.

> Mulcet aquas rector Pelagi, supraque profundum
> Exstantem atque humeros innato murice tectum
> Cæruleum Tritona vocat, conchæque sonaci
> Inspirare jubet fluctusque et flumina signo
> Jam revocare dato, &c.—*Metamorph.* l. 334.—*T.*

gonauts should take away this tripod, there would be infallibly a hundred Grecian cities near the lake of Tritonis.[7] The Africans hearing this prediction are said to have concealed the tripod.

CLXXX. Next to the Machlyes live the Ausenses. The above two nations inhabit the opposite shores of lake Tritonis. The Machlyes suffer their hair to grow behind the head, the Ausenses before. They have an annual festival in honour of Minerva, in which the young women, dividing themselves into two separate bands, engage each other with stones and clubs. These rites, they say, were instituted by their forefathers, in veneration of her whom we call Minerva; and if any one die in consequence of wounds received in this contest, they say that she was no virgin. Before the conclusion of the fight, they observe this custom: she who by common consent fought the best, has a Corinthian helmet placed upon her head, is clothed in Grecian armour, and carried in a chariot round the lake. How the virgins were decorated in this solemnity, before they had any knowledge of the Greeks, I am not able to say; probably they might use Egyptian arms. We may venture to affirm, that the Greeks borrowed from Egypt the shield and the helmet. It is pretended that Minerva was the daughter of Neptune, and the divinity of the lake Tritonis; and that from some trifling disagreement with her father, she put herself under the protection of Jupiter, who afterwards adopted her as his daughter. The connection of this people with their women is promiscuous, not confining themselves to one, but living with the sex in brutal licentiousness. Every three months[8] the men hold a public assembly, before which, each woman who has had a strong healthy boy, produces him, and the man whom he most resembles is considered as his father.

CLXXXI. The Africans who inhabit the sea-coast are termed Nomades. The more inland parts of Africa, beyond these, abound with wild beasts; remoter still, is one vast sandy desert, from the Egyptian Thebes to the Columns of Hercules.[9] Penetrating this desert to the space of a ten days' journey, vast pillars of salt are discovered, from the summits of which, flows a stream of water equally cool and sweet. This district is possessed by the last of those who inhabit the deserts beyond the centre and ruder parts of Africa. The Ammonians,[10] who possess the temple of the Theban Jupiter, are the people nearest from this place to Thebes, from which they are distant a ten days' journey. There is an image of Jupiter at Thebes, as I have before remarked, with the head of a goat. —The Ammonians have also a fountain of water, which at the dawn of morning is warm, as the day advances it chills, and at noon becomes excessively cold. When it is at the coldest point, they use it to water their gardens: as the day declines, its coldness diminishes; at sunset, it is again warm, and its warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is absolutely in a boiling state. After this period, as the morning advances, it grows again progressively colder. This is called the fountain of the sun.[11]

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7 *Lake Tritonis.*]—From this lake, as we are told in some very beautiful lines of Lucan, Minerva took her name of Tritonia.—See book ix. 589; Rowe's version:

> And reach in safety the Tritonian lake.
> These waters to the tuneful god are dear,
> Whose vocal shell the sea-green Nereids hear.
> These Pallas loves, so tells reporting fame;
> Here first from heaven to earth the goddess came,
> Here her first footsteps on the brink she staid,
> Here, in the watery glass, her form survey'd,
> And call'd herself, from hence, the chaste Tritonian maid.

8 *Every three months.*]—This preposterous custom brings to mind one described by Lobo, in his Voyage to Abyssinia, practised by a people whom he calls the Galles, a wandering nation of Africans. If engaged in any warlike expedition, they take their wives with them, but put to death all the children who may happen to be born during the excursion. If they settle quietly at home, they bring up their children with proper care.—*T.*

9 *Columns of Hercules.*]—In a former note upon the columns of Hercules I omitted to mention that more anciently, according to Ælian, these were called the columns of Briareus. This is also mentioned by Aristotle. But when Hercules had, by the destruction of various monsters, rendered essential service to mankind, they were out of honour to his memory, named the columns of Hercules.—*T.*

10 *Ammonians.*]—Bochart derives the name of Ammonians from Cham, the son of Noah, who was long reverenced in the more barren parts of Africa, under the title of Ham or Hammon, one of the names of Jupiter.

That the name of Ammon was very well known in Arabia, and throughout Africa, we may learn from the river Ammon, the Ammonian promontory, the Ammonians, the city of Ammon, &c. See Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, &c.

Some remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon are still to be seen, if the travellers to Mecca may be believed; the place is called Hesach-bir (or mole lapidum.)

In the same chapter Herodotus mentions a ἡ κρήνη Ἡλίου, the temple of the sun, concerning which see Diodorus, xvii. 528.—See also Arrian, l. iii. c. 4.—Curtius, l. iv. c. 7.—Mela, l. i. c. 8.

11 *Fountain of the Sun.*]—Diodorus Siculus describes this fountain nearly in the same terms with Herodotus. It is thus described by Silius Italicus.

> Stat fano vicina, novum et memorabile, lympha
> Quæ nascente die, quæ deficiente tepescit
> Quæque riget medium cum sol ascendit Olympum
> Atque eadem rursum nocturnis fervet in umbris.

CLXXXII. Passing onward beyond the Ammonians, into the desert for ten days more, another hill of salt[1] occurs; it resembles that which is found amongst the Ammonians, and has a spring of water; the place is inhabited, and called Augila,[2] and here the Nasamones come to gather their dates.

CLXXXIII. At another ten days' distance from the Augilæ, there is another hill of salt, with water, as well as a great number of palms, which like those before described, are exceedingly productive; this place is inhabited by the numerous nation of the Garamentes; they cover the beds of salt with earth, and then plant it. From them to the Lotophagi is a very short distance; but from these latter it is a journey of thirty days to that nation among whom is a species of oxen, which walk backwards whilst they are feeding:[3] their horns[4] are so formed that they cannot do otherwise, they are before so long, and curved in such a manner, they if they did not recede as they fed, they would stick in the ground; in other respects they do not differ from other animals of the same genus, unless we except the thickness of their skins. These Garamentes, sitting in carriages drawn by four horses, give chase to the Ethiopian Troglodytæ,[5] who, of all the people in the world of whom we have ever heard, are far the swiftest of foot: their food is lizards, serpents, and other reptiles; their language bears no resemblance to that of any other nation, for it is like the screaming of bats.

CLXXXIV. From the Garamantes, it is another ten days' journey to the Atlantes, where also is a hill of salt with water. Of all mankind of whom we have any knowledge, the Atlantes,[6] alone have no distinction of names; the body of the people are termed Atlantes, but their individuals have no appropriate appellation; when the sun is at the highest they heap upon it reproaches and execrations, because their country and themselves are parched by its rays. At the same distance onward, of a ten days' march, another hill of salt occurs, with water and inhabitants: near this hill stands mount Atlas, which at every approach is uniformly round and steep; it is so lofty that, on account of the clouds which in summer as well

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Herodotus does not tell us that the Ammonians venerated this fountain; but as they called it the fountain of the Sun, it is probable that they did. In remoter times, men almost universally worshipped streams and fountains, if distinguished by any peculiar properties: all fountains were originally dedicated to the sun, as to the first principle of motion.—*T.*

1 *Hill of salt.*]—I find the following description of the plain of salt, in Abyssinia, in Lobo's Voyage: "These plains are surrounded with high mountains, continually covered with thick clouds, which the sun draws from the lakes that are here, from which the water runs down into the plain, and is there congealed into salt. Nothing can be more curious, than to see the channels and aqueducts that nature has formed in this hard rock, so exact, and of such admirable contrivance, that they seem to be the work of men. To this place caravans of Abyssinia are continually resorting, to carry salt into all parts of the empire, which they set a great value upon, and which in their country is of the same use as money."

2 *Augila.*]—Herodotus says that this country abounded in dates; and the Africans of the present day go there to gather them.—*See Marmol*, vol. iii. p. 53.

Concerning the situation of the Augilæ, see Pliny, lib. v. c. 4, and Dapper, p. 323.

Amongst all the countries of Libya, mentioned by the ancient Greek writers, Augila is the only one which to this day retains its primitive name without the smallest variation.

3 Of the cattle, which whilst they grazed walked backwards, Mela speaks, lib. i. c. 8.—Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. viii. c. 45.—Aristotle, History of Animals, lib. vii. c. 21. —See also Vossius ad Melæ, loc. p. 41.

4 *Their horns.*]—In the British Museum is a pair of horns six feet six inches and a half long, it weighs twenty-one pounds, and the hollow will contain five quarts; Lobo mentions some in Abyssinia which would hold ten; Dallon saw some in India ten feet long: they are sometimes wrinkled, but often smooth.—*Pennant.*

Pliny, book xi. chap. 38, has a long dissertation upon the horns of different animals; he tells us that the cattle of the Troglodytæ, hereafter mentioned, had their horns curved in so particular a manner, that when they fed they were obliged to turn their necks on one side.—*T.*

5 *Troglodytæ.*]—These people have their names from τρωγλη, a cave, and δυω, to enter; Pliny says they were swifter than horses; and Mela relates the circumstance of their feeding upon reptiles. I cannot omit here noticing a strange mistake of Pliny, who, speaking of these people, says, "Syrbotas vocari gentem eam Nomadum Ethiopum secundum flumen Astapum ad septentrionem vergentem," as if ad septentrionem vergentem could possibly be applicable to any situation in Ethiopia. I may very properly add in this place, that one of the most entertaining and ingenious fictions that was ever invented, is the account given by Montesquieu in his Persian Letters of the Troglodytes.—*T.*

6 *Atlantes.*]—Concerning the reading of this word, learned men have been exceedingly divided; Valknaer, and from him also M. Larcher is of opinion that mention is here made of two distinct nations, the Atarantes and the Atlantes; but all the peculiarities enumerated in this chapter are by Pliny, Mela, and Solinus, ascribed to the single people of the Atlantes. There were two mountains, named Atlas Major and Atlas Minor, but these were not at a sufficient distance from each other to solve the difficulty.—*T.*

Some manuscripts read Atlantes, but this cannot be genuine reading, which is also the opinion of Salmasius. Valknaer, Wesseling, and Larcher.—See Vossius ad Melæ, locum laudatum, p. 41.

The Atlantei, mentioned by Diodorus, l. iii. 187, if ever they existed, must be distinct from the Atlantes of Herodotus. Of mount Atlas, and its extreme height, Homer speaks, Odyss. i. 52, 4

as winter envelop it, its summit can never be discerned; it is called by the inhabitants a pillar of heaven. From this mountain the people take their name of Atlantes; it is said of them, that they never feed on any thing which has life, and that they know not what it is to dream.

CLXXXV. I am able to call by name all the different nations as far as the Atlantes, beyond these I have no knowledge. There is, however, from hence, an habitable country, as far as the columns of Hercules, and even beyond it. At the regular interval of ten days' journey, there is a bed of salt, and inhabitants whose houses are formed from masses of salt.[7] In this part of Libya it never rains, for if it did, these structures of salt could not be durable; they have here two sorts of salt, white and purple.[8] Beyond this sandy desert, southward, to the interior parts of Libya, there is a vast and horrid space without water, wood, or beasts, and totally destitute of moisture.

CLXXXVI. Thus from Egypt, as far as lake Tritonis, the Libyans lead a pastoral life, living on flesh and milk, but like the Egyptians, will neither eat bull's flesh nor breed swine. The women of Cyrene also esteem it impious to touch a heifer, on account of the Egyptian Isis, in whose honour they solemnly observe both fast-days and festivals. The women of Barce abstain not only from the flesh of heifers, but of swine.

CLXXXVII. The Libyans, to the west of lake Tritonis, are not shepherds, they are distinguished by different manners, neither do they observe the same ceremonies with respect to their children. The greater number of these Libyan shepherds follow the custom I am about to describe, though I will not say it is the case indiscriminately with them all:—As soon as their children arrive at the age of four years, they burn the veins either of the top of the skull or of the temples, with uncleansed wool: they are of opinion, that by this process all watery humours are prevented;[9] to this they impute the excellent health which they enjoy. It must be acknowledged, whatever may be the cause, that the Libyans are more exempt from disease than any other men.—If the operation throws the children into convulsions, they have a remedy at hand; they sprinkle them with goat's urine,[10] and they recover.—I relate what the Libyans themselves affirm.

CLXXXVIII. As to their mode of sacrifice, having cut the ear of the victim which they intend as an offering for their first fruits, they throw it over the top of their dwelling, and afterwards break its neck: the only deities to whom they sacrifice, are the sun and moon, who are adored by all the Libyans; they who live near lake Tritonis venerate Triton, Neptune, and Minerva, but particularly the last.

CLXXXIX. From these Libyans the Greeks borrowed the vest, and the ægis, with which they decorate the shrine of Minerva: the vests, however, of the Libyan Minervas, are made of skin, and the fringe hanging from the ægis is not composed of serpents, but of leather; in every other respect the dress is the same: it appears by the very name, that the robe of the statues of Minerva was borrowed from Libya. The women[11] of this country wear below their garments goat-skins, without the hair, fringed, and stained of a red colour; from which part of dress the word ægis[12] of the

7 *Masses of salt.*]—Gerrha, a town on the Persian Gulf, inhabited by the exiled Chaldeans, was built of salt; the salt of the mountain Had-deffa near lake Marks, in Africa, is hard and solid as a stone.—*Larcher.*

8 *Salt, white and purple.*]—Had-deffa is a mountain entirely of salt, situate at the eastern extremity of lake Marks, or lake Tritonis of the ancients; this salt is entirely different from salts in general, being hard and solid as a stone, and of a red or violet colour: the salt which the dew dissolves from the mountain changes its colour, and becomes white as snow; it loses also the bitterness which is the property of rock salt.—*See Shaw's Travels.*

One of the most curious phenomena in the circle of natural history, is the celebrated salt-mine of Wielitska in Poland, so well described by Coxe: the salt dug from this mine is called green salt, "I know not," says Mr. Coxe, "for what reason, for its colour is an iron-grey."—*See Travels into Poland.*

9 *Watery humours are prevented.*]—According to Hippocrates, the Scythians apply fire to their shoulders, arms, and stomachs, on account of the humid and relaxed state of their bodies; this operation dries up the excess of moisture about the joints, and renders them more free and active. Wesseling remarks from Scaliger, that this custom still prevails amongst the Ethiopian Christians, Mahometans, and Heathens.—*Larcher.*

10 *Goat's urine.*]—I have heard of cow's urine being applied as a specific in some dangerous obstructions; and I find in Lobo's Voyage to Abyssinia an account of goat's urine being recommended in an asthmatic complaint; their blood was formerly esteemed of benefit in pleurisies, but this idea is now exploded.

11 *The women.*]—Apollonius Rhodius, who was an exact observer of manners, thus describes the three Libyan heroines who appeared to Jason.—See Fawke's version:

Attend, my friends:—Three virgin forms, who claim
From heaven their race, to soothe my sorrows came;
Their shoulders round were shaggy goat-skins cast,
Which low descending girt their slender waist.

12 *Ægis.*]—From αἲξ αἰγός, a goat, the Greeks made

Greeks is unquestionably derived. I am also inclined to believe, that the loud cries[1] which are uttered in the temples of that goddess have the same origin: the Libyan women do this very much, but not disagreeably. From Libya also the Greeks borrowed the custom of harnessing four horses to a carriage.

CXC. These Libyan Nomades observe the same ceremonies with the Greeks in the interment of the dead; we must except the Nasamones, who bury their deceased in a sitting attitude, and are particularly careful, as any one approaches his end, to prevent his expiring in a reclined posture. Their dwellings are easily moveable, and are formed of the asphodel shrub, secured with rushes. Such are the manners of these people.

CXCI. The Ausenses, on the western part of the river Triton, border on those Libyans who cultivate the earth and have houses, they are called Maxyes; these people suffer their hair to grow on the right side of the head, but not on the left; they stain their bodies with vermilion, and pretend to be descended from the Trojans. This region, and indeed all the more western parts of Libya, is much more woody, and more infested with wild beasts, than where the Libyan Nomades reside; for the abode of these latter advancing eastward, is low and sandy. From hence westward, where those inhabit who till the ground, it is mountainous, full of wood, and abounding with wild beasts; here are found serpents of an enormous size, lions, elephants, bears,[2] asps, and asses with horns. Here are also the Cynocephali, as well as the Acephali,[3] who, if the Libyans may be credited, have their eyes in their breasts; they have, moreover, men and women who are wild and savage; and many ferocious animals whose existence cannot be disputed.[4]

αιγις αιγιδος, which signifies both the skin of a goat, and the ægis of Minerva.

1 *Loud cries.*]—See Iliad vi. 370: Pope's version.

Soon as to Ilion's topmost tower they come,
And awful reach the high Palladian dome,
Antenor's consort, fair Theano, waits
As Pallas' priestess, and unbars the gates;
With hands uplifted, and imploring eyes,
They fill the dome with *supplicating cries.*

In imitation of which, M. Larcher remarks, Virgil uses the expression of summoque ulularunt vertice nymphæ.

2 *Bears.*]—Pliny pretends that Africa does not produce bears, although he gives us the annals of Rome, testifying that in the consulship of M. Piso, and M. Messala, Domitius Ænobarbus gave during his ædileship public games, in which were an hundred Numidian bears.

Lipsius affirms, that the beasts produced in the games of Ænobarbus, were lions, which is the animal also meant by the Lybistis ursa of Virgil: "The first time," says he, "that the Romans saw lions, they did not call them lions, but bears." Virgil mentions lions by its appropriate name in a hundred places; Shaw also enumerates bears amongst the animals which he met with in Africa.—*Larcher.*

3 *Cynocephali as well as the Acephali.*]—Herodotus mentions a nation of this name in Libya, and speaks of them as a race of men with the heads of dogs. Hard by, in the neighbourhood of this people, he places the Acephali, men with no heads at all; to whom, out of humanity, and to obviate some very natural distresses, he gives eyes in the breast; but he seems to have forgot mouth and ears, and makes no mention of a nose. Both these and the Cynocephali were denominated from their places of residence, and from their worship; the one from Cahen-Caph-El, the other from Ac-Caph-El, each of which appellations is of the same import, "the right noble or sacred rock of the sun."—*Bryant.*

See also the speech of Othello in Shakespeare:

Wherein of antres vast and deserts wild,
Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven,
It was my hint to speak, such was my process;
And of the cannibals that each other eat,
The Anthropophagi: and men whose heads
Did grow beneath their shoulders.

The Cynocephali, whom the Africans considered as men with the heads of dogs, were a species of baboons, remarkable for their boldness and ferocity. As to the Acephali, St. Augustin assures us, that he had seen them himself of both sexes. The holy father would have done well to have considered, that in pretending to be eye-witness of such a fable he threw a stain on the veracity of his other works. If there really be a nation in Africa which appear to be without a head, I can give no better account of the phenomenon, than by copying the ingenious author of Philosophic Researches concerning the Americans.

"There is," says he, "in Canibar, a race of savages who have hardly any neck, and whose shoulders reach up to the ears. This monstrous appearance is artificial, and to give it to their children, they put enormous weights upon their heads, so as to make the vertebræ of the neck enter (if we may so say) the channel bone (clavicule.) These barbarians, from a distance, seem to have their mouth in the breast, and might well enough, in ignorant or enthusiastic travellers, serve to revive the fable of the Acephali, or men without heads."—The above note is from Larcher; who also adds the following remark upon the preceding note, which I have given from Mr. Bryant.

Mr. Bryant, imagining that these people called themselves Acephali, decomposes the word, which is purely Greek, and makes it come from the Egyptian Ac-Caph-El, which he interprets "The sacred rock of the sun." The same author, with as much reason, pretends that Cynocephali comes from Cahen-Caph-El, to which he assigns a similar interpretation; here, to me at least there seems a vast deal of erudition entirely thrown away.

In the fifth century, the name of Acephali was given to a considerable faction of the Monophysites, or Eutychians, who by the submission of Mongus were deprived of their leader.—*T.*

Apollonius Rhodius calls these people ἡμικυνες, or half dogs; and it is not improbable but that the circumstance of their living entirely by the produce of the chase, might give rise to the fable of their having the heads of dogs.—*T.*

4 *Cannot be disputed.*]—We may, I think, fairly infer

CXCII. Of the animals above mentioned, none are found amongst the Libyan Nomades; they have however pygargi,[5] goats, buffaloes, and asses, not of that species which have horns, but a particular kind which never drink. They have also oryxes[6] of the size of an ox, whose horns are used by the Phenicians to make the sides of their citharæ. In this region likewise there are bassaria,[7] hyenas, porcupines, wild boars, dictyes,[8] thoes,[9] panthers, boryes,[10] land crocodiles[11] three cubits long, resembling lizards, ostriches, and small serpents, having each a single horn. Besides these animals, they have such as are elsewhere found, except the stag and the boar,[12] which are never seen in Africa. They have also three distinct species of mice, some of which are called dipodes,[13] others are called zegeries, which in the African tongue has the same meaning with the Greek word for hills. The other species is called the echines. There is moreover to be seen a kind of weasel in Silphium, very much like that of Tartessus. The above are all the animals amongst the Libyan Nomades, which my most diligent researches have enabled me to discover.

CXCIII. Next to the Maxyes are the Zaneces, whose women guide the chariots of war.

CXCIV. The people next in order are the Zygantes, amongst whom a great abundance of honey is found, the produce of their bees: but of this they say a great deal more is made by

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from this expression, that Herodotus gave no credit to the stories of the Cynocephali and Acephali.

5 *Pygargi.*]—Aristotle classes the pygargus amongst the birds of prey; but as Herodotus in this place speaks only of quadrupeds, it is probable that this was also one. Hardouin makes it a species of goat.—Thus far Larcher. Ælian also ranks it amongst the quadrupeds, and speaks of its being a very timid animal.—See also Juvenal, Sat. xi. 138.

Sumine cum magno, lepus atque aper, et pygargus.

See also Deuteronomy, chap. xiv. verse 5. "The hart and the roebuck, and the fallow deer, and the wild goat, and the pygarg, and the wild ox, and the chamois."

It is without doubt the white antelope, which is very common at the Cape.

6 *Oryxes.*]—Pliny describes this animal as having but one horn; Oppian, who had seen it, says the contrary. Aristotle classes it with the animals having but one horn. Bochart thinks it was the aram, a species of gazelle; but Oppian describes the oryx as a very fierce animal.—The above is from *Larcher.*

The oryx is mentioned by Juvenal, Sat. xi. 140.

Et Getulus oryx:

And upon which line the Scoliast has this remark:

Oryx animal minus quam bubalus quem Mauri uncem vocant, cujus pellis ad citoras proficit scuta Maurorum minora.—From the line of Juvenal above mentioned, it appears that they were eaten at Rome, but they were also introduced as a ferocious animal in the amphitheatre. See Martial, xiii. 95.

Matutinarum non ultima præda ferarum
Sævus oryx, constat quot mihi morte canum.

That it was an animal well known and very common in Africa, is most certain; but unless it be what Pennant describes under the name of the leucoryx, or white antelope, I confess I know not what name to give it.—*T.*

7 *Bassaria.*]—Ælian makes no mention of this animal at least under this name. Larcher interprets it foxes, and refers the reader to the article Βασσαρεις, in Hesychius, which we learn was the name which the people of Cyrene gave to the fox.—*T.*

8 *Dictyes.*]—I confess myself totally unable to find out what animal is here meant.

9 *Thoes.*]—Larcher is of opinion that this is the beast which we call a jackall, which he thinks is derived from the Arabian word *chatall.* He believes that the idea of the jackall's being the lion's provider is universally credited in this country: but this is not true. The science of natural history is too well and too successfully cultivated amongst us to admit of such an error, except with the most ignorant. I subjoin what Shaw says upon this subject.

The black cat (scyah ghush) and the jackall, are generally supposed to find out provisions or prey for the lion, and are therefore called the lion's provider; yet it may very much be doubted, whether there is any such friendly intercourse between them. In the night, indeed, when all the beasts of the forest do move, these, as well as others, are prowling after sustenance; and when the sun ariseth, and the lion getteth himself away to his den, both the black cat and the jackall have been often found gnawing such carcases as the lion is supposed to have fed upon the night before. This, and the promiscuous noise which I have heard the jackall particularly make with the lion, are the only circumstances I am acquainted with in favour of this opinion.—*T.*

10 *Boryes.*]—Of this animal I can find no account in any writer, ancient or modern.

11 *Land crocodiles,*]—or Κροκοδειλος χερσαιος, so called in contradistinction from the river crocodile, which by way of eminence was called Κροκοδειλος only.—*T.*

12 *Boar.*]—This animal must have been carried to Africa since the time of Herodotus, for it is now found there: according to Shaw, it is the chief food and prey of the lion, against which it has sometimes been known to defend itself with so much bravery, that the victory has declined to neither side, the carcasses of them both having been found lying the one by the other, torn and mangled to pieces.—*Shaw.*

13 *Dipodes.*]—Shaw is of opinion that this is the jerboa of Barbary. "The remarkable disproportion," observes this writer, "betwixt the fore and hinder legs of the jerboa, or διπους, though I never saw them run, but only stand or rest themselves upon the latter, may induce us to take it for one of the διποδες, or two-footed rats, which Herodotus and other writers describe as the inhabitants of these countries, particularly (του Σιλφιου) of the province of Silphium." Accordingly Mr. Pennant has set down the μῦς διπους of Theophrastus and Ælian amongst the synonyma of the jerboa. *History of An.* p. 427. No. 291.

The disproportion betwixt the hind and fore legs is to be observed in various animals. The jerboa, the kangaroo of Port Jackson, the camelopard, though indeed the contrary way, the hyena, and the hare, are remarkable instances of it.

the natives.[1] They stain their bodies with vermilion, and feed upon monkies, with which animal their mountains abound.

CXCV. According to the Carthaginians, we next meet with an island called Cyranis,[2] two hundred stadia in length. It is of a trifling breadth, but the communication with the continent is easy, and it abounds with olives and vines. Here is a lake, from which the young women of the island draw up gold dust[3] with bunches of feathers besmeared with pitch. For the truth of this I will not answer, relating merely what I have been told. To me it seems the more probable, after having seen at Zacynthus[4] pitch drawn from the bottom of the water. At this place are a number of lakes, the largest of which is seventy feet in circumference, and of the depth of two orgyiæ. Into this water they let down a pole, at the end of which is a bunch of myrtle; the pitch attaches itself to the myrtle and is thus procured. It has a bituminous smell, but is in other respects preferable to that of Pieria.[5] The pitch is then thrown into a trench dug for the purpose by the side of the lake: and when a sufficient quantity has been obtained, they put it up in casks. Whatever falls into the lake passes under ground, and is again seen in the sea at the distance of four stadia from the lake. Thus what is related of this island contiguous to Libya, seems both consistent and probable.

CXCVI. We have the same authority of the Carthaginians to affirm, that beyond the Columns of Hercules[6] there is a country inhabited by a people with whom they have had commercial intercourse.[7] It is their custom, on arriving amongst them, to unload their vessels, and dispose their goods along the shore. This done, they again embark, and make a great smoke from on board. The natives, seeing this, come down immediately to the shore, and placing a quantity of gold by way of exchange for the merchandize, retire. The Carthaginians then land a second time, and if they think the gold equivalent, they take it and depart; if not, they again go on board their vessels. The inhabitants return and add more gold, till the

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1 *Made by the natives.*]—"I do not see," says Reiske on this passage, "how men can possibly make honey. They may collect, clarify, and prepare it by various processes for use, but the bees must first have made it."

I confess I see no such great difficulty in the above. There were various kinds of honey, honey of bees, honey of the palm, and honey of sugar, not to mention honey of grapes, all the last of which might be made by the industry of man.—See Lucan:

Quiquebibunt tenera dulces ab arundine succos.—*T.*

See Shaw's Travels, p. 339.

2 *Cyranis.*]—The same with the Cercinna of Strabo, now called Querqueni, or Chercheni; concerning this island consult Diodorus, l. v. 294; but Diodorus, we should remark, confounded Cercinna with Cerne, an island of the Atlantic.

3 *Gold dust.*]—See a minute account of this in Achilles Tatius.—*T.*

4 *Zacynthus.*]—The modern name of this place is Zante. Its tar-springs, to use the words of Chandler, are still a natural curiosity deserving notice.

The tar is produced in a small valley about two hours' walk from the town, by the sea, and encompassed with mountains, except towards the bay, in which are a couple of rocky islets. The spring which is most distinct and apt for inspection, rises on the farther side near the foot of the hill. The well is circular, and four or five feet in diameter. A shining film, like oil mixed with scum swims on the top: you remove this with a bough, and see the tar at the bottom, three or four feet beneath the surface, working up, it is said, out of a fissure in the rock; the bubbles swelling gradually to the size of a large cannon ball, when they burst, and the sides leisurely sinking, new ones succeed, increase, and in turn subside. The water is limpid, and runs off with a smart current: the ground near is quaggy, and will shake beneath the feet, but is cultivated. We filled some vessels with tar, by letting it trickle into them from the boughs which we immersed, and this is the method used to gather it from time to time into pits, where it is hardened by the sun, to be barrelled when the quantity is sufficient. The odour reaches a considerable way.—*See Chandler's Travels.*

Some account of these tar-springs is also to be found in Antigonus Carystius, p. 169, and Vitruvius, l. viii. c. 3.

5 *That of Pieria.*]—This was highly esteemed. Didymus says that the ancients considered that as the best which came from mount Ida; and next to this the tar which came from Pieria. Pliny says the same.—*Larcher.*

6 *Columns of Hercules.*]—The Libyan Column was by ancient writers called Abyla; that on the Spanish side, Calpe.—*See P. Mela.* l. ii. c. 6.

7 *Commercial intercourse.*]—It must be mentioned to the honour of the western Moors, that they still continue to carry on a trade with some barbarous nations bordering upon the river Niger, without seeing the persons they trade with, or without once having broke through that original charter of commerce which from time immemorial has been settled between them. The method is this: at a certain time of the year, in the winter, if I am not mistaken, they make this journey in a numerous caravan, carrying along with them coral and glass beads, bracelets of horn, knives, scissors, and such like trinkets. When they arrive at the place appointed, which is on such a day of the moon, they find in the evening several different heaps of gold-dust lying at a small distance from each other, against which the Moors place so many of their trinkets as they judge will be taken in exchange for them. If the Nigritians the next morning approve of the bargain, they take up the trinkets and leave the gold-dust, or else make some deduction from the latter. In this manner they transact their exchange without seeing one another, or without the least instance of dishonesty or perfidiousness on either side.—*Shaw.*

crews are satisfied. The whole is conducted with the strictest integrity, for neither will the one touch the gold till they have left an adequate value in merchandise, nor will the other remove the goods till the Carthaginians have taken away the gold.

CXCVII. Such are the people of Libya whose names I am able to ascertain; of whom the greater part cared but little for the king of the Medes, neither do they now. Speaking with all the precision I am able, the country I have been describing is inhabited by four nations only: of these, two are natives and two strangers. The natives are the Libyans and Ethiopians; one of whom possess the northern, the other the southern parts of Africa. The strangers are the Phenicians and the Greeks.

CXCVIII. If we except the district of Cinyps, which bears the name of the river flowing through it, Libya in goodness of soil cannot, I think, be compared either to Asia or Europe. Cinyps is totally unlike the rest of Libya, but is equal to any country in the world for its corn. It is of a black soil, abounding in springs, and never troubled with drought. It rains in this part of Libya, but the rains, though violent, are never injurious. The produce of corn is not exceeded by Babylon itself. The country also of the Euesperidæ is remarkably fertile; in one of its plentiful years it produces an hundred fold; that of Cinyps three hundred fold.

CXCIX. Of the part of Libya possessed by the Nomades, the district of Cyrene[8] is the most elevated. They have three seasons, which well deserve admiration: the harvest and the vintage first commence upon the sea-coast; when these are finished, those immediately contiguous, advancing up the country, are ready; this region they call Buni. When the requisite labour has been here finished, the corn and the vines in the more elevated parts are found to ripen in progression, and will then require to be cut. By the time therefore that the first produce of the earth is consumed, the last will be ready. Thus for eight months in the year the Cyreneans are employed in reaping the produce of their lands.

CC. The Persians who were sent by Aryandes to avenge the cause of Pheretime, proceeding from Egypt to Barce, laid siege to the place, having first required the persons of those who had been accessary to the death of Arcesilaus. To this the inhabitants, who had all been equally concerned in destroying him, paid no attention. The Persians, after continuing nine months before the place, carried their mines to the walls, and made a very vigorous attack. Their mines were discovered by a smith, by means of a brazen shield. He made a circuit of the town; where there were no miners beneath, the shield did not reverberate, which it did wherever they were at work. The Barceans therefore dug countermines, and slew the Persians so employed. Every attempt to storm the place was vigorously defeated by the besieged.

CCI. After a long time had been thus consumed with considerable slaughter on both sides (as many being killed of the Persians as of their adversaries) Amasis the leader of the infantry, employed the following stratagem:—Being convinced that the Barceans were not to be overcome by any open attacks, he sunk in the night a large and deep trench: the surface of this he covered with some slight pieces of wood, then placing earth over the whole, the ground had uniformly the same appearance. At the dawn of the morning he invited the Barceans to a conference; they willingly assented, being very desirous to come to terms. Accordingly they entered into a treaty, of which these were the conditions: it was to remain valid[9] as long as the earth upon which the

8 *Cyrene.*]—About the limits of this district the ancients were not at all agreed, they are no where defined by Herodotus: the province of Cyrene, formerly so populous, is the contrary now; the sea-coasts are ravaged by pirates, the inland parts by the Arabians; such inhabitants as there are, are rich by the sale of the Europeans, who fall into their hands, to the Ethiopians.—*See La Croix*, tom. ii. 252.

Of the abundant fertility of Cyrene, Diodorus Siculus also speaks, p. 183. c. cxxviii.—Concerning the fountain of Cyre, one of the Fontes Cyrenaicæ, see Callimachus' Ode to Apollo, 88; and Justin, lib. xiii. c. 7.

Concerning the Asbystæ, of whom Herodotus speaks, c. 170, 171, Salmasius has collected much, and Solinum, 381; so also has Eustathius, and Dionys. Perieg. 211.—See too Larcher, vol. ii. 43.

Of the people with whom the Carthaginians traded, beyond the columns of Hercules, without seeing them, I have spoken at length, and given from Shaw the passage introduced by Schlichthorst. The place, whose name is not mentioned by Herodotus, is doubtless, what we now call Senegambia. All the part of Libya described by Herodotus is now comprehended under the general name of Barbary, and contains the kingdoms of Morocco, Fez, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; the maritime part of Libya, from Carthage westward, was unknown to Herodotus.

9 *It was to remain valid.*]—Memini similem fœderis formulam apud Polybium legere in fœdere Hannibalis cum Tarentinis, si bene memini.—*Reiske.*

Reiske's recollection appears in this place to have deceived him. Tarentum was betrayed to Hannibal by

agreement was made should retain its present appearance. The Barceans were to pay the Persian monarch a certain reasonable tribute; and the Persians engaged themselves to undertake nothing in future to the detriment of the Barceans. Relying upon these engagements, the Barceans, without hesitation, threw open the gates of their city, going out and in themselves without fear of consequences, and permitting without restraint such of the enemy as pleased to come within their walls. The Persians withdrawing the artificial support of the earth, where they had sunk a trench, entered the city in crowds; they imagined by this artifice that they had fulfilled all they had undertaken, and were brought back to the situation in which they were mutually before. For in reality, this support of the earth being taken away, the oath they had taken became void.

CCII. The Persians seized and surrendered to the power of Pheretime such of the Barceans as had been instrumental in the death of her son. These she crucified on different parts of the walls; she cut off also the breasts of their wives, and suspended them in a similar situation. She permitted the Persians to plunder the rest of the Barceans, except the Battiadæ, and those who were not concerned in the murder. These she suffered to retain their situations and property.

CCIII. The rest of the Barceans being reduced to servitude, the Persians returned home. Arriving at Cyrene, the inhabitants of that place granted them a free passage through their territories, from reverence to some oracle. Whilst they were on their passage, Bares, commander of the fleet, solicited them to plunder Cyrene; which was opposed by Amasis, leader of the infantry, who urged that their orders were only against Barce. When, passing Cyrene, they had arrived at the hill of the Lycean Jupiter,[1] they expressed regret at not having plundered it. They accordingly returned, and endeavoured a second time to enter the place, but the Cyreneans would not suffer them. Although no one attempted to attack them, the Persians were seized with such a panic, that, returning in haste, they encamped at the distance of about sixty stadia from the city. Whilst they remained here, a messenger came from Aryandes, ordering them to return. Upon this, the Persians made application to the Cyreneans for a supply of provisions; which being granted, they returned to Egypt. In their march they were incessantly harassed by the Libyans for the sake of their clothes and utensils. In their progress to Egypt, whoever was surprised or left behind was instantly put to death.

CCIV. The farthest progress of this Persian army was to the country of the Euesperidæ. Their Barcean captives they carried with them from Egypt to king Darius, who assigned them for their residence a portion of land in the Bactrian district, to which they gave the name of Barce; this has within my time contained a great number of inhabitants.

CCV. The life, however, of Pheretime had by no means a fortunate termination. Having gratified her revenge upon the Barceans, she returned from Libya to Egypt, and there perished miserably. Whilst alive, her body was the victim of worms;[2] thus it is that the gods punish those who have provoked their indignation; and such also was the vengeance which Pheretime, the wife of Battus, exercised upon the Barceans.

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the treachery of some of its citizens; but in no manner resembling this here described by Herodotus.—*T.*

1 *Lycean Jupiter.*]—Lycaon erected a temple to Jupiter in Parrhasia, and instituted games in his honour, which the Lyceans called Λυκαια. No one was permitted to enter this temple; he who did was stoned.—*Larcher.*

2 *Victim of worms.*]—This passage, with the reasoning of Herodotus upon it, cannot fail to bring to the mind of the reader the miserable end of Herod, surnamed the Great.

"And he went down to Cæsarea, and there abode: and upon a set day Herod arrayed in royal apparel sat upon his throne, and made an oration unto them. And the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory: and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost."—See Lardner's observations upon the above historical incident.—*T.*

HERODOTUS.

BOOK V.

TERPSICHORE.

I. The Persians who had been left in Europe by Darius, under the conduct of Megabyzus, commenced their hostilities on the Hellespont with the conquest of the Perinthii,[1] who had refused to acknowledge the authority of Darius, and had formerly been vanquished by the Pæonians.[2] This latter people, inhabiting the banks of the Strymon, had been induced by an oracle to make war on the Perinthians: if the Perinthians on their meeting offered them battle, provoking them by name, they were to accept the challenge: if otherwise, they were to decline all contest. It happened accordingly, that the Perinthians marched into the country of the Pæonians, and encamping before their town, sent them three specific challenges, a man to encounter with a man, a horse with a horse, a dog with a dog. The Perinthians having the advantage in the two former contests, sung with exultation a song of triumph;[3] this the Pæonians conceived to be the purport of the oracle: "Now," they exclaimed, "the oracle will be fulfilled; this is the time for us." They attacked, therefore, the Perinthians, whilst engaged in their imaginary triumph, and obtained so signal a victory that few of their adversaries escaped.

II. Such was the overthrow which the Perinthians received, in their conflict with the Pæonians: on the present occasion they fought valiantly in defence of their liberties, against Megabyzus, but were overpowered by the superior numbers of the Persians. After the capture of Perinthus, Megabyzus overran Thrace with his forces, and reduced all its cities and inhabitants under the power of the king: the conquest of Thrace had been particularly enjoined him by Darius.

III. Next to India, Thrace is of all nations the most considerable;[4] if the inhabitants were either under the government of an individual, or united amongst themselves, their strength would in my opinion render them invincible; but this is a thing impossible, and they are of course but feeble. Each different district has a different appellation; but except the Getæ, the Trausi,[5] and those beyond Crestona, they are marked by a general similitude of manners.

IV. Of the Getæ, who pretend to be immortal, I have before spoken. The Trausi have a general uniformity with the rest of the Thracians, except in what relates to the birth of their children, and the burial of their dead. On the birth of a child, he is placed in the

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1 *Perinthii.*]—Perinthus was first called Mygdonia, afterwards Heraclea, and then Perinthus.—*T.*

2 *Pæonians.*]—As the ancients materially differed in opinion concerning the geographical situation of this people, it is not to be expected that I should speak decisively on the subject. Herodotus here places them near the river Strymon; Dio, near mount Rhodope; and Ptolemy, where the river Haliacmon rises. Pæonia was one of the names of Minerva, given her from her supposed skill in the art of medicine.—*T.*

3 *Song of triumph.*]—Larcher renders this passage "Sung the pæon," and subjoins this note: "Of this song there were two kinds, one was chaunted before the battle, in honour of Mars; the other after the victory, in honour of Apollo; this song commenced with the words "Io Pæan." The allusion of the word Pæon to the name of the Pæonians, is obvious, to preserve which I have rendered it "sung the pæon."—The usage and application of the word Pæan, amongst the ancients, was various and equivocal: the composition of Pindar, in praise of all the gods, was called Pæan; and Pæan was also one of the names of Apollo. To which it may be added, that Pæan, being originally a hymn to Apollo, from his name Pæan, became afterwards extended in its use to such addresses to other gods."

4 *Most considerable.*]—Thucydides ranks them after the Scythians, and Pausanias after the Celtæ.—*Larcher.*

5 *Trausi.*]—These were the people whom the Greeks called Agathyrsi.

midst of a circle of his relations, who lament aloud the evils which, as a human being, he must necessarily undergo, all of which they particularly enumerate;[1] but whenever any one dies, the body is committed to the ground with clamorous joy, for the deceased, they say, delivered from his miseries, is then supremely happy.

V. Those beyond the Crestonians have these observances:—Each person has several wives; if the husband dies, a great contest commences amongst his wives, in which the friends of the deceased interest themselves exceedingly, to determine which of them had been most beloved. She to whom this honour is ascribed is gaudily decked out by her friends, and then sacrificed by her nearest relation on the tomb of her husband,[2] with whom she is afterwards buried; his other wives esteem this an affliction, and it is imputed to them as a great disgrace.

VI. The other Thracians have a custom of selling their children, to be carried out of their country. To their young women they pay no regard, suffering them to connect themselves indiscriminately with men; but they keep a strict guard over their wives, and purchase them of their parents at an immense price. To have punctures on their skin[3] is with them a mark of nobility, to be without these is a testimony of a mean descent: the most honourable life with them is a life of indolence; the most contemptible that of a husbandman. Their supreme delight is in war and plunder.—Such are their more remarkable distinctions.

VII. The gods whom they worship are Mars, Bacchus,[4] and Diana: besides these popular gods, and in preference to them, their princes worship Mercury. They swear by him alone, and call themselves his descendants.

VIII. The funerals of their chief men are of this kind: for three days the deceased is publicly exposed; then having sacrificed animals of

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1 *Particularly enumerate.*]—A similar sentiment is quoted by Larcher, from a fragment of Euripides, of which the following is the version of Cicero:—

> Nam nos decebat cœtum celebrantes domus
> Lugere, ubi esset aliquis in lucem editus,
> Humanæ vitæ varia reputantes mala:
> At qui labores morte finisset graves,
> Hunc omni amicos laude et lætitia exsequi.

See also on this subject Gray's fine Ode on a distant Prospect of Eton College:—

> Alas! regardless of their doom,
> The little victims play;
> No sense have they of ills to come,
> Nor care beyond to-day;
> Yet see how all around 'em wait
> The ministers of human fate,
> And black Misfortune's baleful train!
> Ah! show them where in ambush stand,
> To seize their prey, the murth'rous band:
> Ah! tell them they are men.—
> These shall the fury passions tear? &c.—*T.*

2 *Tomb of her husband.*]—This custom was also observed by the Getæ: at this day, in India, women burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands, which usage must have been continued there from remote antiquity. Propertius mentions it:

> Et certamen habent leti quæ viva sequatur
> Conjugium, pudor est non licuisse mori;
> Ardent victrices et flammæ pectora præbent,
> Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris.

Cicero mentions also the same fact. Larcher quotes the passage from the Tusculan Questions, of which the following is a translation.

"The women in India, when their husband dies, eagerly contend to have it determined which of them he loved best, for each man has several wives. She who conquers, deems herself happy, is accompanied by her friends to the funeral pile, where her body is burned with that of her husband; they who are vanquished depart in sorrow."—The civil code of the Indians, requiring this strange sacrifice, is to this effect: "It is proper for a woman, after her husband's death, to burn herself in the fire with his corpse, unless she be with child, or that her husband be absent, or that she cannot get his turban or his girdle, or unless she devote herself to chastity and celibacy: every woman who thus burns herself shall, according to the decrees of destiny, remain with her husband in paradise for ever."—"This practice," says Raynal, "so evidently contrary to reason, has been chiefly derived from the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and of a future life: the hope of being served in the other world by the same persons who obeyed us in this, has been the cause of the slave being sacrificed on the tomb of his master, and the wife on the corpse of her husband; but that the Indians, who firmly believed in the transmigration of souls, should give way to this prejudice, is one of those numberless inconsistencies which in all parts of the world degrade the human mind."—See Raynal, vol. i. 91. The remark, in the main, is just; but the author, I fear, meant to insinuate that practices contrary to reason naturally proceed from the doctrines he mentions; a suggestion which, though very worthy of the class of writers to which he belongs, has not reason enough in it to deserve a serious reply.—*T.*

3 *Punctures on their skin.*]—If Plutarch may be credited, the Thracians in his time made these punctures on their wives, to revenge the death of Orpheus, whom they had murdered. Phanocles agrees with this opinion, in his poem upon Orpheus, of which a fragment has been preserved by Stobæus. If this be the true reason, it is remarkable that what in its origin was a punishment, became afterwards an ornament, and a mark of nobility.—*Larcher.*

Of such great antiquity does the custom of tattaowing appear to have been, with descriptions of which, the modern voyages to the South Sea abound.—*T.*

4 *Bacchus.*]—That Bacchus was worshipped in Thrace, is attested by many authors, and particularly by Euripides: in the Rhesus, attributed to that poet, that prince, after being slain by Ulysses, was transported to the caverns of Thrace by the muse who bore him, and becoming a divinity, he there declared the oracles of Bacchus. In the Hecuba of the same author, Bacchus is called the deity of Thrace. Some placed the oracle of Bacchus near mount Pangæa, others near mount Hæmus.—*Larcher.*

every description, and uttered many and loud lamentations, they celebrate a feast,[5] and the body is finally either burned or buried. They afterwards raise a mound of earth[6] upon the spot, and celebrate games[7] of various kinds, in which each particular contest has a reward assigned suitable to its nature.

IX. With respect to the more northern parts of this region, and its inhabitants, nothing has yet been decisively ascertained. What lies beyond the Ister, is a vast and almost endless space. The whole of this, as far as I am able to learn, is inhabited by the Sigynæ, a people who in dress resemble the Medes; their horses are low in stature, and of a feeble make, but their hair grows to the length of five digits: they are not able to carry a man, but, yoked to a carriage, are remarkable for their swiftness, for which reason carriages are here very common. The confines of this people extend almost to the Eneti[8] on the Adriatic. They call themselves a colony of the Medes;[9] how this could be, I am not able to determine, though in a long series of time it may not have been impossible. The Sigynæ are called merchants[10] by the Ligurians, who live beyond Massilia: with the Cyprians, Sigynæ is the name for spear.

X. The Thracians affirm that the places beyond the Ister are possessed wholly by bees, and that a passage beyond this is impracticable. To me this seems altogether impossible, for the bee is an insect known to be very impatient of cold;[11] the extremity of which, as I should think, is what renders the parts to the north uninhabitable. The sea-coast of this region was reduced by Megabyzus under the power of Persia.

XI. Darius having crossed the Hellespont, went immediately to Sardis, where he neither forgot the service of Histiæus, nor the advice of Coes of Mitylene. He accordingly sent for these two persons, and desired them to ask what they would. Histiæus, who was tyrant of Miletus, wished for no accession of power; he merely required the Edonian[12] Myrcinus,

5 *Celebrate a feast.*]—It appears from a passage in Jeremiah, that this mixture of mourning and feasting at funerals was very common amongst the Jews:

"Both the great and the small shall die in this land; they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them.

"Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead; neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or for their mother.

"Thou shalt not also go into the house of feasting, to sit with them to eat and to drink."—xvi. 6, 7, 8.

The same custom is still observed in the countries of the east.—*T.*

6 *Mound of earth.*]—Over the place of burial of illustrious persons, they raised a kind of tumulus of earth. This is well expressed in the "ingens aggeritur tumulo tellus," of Virgil.—*Larcher.*

The practice of raising barrows over the bodies of the deceased was almost universal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans. Virgil alludes to it as usual in the times treated of in the Æneid. Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Persians. The Roman historians record that the same mode of interring took place among their countrymen; and it appears to have prevailed no less among the ancient Germans, and many other uncivilized nations.—*See Coxe's Travels through Poland,* &c.

7 *Celebrate games.*]—It is impossible to say when funeral games were first instituted. According to Pliny, they existed before the time of Theseus; and many have supposed that the famous games of Greece were in their origin funeral games. The best description of these is to be found in Homer and in Virgil. In the former, those celebrated by Achilles in honour of Patroclus; in the latter, those of Æneas in memory of his father.—*T.*

8 *Eneti,*]—or rather Heneti, which aspirate, represented by the Æolic digamma, forms the Latin name Veneti. Their horses were anciently in great estimation. See the Hippolytus of Euripedes, ver. 230. Homer speaks of their mules.—*T.*

9 *Colony of the Medes.*]—Strabo says that this people observed in a great measure the customs of the Persians; thus the people whom Herodotus calls Medes, might be considered as genuine Persians, according to his custom of confounding their names, if Diodorus Siculus had not decided the matter.

10 *Called Merchants.*]—The whole of this sentence Larcher omits, giving as his opinion, that it was inserted by some scholiast in the margin, and had thence found its way into the text. For my part, I see no reason for this; and I think the explication given by the Abbe Bellanger, in his Essais de Critique sur les Traduct. d'Herodote, may fairly be accepted. "Herodotus means," says he, "to inform his reader, that Sigynæ is not an unusual word; the Ligurians use it for merchants, the Cyprians for spears."—But if this be true, the following version by Littlebury must appear absurd enough: "The Ligurians," says he, "who inhabit beyond Marseilles, call the Sigynes brokers; and the Cyprians give them the name of javelins."—*T.*

11 *Impatient of cold.*]—This remark of Herodotus concerning bees, is in a great measure true, because all apiaries are found to succeed and thrive best, which are exposed to a degree of middle temperature: yet it would be difficult perhaps to ascertain the precise degree of cold in which bees would cease to live and multiply. Modern experiments have made it obviously appear, that in severe winters this insect has perished as frequently from famine as from cold. It is also well known that bees have lived in hollow trees in the colder parts of Russia.—*T.*

12 *Edonian.*]—This district is by some writers placed in Thrace, by others in Macedonia. The *o* is used long by Virgil, and short by Lucan:

Ac velut Edoni Boreæ cum spiritus alto.
Æn. xii. 365.

Nam qualis vertice Pindi
Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyæo.
Luc. i. 684.—*T.*

It is also used long in Horace.

with the view of building there a city; Coes, on the contrary, who was a private individual, wished to be made prince of Mitylene. Having obtained what they severally desired they departed.

XII. Darius, induced by a circumstance of which he was accidentally witness, required Megabyzus to transport the Pæonians from Europe to Asia. Pigres and Mantyes were natives of Pæonia, the government of which became the object of their ambition. With these views, when Darius had passed over into Asia, they betook themselves to Sardis, carrying with them their sister, a person of great elegance and beauty. As Darius was sitting publicly in that division of the city appropriate to the Lydians, they took the opportunity of executing the following artifice: they decorated their sister in the best manner they were able, and sent her to draw water; she had a vessel upon her head,[1] she led a horse by a bridle fastened round her arm, and she was moreover spinning some thread. Darius viewed her as she passed with attentive curiosity, observing that her employments were not those of a Persian, Lydian, nor indeed of any Asiatic female. He was prompted by what he had seen to send some of his attendants, who might observe what she did with the horse. They accordingly followed her: the woman, when she came to the river, gave her horse some water, and then filled her pitcher. Having done this, she returned by the way she came; with the pitcher of water on her head, the horse fastened by a bridle to her arm, and as before employed in spinning.

XIII. Darius, equally surprised at what he heard from his servants and had seen himself, sent for the woman to his presence. On her appearance, the brotners, who had observed all from a convenient situation, came forwards, and declared that they were Pæonians, and the woman their sister. Upon this, Darius inquired who the Pæonians were, where was their country, and what induced themselves to come to Sardis. The young men replied, "that as to themselves, their only motive was a desire of entering into his service; that Pæonia their country was situated on the banks of the river Strymon, at no great distance from the Hellespont." They added, "That the Pæonians were a Trojan colony." Darius then inquired if all the women of their country were thus accustomed to labour; they replied without hesitation in the affirmative, for this was the point they had particularly in view.

XIV. In consequence of the above, Darius sent letters to Megabyzus, whom he had left commander of his forces in Thrace, ordering him to remove all the Pæonians to Sardis, with their wives and families. The courier sent with this message instantly made his way to the Hellespont, which having passed, he presented Megabyzus with the orders of his master. Megabyzus accordingly lost no time in executing them: but taking with him some Thracian guides,[2] led his army against Pæonia.

XV. The Pæonians, being aware of the intentions of the Persians, collected their forces, and advanced towards the sea, imagining the enemy would there make their attack: thus they prepared themselves to resist the invasion of Megabyzus: but the Persian general, being informed that every approach from the sea was guarded by their forces, under the direction of his guides made a circuit by the higher parts of the country, and thus eluding the Pæonians, came unexpectedly upon their towns, of which, as they were generally deserted, he took possession without difficulty. The Pæonians, informed of this event, dispersed themselves, and returning to their families, submitted to the Persians. Thus, the Pæonians, the Syropæonians, the Pæoplæ, and they who possess the country as far as the Prasian lake, were removed from their habitations, and transported to Asia.

XVI. The people in the vicinity of mount Pangæus,[3] with the Doberæ, the Agrianæ,

1 *Upon her head.*]—Nicolas Damascenus tells a similar story of Alyattes king of Sardis. The prince was one day sitting before the walls of the town, when he beheld a Thracian woman with an urn on her head, a distaff and spindle in her hand, and behind her a horse secured by a bridle. The king, astonished, asked her who and of what country she was? She replied, she was of Mysia, a district of Thrace. In consequence of this adventure, the king by his ambassadors desired Cotys prince of Thrace to send him a colony from that country, of men, women, and children.—*Larcher.*

The Mysia mentioned in the above account is called by some Greek writers *Mysia in Europe*, to distinguish it from the province of that name in Asia Minor, but Pliny and most of the Latin writers, distinguish it more effectually by writing it Mœsia; in which form it will be found in the maps, extending along the southern side of the Danube, opposite to Dacia; being the tract which forms the modern Servia and Bulgaria.

2 *Thracian guides.*]—The French translators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, mistaking the Latin version, sumptis e Thracia ducibus, have rendered this passage, "commanda aux capitaines de Thrace."—*T.*

2 *Pangæus.*]—This place, as Herodotus informs us

Odomanti, and those of the Persian lake, Megabyzus was not able to subdue. They who lived upon the lake, in dwellings of the following construction, were the objects of his next attempt. In this lake strong piles[4] are driven into the ground, over which planks are thrown, connected by a narrow bridge with the shore. These erections were in former times made at public expense; but a law afterwards passed, obliging a man for every wife whom he should marry (and they allow a plurality) to drive three of these piles into the ground, taken from a mountain called Orbelus. Upon these planks each man has his hut, from every one of which a trap-door opens to the water. To prevent their infants from falling into the lake, they fasten a string to their legs. Their horses and cattle are fed principally upon fish,[5] of which there is such abundance, that if any one lets down a basket into the water, and steps aside, he may presently after draw it up full of fish. Of these they have two particular species, called papraces and tilones.

XVII. Such of the Pæonians as were taken captive were removed into Asia. After the conquest of this people, Megabyzus sent into Macedonia seven Persians of his army, next in dignity and estimation to himself, requiring of Amyntas, in the name of Darius, earth and water. From the lake Prasis to Macedonia there is a very short passage; for upon the very brink of the lake is found the mine which in after times produced to Alexander a talent every day. Next to this mine is the Dysian mount, which being passed, you enter Macedonia.

XVIII. The Persians on their arrival were admitted to an immediate audience of Amyntas, when they demanded of him, in the name of Darius, earth and water. This was not only granted, but Amyntas received the messengers hospitably into his family, gave them a splendid entertainment, and treated them with particular kindness. When after the entertainment they began to drink, one of the Persians thus addressed Amyntas: "Prince of Macedonia, it is a custom with us Persians, whenever we have a public entertainment, to introduce our concubines and young wives. Since therefore you have received us kindly, and with the rites of hospitality, and have also acknowledged the claims of Darius, in giving him earth and water, imitate the custom we have mentioned." "Persians," replied Amyntas, "our manners are very different, for our women are kept separate from the men. But since you are our masters, and require it, what you solicit shall be granted. Amyntas therefore sent for the women, who on their coming were seated opposite to the Persians. The Persians, observing them beautiful, told Amyntas that he was still defective: "For it were better," they exclaimed, "that they had not come at all, than on their appearing, not to suffer them to sit near us, but to place them opposite, as a kind of torment to our eyes."[6] Amyntas, acting thus, under compulsion, directed the women to sit with the Persians. The women obeyed, and the Persians being warmed by their wine, began to put their hands to their bosoms, and to kiss them.

XIX. Amyntas observed this indecency, and with great vexation, though his awe of the Persians induced him not to notice it. But

4 *Strong piles, &c.*]—Exemplum urbis in fluvio super tignis et tabulatis structæ in America habet Teixeira—*Reiske.*

5 *With fish.*]—Torfæus, in his History of Norway, informs us, that in the cold and maritime parts of Europe the cattle are fed with fish.—*Wesseling.*

6 *Torment to our eyes.*]—This passage has been the occasion of much critical controversy. Longinus censures it as frigid. Many learned men, in opposition to Longinus, have vindicated the expression. Pearce, in his Commentaries, is of opinion that those who in this instance have opposed themselves to Longinus, have not entered into the precise meaning of that critic. The historian, he observes, does not mean to say that the beauty of these females might not excite dolores oculorum, but they could not themselves properly be termed dolores oculorum. Pearce quotes a passage from Æschylus, where Helen is called μαλθακον ομματων βελος, the tender dart of the eyes. Alexander the Great called the Persian women βολιδας ομματων, the darts of the eyes. After all, to me at least, considering it was used by natives of Persia, and making allowance for the warm and figurative language of the east, the expression seems to require neither comment nor vindication. In some classical lines written by Cowley, called The Account, I find this strong expression:

When all the stars are by thee told,
The endless sums of heavenly gold;
Or when the hairs are reckoned all,
From sickly Autumn's head that fall;
Or when the drops that make the sea,
Whilst all her sands thy counters be,
Thou then, and thou alone, may'st prove
Th' arithmetician of my love.
An hundred loves at Athens score;
At Corinth write an hundred more:
Three hundred more at Rhodes and Crete,
Three hundred 'tis I'am sure complete,
For arms at Crete each face does bear.
And every eye's an archer there, &c.

When we consider that the Cretan archers were celebrated beyond all others, this expression will not seem much less bold or figurative than that of Herodotus.

his son Alexander, who was also present, and witnessed their behaviour, being in the vigour of youth, and hitherto without the experience of calamity, was totally unable to bear it. "Sir," said he to Amyntas, being much incensed, "your age is a sufficient excuse for your retiring; leave me to preside at the banquet, and to pay such attention to our guests as shall be proper and necessary." Amyntas could not but observe that the warmth of youth prompted his son to some act of boldness; he accordingly made him this reply: "I can plainly see your motive for soliciting my absence; you desire me to go, that you may perpetrate somewhat to which your spirit impels you: but I must insist upon it,[1] that you do not occasion our ruin by molesting these men; suffer their indignities patiently.—I shall however follow your advice, and retire." With these words Amyntas left them.

XX. Upon this, Alexander thus addressed the Persians: "You are at liberty, Sirs, to repose yourselves with any or with all of these females: I have only to require, that you will make your choice known to me. It is now almost time to retire, and I can perceive that our wine has had its effect upon you. You will please therefore to suffer these women to go and bathe themselves, and they shall afterwards return." The Persians approved of what he said, and the women retired to their proper apartments; but, in their room, he dressed up an equal number of smooth-faced young men and arming each with a dagger, he introduced them to the company. "Persians," said he, on their entering, "we have given you a magnificent entertainment, and supplied you with every thing in our power to procure. We have also, which with us weighs more than all the rest, presented you with our matrons and our sisters, that we might not appear to you in any respect insensible of your merits; and that you may inform the king your master with what liberality a Greek and prince of Macedonia has entertained you at bed and board." When he had thus said, Alexander commanded the Macedonians, whom he had dressed as females, to sit by the side of the Persians: but on their first attempt to touch them, the Macedonians put every one of them to death.

XXI. These Persians with their retinue thus forfeited their lives; they had been attended on this expedition with a number of carriages and servants, all of which were seized and plundered. At no great interval of time, a strict inquisition was made by the Persians into this business; but Alexander, by his discretion, obviated its effects. To Bubaris,[2] a native of Persia, and one of those[3] who had been sent to inquire into the death of his countrymen, he made very liberal presents, and gave his sister in marriage. By these means the assassination of the Persian officers was overlooked and forgotten.

XXII. These Greeks were descended from Perdiccas: this they themselves affirm, and indeed I myself know it, from certain circumstances which I shall hereafter relate. My opinion of this matter is also confirmed by the determination of those who preside at the Olympic games:[4] for when Alexander, with an ambition of distinguishing himself, expressed a desire of entering the lists, the Greeks, who were his competitors, repelled him with scorn, asserting, that this was a contest, not of Barbarians, but of Greeks; but he proved himself to be an Argive, and was consequently

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1 *Insist upon it.*]—The reader will in this place, I presume, be naturally suspicious that the good old king Amyntas was well aware what his son Alexander intended to perpetrate. If he suspected what was about to be done, and had not wished its accomplishment, he would probably, notwithstanding his age, have stayed and prevented it.—*T.*

2 *Bubaris.*]—It appears from book the seventh, chap. 21, of our author, that this Bubaris was the son of Megabyzus.—*T.*

3 *One of those.*]—It is contended by Valknaer, and who is answered by Larcher, in a very long note, that instead of των στρατηγων, it should be τω στρατηγω, that is, in fact, whether it should be "one of those," &c. or "chief of those," &c. Which of these is the more proper reading, is not, I think, of sufficient importance to warrant any hasty suspicion, not to say alteration of the text. That Bubaris was a man of rank we know, for he was the son of Megabyzus; that he was the chief of those employed on this occasion, may be presumed, from his receiving from Alexander many liberal presents, and his own sister in marriage.—*T.*

4 *Preside at the Olympic games.*]—The judges who presided at the Olympic games were called Hellanodicæ; their number varied at different times; they were a long time ten, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the number of the Elean tribes; but it finally reverted to ten. They did not all judge promiscuously at every contest; but only such as were deputed to do so. Their decisions might be appealed from, and they might even be accused before the senate of Olympia, who sometimes set aside their determinations. They who were elected Hellanodicæ were compelled to reside ten months successively in a building appropriated to their use at Olympia, and named from them the Hellanodicæon, in order to instruct themselves, previous to their entering on their office.—*Larcher.*

allowed to be a Greek. He was then permitted to contend, and was matched with the first combatant.[5]

XXIII. I have related the facts which happened. Megabyzus, taking the Pæonians along with him, passed the Hellespont, and arrived at Sardis. At this period, Histiæus the Milesian was engaged in defending with a wall the place which had been given him by Darius, as a reward for his preserving the bridge; it is called Myrcinus,[6] and is near the river Strymon. Megabyzus, as soon as he came to Sardis, and learned what had been done with respect to Histiæus, thus addressed Darius: "Have you, Sir, done wisely, in permitting a Greek of known activity and abilities to erect a city in Thrace? in a place which abounds with every requisite for the construction and equipment of ships; and where there are also mines of silver? A number of Greeks are there, mixed with Barbarians, who, making him their leader, will be ready on every occasion to execute his commands. Suffer him therefore to proceed no farther, lest a civil war be the consequence. Do not, however, use violent measures; but when you shall have him in your power, take care to prevent the possibility of his return to Greece."

XXIV. Darius was easily induced to yield to the arguments of Megabyzus, of whose sagacity he entirely approved. He immediately therefore sent him a message to the following purport: "Histiæus, king Darius considers you as one of the ablest supports of his throne, of which he has already received the strongest testimony. He has now in contemplation a business of great importance, and requires your presence and advice." Histiæus believed the messenger, and, delighted with the idea of being invited to the king's councils, hastened to Sardis, where on his arrival Darius thus addressed him: "Histiæus, my motive for soliciting your presence is this; my not seeing you at my return from Scythia filled me with the extremest regret: my desire to converse with you continually increased, being well convinced that there is no treasure so great as a sincere and sagacious friend, for of your truth as well as prudence I have received the most satisfactory proofs. You have done well in coming to me; I therefore entreat that, forgetting Miletus, and leaving the city you have recently built in Thrace, you will accompany me to Susa; you shall there have apartments in my palace, and live with me, my companion and my friend."

XXV. Darius, having thus accomplished his wishes, took Histiæus with him, and departed for Susa. Artaphernes, his brother by the father's side, was left governor of Sardis; Otanes was intrusted with the command of the sea-coast. Sisamnes, the father of the latter, had been one of the royal judges; but having been guilty of corruption in the execution of his office, was put to death by Cambyses. By order of this prince, the entire skin was taken from his body, and fixed over the tribunal[7] at which he formerly presided. Cambyses gave the office of Sisamnes to his son Otanes, commanding him to have constantly in memory in what tribunal he sat.

XXVI. Otanes having at first the above appointment, succeeded afterwards to the command of Megabyzus, when he reduced Byzantium and Chalcedon. He took also Lamponium[8] and Antandros,[9] which latter is in the province of Troy. With the assistance of a fleet from Lesbos, he made himself master of Lemnos and Imbros, both of which were then inhabited by Pelasgi.

5 *With the first combatant.*]—See Lucian, Hermotimus, vol. i. p. 782, 783.—Hemsterhusius.

Lycinus.—Do not, Hermotimus, tell me what anciently was done, but what you yourself have seen at no great distance of time.

Hermotimus.—A silver urn was produced sacred to the god, into which some small lots of the size of beans were thrown: two of these are inscribed with the letter A, two more with B, two others with G, and so on, according to the number of competitors, there being always two lots marked with the same letter. The combatants then advanced one by one, and calling on the name of Jupiter, put his hand into the urn, and drew out a lot. An officer stood near with a cudgel in his hand, and ready to strike if any one attempted to see what letter he had drawn. Then the Alytarch, or one of the Hellanodicæ, obliging them to stand in a circle, paired such together as had drawn the same letter. If the number of competitors was not equal, he who drew the odd letter was matched against the victor, which was no small advantage, as he had to enter the lists quite fresh, against a man already fatigued.

6 *Myrcinus.*]—This place in some books of geography is written Myrcenus.—*T.*

7 *Fixed over the tribunal.*]—This it seems was a common custom in Persia; and corrupt judges were sometimes flayed alive, and their skins afterwards thus disposed. Larcher quotes a passage from Diodorus Siculus, which informs us that Artaxerxes punished some unjust judges precisely in this manner.—*T.*

8 *Lamponium.*]—Pliny, and I believe Strabo, call this place Lamporea. It was an island of the Chersonese.

9 *Antandros.*]—

Classemque sub ipsa
Antandro et Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ. *Virg. Æn.* iii. 5.

This place has experienced a variety of names, Assos, Apollonia, and now Dimitri.—*T.*

XXVII. The Lemnians fought with great bravery, and made a long and vigorous resistance, but were at length subdued. Over such as survived the conflict, the Persians appointed Lycaretus governor: he was the brother of Mæander, who had reigned at Samos, but he died during his government. All the above mentioned people were reduced to servitude: it was pretended that some had been deserters in the Scythian expedition, and that others had harassed Darius in his retreat. Such was the conduct of Otanes in his office, which he did not long enjoy with tranquillity.

XXVIII. The Ionians were soon visited by new calamities, from Miletus and from Naxos.[1] Of all the islands, Naxos was the happiest: but Miletus might be deemed the pride of Ionia, and was at that time in the height of its prosperity. In the two preceding ages it had been considerably weakened by internal factions, but the tranquillity of its inhabitants was finally restored by the interposition of the Parians,[2] whom the Milesians had preferred on this occasion to all the other Greeks.

XXIX. To heal the disorders which existed amongst them, the Parians applied the following remedy:—Those employed in this office were of considerable distinction; and perceiving, on their arrival at Miletus, that the whole state was involved in extreme confusion, they desired to examine the condition of their territories; wherever, in their progress through this desolate country, they observed any lands well cultivated, they wrote down the name of the owner. In the whole district, however, they found but few estates so circumstanced. Returning to Miletus, they called an assembly of the people, and they placed the direction of affairs in the hands of those who had best cultivated their lands: for they concluded, that they would be watchful of the public interest, who had taken care of their own: they enjoined all the Milesians who had before been factious, to obey these, and they thus restored the general tranquillity.

XXX. The evils which the Ionians experienced from these cities were of this nature:—Some of the more noble inhabitants of Naxos, being driven by the common people into banishment, sought a refuge at Miletus; Miletus was then governed by Aristagoras, son of Molpagoras, the son-in-law and cousin of Histiæus, son of Lysagoras, whom Darius detained at Susa: Histiæus was prince of Miletus, but was at Susa when the Naxians arrived in his dominions.—These exiles petitioned Aristagoras to assist them with supplies, to enable them to return to their country: he immediately conceived the idea, that by accomplishing their return, he might eventually become master of Naxos. He thought proper, however, to remind them of the alliance which subsisted betwixt Histiæus and their countrymen; and he addressed them as follows: I am not master of adequate force to restore you to your country, if they who are in possession of Naxos shall think proper to oppose me: the Naxians I am told, have eight thousand men in arms, and many ships of war! I, nevertheless, wish to effect it, and I think it may be thus accomplished:—Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, is my particular friend; he has the command of all the sea-coast of Asia, and is provided with a numerous army, and a powerful fleet; he will, I think, do all that I desire." The Naxians instantly intrusted Anaxagoras with the management of the business, entreated him to complete it as he could: they engaged to assist the expedition with forces, and to make presents to Artaphernes; and they expressed great hopes that as soon as they should appear before the place, Naxos, with the rest of the islands, would immediately submit; for hitherto none of the Cyclades were under the power of Darius.

XXXI. Aristagoras went immediately to Sardis, where meeting with Artaphernes, he painted to him in flattering terms the island of Naxos, which, though of no great extent, he represented as exceedingly fair and fertile, conveniently situated with respect to Ionia, very wealthy, and remarkably populous.—"It will be worth your while," said he, "to make an ex-

1 *Naxos.*]—This place was first called Strongyle, afterwards Dia, and then Naxos; there was a place of this name also in Sicily. The Naxos of the Ægean is now called Naxia; it was anciently famous for its whetstones, and Naxia cos became a proverb. In classical story, this island is famous for being the place where Theseus, returning from Crete, forsook Ariadne, who afterwards became the wife of Bacchus: a very minute and satisfactory account of the ancient and modern condition of this island, is to be found in Tournefort. Stephens the geographer says, that the women of Naxos went with child but eight months, and that the island possessed a spring of pure wine.—*T.*

2 *Parians.*]—The inhabitants of Paros have always been accounted people of good sense, and the Greeks of the neighbouring islands often make them arbitrators of their disputes.—See Tournefort; who gives an excellent account of this island.

pedition against it, under pretence of restoring its exiles; to facilitate this, I already possess a considerable sum of money, besides what will be otherwise supplied. It is proper that we who set the expedition on foot should provide the contingent expenses; but you will certainly acquire to the king our master, Naxos with its dependencies, Paros and Andros, with the rest of the islands called the Cyclades: from hence you may easily attempt the invasion of Eubœa,[3] an island large and fertile, and not at all inferior to Cyprus; this will afford you an easy conquest, and a fleet of one hundred ships will be sufficient to effect the whole." To this Artaphernes replied, "Whatever you recommend will, unquestionably, promote the interest of the king, and the particulars of your advice are reasonable and consistent; instead of one hundred, a fleet of two hundred vessels shall be ready for you in the beginning of spring; it will be proper, however, to have the sanction of the king's authority."

XXXII. Pleased with the answer he received, Aristagoras returned to Miletus. Artaphernes sent immediately to acquaint Darius with the project of Aristagoras, which met his approbation; he accordingly fitted out two hundred triremes, which he manned partly with Persians and partly with their allies; Megabates had the command of the whole; a Persian of the family of the Achæmenides, related to Darius and himself, whose daughter, if report may be credited,[4] was, in succeeding times, betrothed to Pausanias the Lacedæmonian, son of Cleombrotus, who aspired to the sovereignty of Greece. These forces, under the direction of this Megabates, were sent by Artaphernes to Aristagoras.

XXXIII. Megabates embarking at Miletus, with Aristagoras, a body of Ionians, and the Naxians, pretended to sail towards the Hellespont; but arriving at Chios, he laid-to near Caucasa,[5] meaning, under the favour of a north wind, to pass from thence to Naxos. The following circumstance, however, happened, as if to prove that it was not ordained for the Naxians to suffer from this expedition:—Megabates on going his rounds, found a Myndian vessel deserted by its crew; he was so exasperated, that he commanded his guards to find Scylax, who commanded it, and to bind him in such a situation, that his head should appear outwardly from the aperture through which the oar passed, his body remaining in the vessel. Aristagoras being informed of the treatment which his friend the Myndian had received, went to Megabates to make his excuse, and obtain his liberty; but as his expostulations proved ineffectual, he went himself and released Scylax. Megabates was much incensed, and expressed his displeasure to Aristagoras; from whom he received this reply: "Your authority," said Aristagoras, "does not extend so far as you suppose; you were sent to attend me, and to sail wherever I should think expedient;—you are much too officious." Megabates took this reproach so ill, that at the approach of night he despatched some emissaries to Naxos, to acquaint the inhabitants with the intended invasion.

XXXIV. Of this attack the Naxians had not the remotest expectation; but they took the advantage of the intelligence imparted to them and provided against a siege, by removing their valuables from the fields to the town, and by laying up a store of water and provisions, and, lastly, by repairing their walls; they were thus prepared against every emergence, whilst the Persians, passing over from Chios to Naxos, found the place in a perfect state of defence. Having wasted four months in the attack, and exhausted all the pecuniary resources which themselves had brought, together with what Aristagoras supplied, they still found that much was wanting to accomplish their purpose; they erected, therefore, a fort for the Naxian exiles and returned to the continent greatly disappointed.

XXXV. Aristagoras thus found himself unable to fulfil his engagements with Artapher-

3 *Eubœa.*]—This large island is now commonly called Negropont or Negrepont, by the Europeans; which is a corruption of its proper appellation *Egripo:* anciently it had, at different times, a great variety of names, Macris, Chalcis, Asopis, &c. At Artemisium, one of its promontories, the first battle was fought betwixt Xerxes and the Greeks.—*T.*

4 *If report may be credited.*]—It appears by this, that when Herodotus composed this work, he had no knowledge of the letter in which Pausanias demanded of Xerxes his daughter in marriage.—It may be seen in Thucydides.—*Larcher.*

5 *Near Caucasa.*]—This passage has been erroneously rendered, by the French translators of Herodotus who preceded Larcher, as well as by our countryman Littlebury, "over-against mount Caucasus;" but whoever will be at the pains to attend to the geographical distances of mount Caucasus and the islands of the Ægean sea, Chios, and Naxos, will easily perceive that the place here meant must be some strait in the island of Chios, or some small island in its vicinity.—See the Essais de Critique sur les Traductions d'Herodote, by the Abbe Bellanger.—*T.*

nes; and he was also, to his great vexation, called upon to defray the expense of the expedition; he saw moreover, in the person of Megabates, an accuser, and he feared that their ill success should be imputed to him, and made a pretence for depriving him of his authority at Miletus; all these motives induced him to meditate a revolt. Whilst he was in this perplexity, a messenger arrived from Histiæus, at Susa, who brought with him an express command to revolt; the particulars of which were impressed in legible characters upon his skull;[1] Histiæus was desirous to communicate his intentions to Aristagoras, but as the ways were strictly guarded, he could devise no other method; he therefore took one of the most faithful of his slaves, and inscribed what we have mentioned upon his skull, being first shaved; he detained the man till his hair was again grown, when he sent him to Miletus, desiring him to be as expeditious as possible; and simply requesting Aristagoras to examine his skull, he discovered the characters which commanded him to commence a revolt. To this measure Histiæus was induced, by the vexation he experienced from his captivity at Susa. He flattered himself, that as soon as Aristagoras was in action, he should be able to escape to the sea-coast; but whilst every thing remained quiet at Miletus, he had no prospect of effecting his return.

XXXVI. With these views Histiæus despatched his emissary; the message he delivered to Aristagoras was alike grateful and seasonable, who accordingly signified to his party, that his own opinions were confirmed by the commands of Histiæus: his intentions to commence a revolt met with the general approbation of the assembly, Hecatæus the historian being the only one who dissented. To dissuade them from any act of hostility against the Persian monarch, he enumerated the various nations which Darius had subdued, and the prodigious power he possessed; when he found these arguments ineffectual, he advised them to let their fleet take immediate possession of the sea, as the only means by which they might expect success. He confessed that the resources of the Milesians were but few; but he suggested the idea that if they would make a seizure of the wealth deposited by Crœsus the Lydian in the Branchidian temple,[2] they might promise themselves these two advantages; they would be able to make themselves masters of the sea, and by thus using these riches themselves, would prevent their being plundered by the enemy.—That these riches were of very considerable value, I have explained in my first book. This advice, however, was ill received, although the determination to revolt was fixed and universal: it was agreed that one of their party should sail to the army, which, on its return from Naxos had disembarked at Myus,[3] with the view of seizing the persons of the officers.

XXXVII. Iatragoras was the person employed in this business; who so far succeeded, that he captured Oliatus the Mylassensian, son of Ibanolis; Histiæus of Termene,[4] son of Tymnis; Coes the son of Erxander, to whom Darius had given Mitylene; together with Aristagoras the Cymæan, son of Heraclides; with many others. Aristagoras thus commenced a regular revolt, full of indignation against Darius.

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1 *Upon his skull.*]—Many curious contrivances are on record, of which the ancients availed themselves to convey secret intelligence. Ovid mentions an example of a letter inscribed on a person's back:

> Caveat hoc custos, pro corpere verba ferat.
> Præbeat, inque suo corpore verba ferat.

The circumstance here mentioned by Herodotus is told at greater length by Aulus Gellius, who says that Histiæus chose one of his domestics for this purpose who had sore eyes, to cure which he told him that his hair must be shaved, and his head scarified; having done which, he wrote what he intended on the man's head and then sent him to Aristagoras, who, he told him, would effect his cure by shaving his head a second time. Josephus mentions a variety of stratagems to effect this purpose; some were sent in coffins, during the Jewish war, to convey intelligence; others crept out of places disguised like dogs; some have conveyed their intentions in various articles of food; and in bishop Wilkin's Mercury, were a number of examples of this nature are collected, mention is made of a person, who rolled up a letter in a wax candle, bidding the messenger inform the party that was to receive it, that the candle would give him light for his business.—*T.*

2 *Branchidian temple.*]—For an account of the temple of Branchidæ, see page 15. "If Aristagoras," says Larcher, "had followed the prudent counsel of Hecatæus, he would have had an increase of power against the Persians, and deprived Xerxes of the opportunity of pillaging this temple, and employed its riches against Greece.– *T.*

3 *Myus.*]—This city was given to Themistocles, to furnish his table with fish, with which the bay of Myus formerly abounded: the bay, in process of time, became a fresh water lake, and produced such swarms of gnats, that the inhabitants deserted the place, and were afterwards incorporated withthe Milesians. Chandler, who visited this place, complains that the old nuisance of Myus tormented him and his companions exceedingly, and that towards the evening the inside of their tent was made quite black by the number of gnats which infested them.—*T.*

4 *Termene.*]—Larcher remarks on this word, that no such place existed in Caria as Termere, which is the common reading: it certainly ought to be Termena.—*T.*

To engage the Milesians to act in concert with him, he established among them a republican form of government. He adopted a similar conduct with respect to the rest of Ionia; and to excite a general prejudice in his favour, he expelled the tyrants from some places, and he also sent back those who had been taken in the vessels which served against Naxos, to the cities to which they severally belonged.

XXXVIII. The inhabitants of Mitylene had no sooner got Coes into their hands, than they put him to death, by stoning him. The Cymeans sent their tyrant back again; and the generality of those who had possessed the supreme authority being driven into exile, an equal form of government was established: this being accomplished, Aristagoras the Milesian directed magistrates,[5] elected by the people, to be established in the different cities; after which he himself sailed in a trireme to Lacedæmon, convinced of the necessity of procuring some powerful allies.

XXXIX. Anaxandrides, son of Leontes, did not then sit upon the throne of Sparta: he was deceased, and his son Cleomenes had succeeded him, rather on account of his family than his virtues: Anaxandrides had married his niece, of whom he was exceedingly fond though she produced him no children; in consequence of which the ephori thus expostulated with him: "If you do not feel for yourself, you ought for us, and not suffer the race of Eurysthenes to be extinguished. As the wife which you now have is barren, repudiate her and marry another, by which you will much gratify your countrymen." He replied, that he could not comply with either of their requests, as he did not think them to be justified in recommending him to divorce an innocent woman, and to marry another.

XL. The ephori consulted with the senate, and made him this reply: "We observe your excessive attachment to your wife; but if you would avoid the resentment of your countrymen, do what we advise: we will not insist upon your repudiating your present wife,—behave to her as you have always done; but we wish you to marry another, by whom you may have offspring."—To this Anaxandrides assented, and from that time had two wives,[6] and two separate dwellings, contrary to the usage of his country.

XLI. At no great interval of time the woman whom he last married produced him this Cleomenes, the presumptive heir of his dominions; about the same period his former wife, who had hitherto been barren, proved with child. Although there was not the smallest doubt of her pregnancy, the relations of the second wife, vexed at the circumstance, industriously circulated a report, that she had not conceived, but intended to impose upon them a supposititious child. Instigated by these insinuations, the ephori distrusted, and narrowly observed her; she was, however, delivered, first of Dorieus, then of Leonidas,[7] and lastly of Cleombrotus: by some it has been affirmed, that Leonidas and Cleombrotus were twins. The second wife, who was the daughter of Prinetades, and grandaughter of Demarmenus, had never any other child but Cleomenes.

XLII. Of Cleomenes it is reported, that he had not the proper use of his faculties, but was insane; Dorieus, on the contrary, was greatly distinguished by his accomplishments, and trusted to find his way to the throne by valour and by merit. On the death of Anaxandrides,[8] the Lacedæmonians, agreeably to the custom of their nation, preferred Cleomenes,[9] as eldest, to the sovereignty. This greatly disgusted Dorieus, who did not choose to become the dependent of his brother; taking with him, therefore, a number of his countrymen, he left Sparta, and founded a colony: but so impetuous was his resentment, that he neglected to inquire of the Delphic oracle where he should fix his residence: nor did he observe any of the ceremonies[10] usual on such

5 *Magistrates.*]—The original is στρατηγος, which, as M. Larcher remarks, does not in this place mean the leader of an army, but a magistrate, corresponding with the archons of Athens.—*T.*

6 *Two wives.*]—"He was the only Lacedæmonian," says Pausanias, "who had two wives at the same time, and had two separate dwellings."—*See Pausanias, Lacon.* lib. iii. chap. 3. 211.—*T.*

7 *Leonidas.*]—This was the Leonidas who died with so much glory at the straits of Thermopylæ

8 *Anaxandrides.*]—An apothegm of this Anaxandrides is left by Plutarch: being asked why they preserved no money in the exchequer; "That the keepers of it," he replied, "might not be tempted to become knaves." —*T.*

9 *Cleomenes.*]—This Cleomenes, as is reported by Ælian, used to say that Homer was the poet of the Lacedæmonians, and Hesiod the poet of the Helots: one taught the art of war, the other of agriculture.—*T.*

10 *Of the ceremonies.*]—Amongst other ceremonies which they observed, when they went to establish a colony, they took some fire from the Prytaneum of the metropolis; and if in the colony this ever was extinguished, they returned to the metropolis to rekindle it.—*Larcher.*

occasions. Under the conduct of some Thereans he sailed to Africa and settled on the banks of a river near Cinyps,[1] one of the most delightful situations in that part of the world: in the third year of his residence, being expelled by the joint efforts of the Maci, Afri, and Carthaginians, he returned to the Peloponnese.

XLIII. Here Antichares of Elis advised him, in conformity to the oracles of Laius,[2] to found Heraclea in Sicily: affirming that all the region of Eryx was the property of the Heraclidæ,[3] as having belonged to Hercules: he accordingly went to Delphi to consult the oracle, whether the country where he was about to reside would prove a permanent acquisition. The reply of the Pythian being favourable, he embarked in the same vessels which had accompanied him from Africa, and sailed to Italy.

XLIV. At this period, as is reported, the Sybarites, under the conduct of Telys their king, meditated an attack upon the inhabitants of Crotona; apprehensive of which, these latter implored the assistance of Dorieus: he listened to their solicitations, and joining forces, he marched with them against Sybaris,[4] and took it.[5] The Sybarites say, that Dorieus and his companions did this; but the people of Crotona deny that in their contest with the Sybarites they availed themselves of the assistance of any foreigner, except Callias of Elis, a priest of the family of the Iamidæ.[6] He had fled from Telys, prince of Sybaris, because on some solemn sacrifice he was not able from inspecting the entrails of the victim to promise success against Crotona.—The matter is thus differently stated by the two nations.

XLV. The proofs of what they severally assert are these:—The Sybarites show near the river Crastis, which is sometimes dry, a sacred edifice, built, as they affirm, by Dorieus, after the capture of his city, and consecrated to the Crastian [7] Minerva. The death of Dorieus himself is another, and with them the strongest testimony, for he lost his life whilst acting in

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1 *Cinyps.*]—The vicinity of this river abounded in goats and was celebrated for its fertility.—See Virgil:

> Nec minus interea barbas, incanaque menta
> Cinyphii tondent hirci.

It may be proper to observe, that this passage, quoted from Virgil, has been the occasion of much literary controversy.—See Heyne on Georgic. lib. iii. 312.

> Cinyphiæ segetis citius numerabis aristas.

This river is in the district belonging to the modern Tripoli.

The Cinyps fell into the sea, near Leptis, in Proper Africa; Claudian has called it *Vagus*, without much appropriation of his epithet; for its course is short and not wandering:

> Quos Vagus humectat Cinyps, et proximus hortis
> Hesperidum Triton, et Gir notissimus amnis,
> Æthiopum, simili mentitus gurgite Nilum.—
> *De Laud. Stil.* 251.—*T.*

2 *Oracles of Laius.*]—The Greek is ἐκ τῶν Λαΐου χρησμῶν:—this M. Larcher has rendered "the oracles declared to Laius."

3 *Belonged to Hercules.*]—When Hercules came into the country of Eryx, the son of Venus and Bula the king of the country, challenged Hercules to wrestle with him: both sides proposed the wager to be won and lost. Eryx laid to stake his kingdom, but Hercules his oxen: Eryx at first disdained such an unequal wager, not fit to be compared with his country; but when Hercules, on the other side, answered, that if he lost them, he should lose his immortality with them, Eryx was contented with the condition, and engaged in the contest: but he was overcome, and so was stripped of the possession of his country, which Hercules gave to the inhabitants, allowing them to take the fruits to their own use, till some of his posterity came to demand it, which afterwards happened; for, many ages after, Dorieus the Lacedæmonian, sailing into Sicily, recovered his ancestor's dominion, and there built Heraclea.—*Booth's Diodorus Siculus.*

4 *Sybaris*]—was founded by the Achæans, betwixt the rivers Crastis and Sybaris; it soon became a place of great opulence and power; the effeminacy of the people became proverbial; see Plutarch.—"It is reported," says he, in his Banquet of the Seven Wise Men, "that the Sybarites used to invite their neighbours' wives a whole twelvemonth before their entertainments, that they might have convenient time to dress and adorn themselves."—See also Athenæus, book xii. c. 3, by whom many whimsical things are recorded of the Sybarites. Their attendants at the bath had fetters, that they might not, by their careless haste, burn those who bathed; all noisy trades were banished from their city, that the sleep of the citizens might not be disturbed; for the same reason, also, they permitted no cocks to be kept in their city. An inhabitant of this place being once at Sparta, was invited to a public entertainment, where with other guests, he was seated on a wooden bench: "Till now," he remarked, "the bravery of the Spartans has excited my admiration; but I no longer wonder that men living so hard a life should be fearless of death. This place was afterwards called Thurium.—*T.*

5 *And took it.*]—The cause of the war, according to Diodorus Siculus, was this; "Telys persuaded the Sybarites to banish five hundred of their most powerful citizens, and to sell their effects by public auction; the exiles retired to Crotona. Telys sent ambassadors to demand the fugitives, or in case of refusal to denounce war; the people were disposed to give them up, but the celebrated Pythagoras persuaded them to engage in their defence: Milo was very active in the contest, and the event was so fatal to the Sybarites, that their town was plundered and reduced to a perfect solitude."—*Larcher.*

6 *Iamidæ.*]—To Iamus and his descendants, who were after him called Iamidæ, Apollo gave the art of divination.—See the fifth Olympic of Pindar.

7 *Crastian.*]—The city Crastis, or, as it is otherwise called, Crastus, was celebrated for being the birth-place of the comic poet Epicharmus, and of the courtesan Lais.—*T.*

opposition to the express commands of the oracle. For if he had confined his exertions to what was the avowed object of his expedition, he would have obtained, and effectually secured, the possession of the region of Eryx, and thus have preserved himself and his followers. The inhabitants of Crotona are satisfied with exhibiting certain lands given to the Elean Callias, in the district of Crotona, which even within my remembrance the descendants of Callias possess: this was not the case with Dorieus, nor any of his posterity. It must be obvious, that if this Dorieus, in the war above mentioned, had assisted the people of Crotona, they would have given more to him than to Callias. To the above different testimonies, every person is at liberty to give what credit he thinks proper.

XLVI. Amongst those who accompanied Dorieus, with a view of founding a colony, were Thessalus, Paræbates, Celees, and Euryleon, all of whom, Euryleon excepted, fell in an engagement with the Phenicians and Ægestans, on their happening to touch at Sicily; this man, collecting such as remained of his companions, took possession of Minoa, a Selinusian colony, which he delivered from the oppression of Pythagoras. Euryleon putting the tyrant to death assumed his situation and authority. These, however, he did not long enjoy, for the Selinusians rose in a body against him, and slew him before the altar of Jupiter Forensis,[8] where he had fled for refuge.

XLVII. Philip,[9] a native of Crotona, and son of Butacides, was the companion of Dorieus in his travels and death: he had entered into engagements of marriage with a daughter of Telys of Sybaris, but not choosing to fulfil them, he left his country, and went to Cyrene; from hence also he departed, in search of Dorieus, in a three-oared vessel of his own, manned with a crew provided at his own expense: he had been victorious in the Olympic games, and was confessedly the handsomest man in Greece. On account of his accomplishments of person,[10] the people of Ægestus distinguished him by very unusual honours: they erected a monument over the place of his interment, where they offered sacrifices as to a divinity.

XLVIII. We have above related the fortunes and death of Dorieus. If he could have submitted to the authority of his brother Cleomenes, and had remained at Lacedæmon, he would have succeeded to the throne of Sparta. Cleomenes, after a very short reign, died, leaving an only child, a daughter, of the name of Gorgo.[11]

XLIX. During the reign of Cleomenes, Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, arrived at Sparta: the Lacedæmonians affirm, that desiring to have a conference with their sovereign, he appeared before him with a tablet of brass in his hand, upon which was inscribed every known part of the habitable world, the seas, and the rivers. He thus addressed the Spartan monarch: "When you know my business, Cleomenes, you will cease to wonder at my zeal in desiring to see you. The Ionians, who ought to be free, are in a state of servitude, which is not only disgraceful, but also a source of the extremest sorrow to us, as it must also be to you, who are so pre-eminent in Greece. —I entreat you therefore, by the gods of Greece, to restore the Ionians to liberty, who are connected with you by ties of consanguinity. The accomplishment of this will not be difficult; the Barberians are by no means remarkable for their valour, whilst you, by your military virtue, have attained the summit of renown. They rush to the combat armed only with a bow and a short spear;[12] their robes are long, they suffer their

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8 *Jupiter Forensis.*]—That is to say, in the public forum, where the altar of this god was erected.—*T.*

9 *Philip.*]—"There seems in this place," says Reiske, "to be something wanted: how did Philip come amongst the Ægestans; or how did he obtain their friendship; or, if he was killed with Dorieus, in Italy, how did he escape in a battle with the Ægestans? These," concludes Reiske, "are difficulties which I am totally unable to reconcile."

10 *Accomplishments of person.*]—For καλλος in this place, some are for reading κλεος; but Eustathius quotes the circumstance and passage at length, a strong argument for retaining the reading of καλλος:—"Designatur," says Wesseling, "quid fieri solebat Egestæ:" but that it was usual in various places to honour persons for their beauty, is evident from various passages in ancient authors. A beautiful passage from Lucretius, which I have before quoted in this work, sufficiently attests this. —Καθιστασι δε και πολλοι τους καλλιστους βασιλεας: many nations assign the sovereignty to those amongst them who are the most beautiful, says Athenæus. Beauty, declares Euripides, is worthy of a kingdom— πρωτον μεν ειδος αξιον τυραννιδος.—See a very entertaining chapter on this subject in Athenæus, book xiii. c. 2.—*T.*

11 *Gorgo.*]—She married Leonidas. When this prince departed for Thermopylæ, Gorgo asked him what commands he had for her; "Marry," says he, "some worthy man, and become the mother of a valiant race."—He himself expected to perish. This princess was remarkable for her virtue, and one of the women whom Plutarch proposed as a model to Eurydice.—*Larcher.*

12 *Bow and a short spear.*]—A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations is given in the seventh book of Herodotus, in which place he minutely describes the various people which compos-

hair to grow, and they will afford an easy conquest; add to this, that they who inhabit the continent, are affluent beyond the rest of their neighbours. They have abundance of gold, of silver, and of brass; they enjoy a profusion of every article of dress, have plenty of cattle, and a prodigious number of slaves;[1] all these, if you think proper, may be yours. The nations by which they are surrounded I shall explain: next to these Ionians are the Lydians, who possess a fertile territory, and a profusion of silver." Saying this, he pointed on the tablet in his hand, to the particular district of which he spake. "Contiguous to the Lydians," continued Aristagoras, "as you advance towards the east, are the Phrygians, a people who beyond all the nations of whom I have any knowledge, enjoy the greatest abundance of cattle, and of the earth's produce. The Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians, join to the Phrygians: then follow the Cilicians, who possess the scattered islands of our sea, in the vicinity of Cyprus: these people pay annually to the king a tribute of five hundred talents. The Armenians, who have also great plenty of cattle, border on the Cilicians. The Armenians have for their neighbours the Matieni, who inhabit the region contiguous to Cissia: in this latter district, and not far remote from the river Choaspes, is Susa, where the Persian monarch occasionally resides, and where his treasures are deposited.—Make yourselves masters of this city, and you may vie in affluence with Jupiter himself. Lay aside, therefore, the contest in which you are engaged with the Messenians, who equal you in strength, about a tract of land not very extensive, nor remarkably fertile. Neither are the Arcadians, nor the Argives, proper objects of your ambition, who are destitute of those precious metals,[2] which induce men to brave dangers and death: but can any thing be more desirable, than the opportunity now afforded you, of making the entire conquest of Asia?" Aristagoras here finished. "Milesian friend," replied Cleomenes, "in the space of three days you shall have our answer."

L. On the day, and at the place appointed, Cleomenes inquired of Aristagoras, how many days' journey it was from the Ionian sea to the dominions of the Persian king. Aristagoras, though very sagacious, and thus far successful in his views, was here guilty of an oversight. As his object was to induce the Spartans to make an incursion into Asia, it was his interest to have concealed the truth, but he inconsiderately replied, that it was a journey of about three months. As he proceeded to explain himself, Cleomenes interrupted him; "Stranger of Miletus," said he, "depart from Sparta before sunset: what you say cannot be agreeable to the Lacedæmonians, desiring to lead us a march of three months from the sea." Having said this, Cleomenes withdrew.

LI. Aristagoras, taking a branch of olive[3] in

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ed the prodigious army of Xerxes. It may not be improper to add, that the military habits of the Greeks and Romans very much resembled each other.—*T.*

1 *Number of slaves.*]—The first slaves were doubtless captives taken in war, who were employed for menial purposes; from being sought after for use, they finally were purchased and possessed for ostentation. A passage in Athenæus informs us that he knew many Romans who possessed from ten to twenty thousand slaves. According to Tacitus, four hundred slaves were discovered in one great man's house at Rome, all of whom were executed for not preventing the death of their master. Some nations marked their slaves like cattle; and in Menjan's history of Algiers, the author represents a Turk saying scornfully to a Christian, "What, have you forgot the time when a Christian at Algiers was scarce worth an onion?" We learn from Sir John Chardin, that when the Tartars made an incursion into Poland, and carried away as many captives as they could, perceiving they would not be redeemed, they sold them for a crown a head. To enter into any elaborate disquisition on the rights of man, would in this place be impertinent; and the reader will perceive that I have rather thrown together some detached matters on this interesting subject, perhaps not so generally known.

2 *Precious metals.*]—I have always been much delighted with the following passage in Lucretius, wherein he informs his readers that formerly brass was sought after and valued, and gold held in no estimation, because useless:

> Nam fuit in pretio magis æs, aurumque jacebat
> Propter inutilitatem hebeti mucrone retusum.
> Nunc jacet æs, aurum in summum successit honorem.
> Sic volvenda ætas commutat tempora rerum,
> Quod fuit in pretio, fit nullo denique honore:
> Porro aliud succedit, et e contemptibus exit,
> Inque dies magis appetitur, floretque repertum
> Laudibus, et miro 'st mortaleis inter honore.

Again,

> Tunc igitur pelles, nunc aurum et purpura curis
> Exercent hominum vitam belloque fatigant.—*T.*

3 *Branch of olive.*]—It would by no means be an easy task to enumerate the various uses to which the olive was anciently applied, and the different qualities of mind of which it was the symbol. It rewarded the victors at the Olympic games; it was sacred to Minerva, and suspended round her temples; it was the emblem of peace; it indicated pity, supplication, liberty, hope, &c. &c. The invention of it was imputed to Minerva.

> Oleæque Minerva
> Inventrix.

Statius calls it supplicis arbor olivæ.—Directions for the mode of planting them had place amongst the institutes of Solon: he who pulled up for his own private use more than two olives in the year, paid a fine of one hundred drachmæ. They were not known till a very late period at Rome, but when introduced their fruit

his hand, presented himself before the house of Cleomenes, entering which as a suppliant, he requested an audience, at the same time desiring that the prince's daughter might retire; for it happened that Gorgo, the only child of Cleomenes, was present, a girl of about eight or nine years old: the king begged that the presence of the child might be no obstruction to what he had to say. Aristagoras then promised to give him ten talents if he would accede to his request. As Cleomenes refused, Aristagoras rose in his offers to fifty talents; upon which the child exclaimed, "Father, unless you withdraw, this stranger will corrupt you." The prince was delighted with the wise saying of his daughter, and instantly retired. Aristagoras was never able to obtain another audience of the king, and left Sparta in disgust.

LII. In that space of country about which Cleomenes had inquired, the Persian king has various stathmi, or mansions, with excellent inns;[4] these are all splendid and beautiful, the whole of the country is richly cultivated, and the roads good and secure. In the regions of Lydia and Phrygia, twenty of the above stathmi occur within the space of ninety parasangs and a half. Leaving Phrygia, you meet with the river Halys, where there are gates which are strongly defended, but which must be necessarily passed. Advancing through Cappadocia, to the confines of Cilicia, in the space of one hundred and four parasangs, there are eight-and-twenty stathmi. At the entrance of Cilicia are two necks of land, both well defended; passing beyond which through the country, are three stathmi in the space of fifteen parasangs and a half: Cilicia, as well as Armenia, are terminated by the Euphrates, which is only passable in vessels. In Armenia, and within the space of fifty-six parasangs and a half, there are fifteen stathmi, in which also are guards: through this country flow the waters of four rivers, the passage of which is indispensable, but can only be effected in boats. Of these the first is the Tigris; by the same name also the second and third are distinguished, though they are by no means the same, nor proceeding from the same source: of these latter the one rises in Armenia, the other from amongst the Matieni. The fourth river is called the Gyndes, which was formerly divided by Cyrus into three hundred and sixty channels. From Armenia to the country of the Matieni, are four stathmi: from hence through Cissia, as far as the river Choaspes, there are eleven stathmi, and a space of forty-two parasangs and a half. The Choaspes is also to be passed in boats, and beyond this Susa is situated. Thus it appears, that from Sardis to Susa are one hundred and eleven[5] stations, or stathmi.

LIII. If this measurement of the royal road by parasangs, be accurate, and a parasang be supposed equal to thirty stadia, which it really is, from Sardis to the royal residence of Memnon are thirteen thousand five hundred stadia, or four hundred and fifty parasangs: allowing, therefore, one hundred and fifty stadia to each day, the whole distance will be a journey of ninety entire days.

LIV. Aristagoras was, therefore, correct in

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became an indispensable article of luxury, and was eaten before and after meals. See Martial:

Inchoat atque eadem finit oliva dapes.

It should seem from a passage in Virgil, that the suppliant carried a wreath of olive in his hand:

Præferimus manibus vittas et verba precantum.

Of its introduction into the western world, Mr. Gibbon speaks thus: "The olive followed the progress of peace, of which it was considered as the symbol. Two centuries after the foundation of Rome, both Italy and Africa were strangers to that useful plant: it was naturalized in those countries, and at length carried into the heart of Spain and Gaul. The timid errors of the ancients, in supposing that it required a certain degree of heat, and could only flourish in the neighbourhood of the sea, were insensibly exploded by industry and experience."—*T.*

4 *Excellent inns.*]—There can be little doubt, but that these are the same with what are now called caravanseras, and which abound in all oriental countries; these are large square buildings, in the centre of which is a spacious court. The traveller must not expect to meet with much accommodation in these places, except that he may depend upon finding water: they are esteemed sacred, and a stranger's goods, whilst he remains in one of them, are secure from pillage.

Such exactly are also the *choultries* of Indostan, many of which are buildings of great magnificence, and very curious workmanship. What the traveller has there to expect is little more than mere shelter.—*T.*

5 *One hundred and eleven.*]—According to the account given by Herodotus in this chapter:

	Stathmi.	Parasangs.
In Lydia and Phrygia are	20	94½
In Cappadocia	28	104
In Cilicia	3	15½
In Armenia	15	56½
In the country of the Matieni	4	
In Cissia	11	42½

So that here must evidently be some mistake, as instead of 111 stathmi, we have only 81; instead of 450 parasangs, only 313. Wesseling remarks on the passage, that if the numbers were accurate, much advantage might be derived from knowing the exact proportion of distance between a stathmus and a parasang. The same defect is observable in the Anabasis of Xenophon, which Hutchinson tries in vain to explain.—*T.*

telling Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian, that it was a three months' march to the residence of the Persian monarch. For the benefit of those who wish to have more satisfactory information on the subject, it may not be amiss to add the particulars of the distance betwixt Sardis and Ephesus. From the Greek sea to Susa, the name by which the city of Memnon [1] is generally known, is fourteen thousand and forty stadia: from Ephesus to Sardis is five hundred and forty stadia; thus three days must be added to the computation of the three months.

LV. From Sparta, Aristagoras went to Athens, which at this period had recovered its liberty. Aristogiton and Harmodius,[2] who were Gephyreans by descent, had put to death Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, and brother of Hippias the tyrant. We are informed that Hipparchus had received intimation in a vision[3] of the disaster which afterwards befell him; though for four years after his death, the people of Athens suffered greater oppression than before.

LVI. The particulars of the vision which Hipparchus saw are thus related: in the night preceding the festival of the Panathenæa,[4] Hipparchus beheld a tall and comely personage, who addressed him in these ambiguous terms:

Brave lion, thy unconquer'd soul compose
To meet unmoved intolerable woes;
In vain th' oppressor would elude his fate,
The vengeance of the gods is sure, though late.

As soon as the morning appeared, he disclosed what he had seen to the interpreters of dreams. He however slighted the vision, and

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1 *Of Memnon.*]—Strabo says that Susa was built by Titron, the father of Memnon; Herodotus also, in another place, calls Susa the city of Memnon.

2 *Aristogiton and Harmodius.*]—To the reader of the most common classical taste the story of these Athenians must be too familiar to require any repetition in this place. An extract from a poem of Sir William Jones, in which the incident is happily introduced, being less common may not perhaps be unacceptable. It is entitled,

Julii Melesigoni ad Libertatem Carmen.

Virtus renascens quem jubet ad sonos
Spartanam avitos ducere tibiam?
Quis fortium cantus in aures
Athenias juvenum ciebit;
Quos Marti amicos, aut hyacinthinis
Flava in palæstra conspicuos comis
Aut alma libertas in undis
Egelidis agiles videbat,
Plausitque visos? Quis modulabitur
Excelsa plectro carmina Lesbio,
Quæ dirus Alcæo sonante
Audiit, et tremuit dynastes?
Quis myrtea ensem fronde reconditum
Cantabit? Illum civibus Harmodi
Dilecte servatis, nec ullo
Interiture die tenebas:
Vix se refrænat fulmineus chalybs,
Mox igne cœlesti emicat, exilit
Et cor reluctantis tyranni
Perforat ictibus haud remissis.
O ter placentem Palladi victimam, &c.

The reader will perceive that Julii Melesigoni is an anagram of Gulielmi Jonesii.

A more particular account of these deliverers of their country may be found in Thucydides, book vii. c. 12. Pausanias, book i, and in Suidas.—*T.*

3 *In a vision.*]—The ancients imagined that a distinct dream was a certain declaration of the future, or that the event was not to be averted, but by certain expiatory ceremonies. See the Electra of Sophocles, and other places.—*Larcher.*

One method which the ancients had of averting the effects of disagreeable visions, was to relate them to the Sun, who they believed had the power of turning aside any evils which the night might have menaced.—*T.*

From Larcher's prolix note on the subject of Aristogiton and Harmodius, I extract such particulars as I think will be most interesting to an English reader.

Harmodius is reported to have inspired the tyrant Hipparchus with an unnatural passion, who loving and being beloved by Aristogiton, communicated the secret to him, and joined with him in his resolution to destroy their persecutor. This is sufficiently contradicted with respect to the attachment betwixt Harmodius and Aristogiton, which appears to have been the true emotions of friendship only.

The courtezan Leæna, who was beloved by Harmodius, was tortured by Hippias, to make her discover the accomplices in the assassination of Hipparchus. Distrusting her own fortitude, she bit off her tongue. The Athenians, in honour of her memory, erected in the vestibule of the citadel a statue in bronze of a lioness without a tongue.

Thucydides seems willing to impute the action which caused the death of Hipparchus to a less noble motive than the love of liberty, but the cotemporaries of the conspirators, and posterity, have rendered Harmodius and Aristogiton the merit which was their due.

Popular songs were made in their honour, one of which is preserved in Athenæus, book xv. chap. 15. It is also to be seen in the Analecta of Brunck, i. 155. This song has been imputed to Alcæus, but falsely, for that poet died before Hipparchus.

The descendants of the conspirators who destroyed the tyrant were maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expense.

One of the posterity of Harmodius, proud of his birth, reproached Iphicrates with the meanness of his family: "My nobility," answered Iphicrates, "commences with me, yours terminates in you." In the very time of the decline of Athens, the love of liberty was there so hereditary and indelible, that they erected statues to the assassins of Cæsar.

4 *Panathenæa.*]—On this subject I give, from different writers, the more interesting particulars.

The festival was in honour of Minerva. There were the greater and less Panathenæa. The less originated with Theseus; these were celebrated every year in the month Hecatombeon; the greater were celebrated every five years. In the procession on this occasion old men, selected for their good persons, carried branches of olive. There were also races with torches both on horse and foot; there was also a musical contention. The conqueror in any of these games was rewarded with a vessel of oil. There was also a dance by boys in armour. The vest of Minerva was carried in a sacred procession of persons of all ages, &c. &c.—*T.*

was killed in the celebration of some public festival.

LVII. The Gephyreans, of which nation were the assassins of Hipparchus, came, as themselves affirm, originally from Eretria. But the result of my inquiries enables me to say that they were Phenicians, and of those who accompanied Cadmus into the region now called Bœotia, where they settled, having the district of Tanagria assigned them by lot. The Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives; the Bœotians afterwards drove out the Gephyreans, who took refuge at Athens. The Athenians enrolled them amongst their citizens, under certain restrictions of trifling importance.

LVIII. The Phenicians who came with Cadmus, and of whom the Gephyreans were a part, introduced during their residence in Greece various articles of science; and amongst other things letters,[5] with which, as I conceive, the Greeks were before unacquainted. These were at first such as the Phenicians themselves indiscriminately use; in process of time, however, they were changed both in sound and form.[6] At that time the Greeks most contiguous to this people were the Ionians, who learned these letters of the Phenicians, and, with some trifling variations, received them into common use. As the Phenicians first made them known in Greece, they called them, as justice required, Phenician letters. By a very ancient custom, the Ionians call their books *diphtheræ* or skins, because at a time when the plant of the biblos was scarce,[7] they used instead of it the skins of goats and sheep. Many of the barbarians have used these skins for this purpose within my recollection.

LIX. I myself have seen, in the temple of the Ismenian Apollo, at Thebes of Bœotia, these Cadmean letters inscribed upon some tripods, and having a near resemblance to those used

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5 *Amongst other things letters.*]—Upon the subject of the invention of letters, it is necessary to say something; but so much has been written by others, that the task of selection, though all that is necessary, becomes sufficiently difficult.

The first introduction of letters into Greece has been generally assigned to Cadmus; but this has often been controverted, no arguments on either side have been adduced sufficiently strong to be admitted as decisive. It is probable that they were in use in Greece before Cadmus, which Diodorus Siculus confidently affirms. But Lucan in a very enlightened period of the Roman empire, without any more intimation of doubt, than is implied in the words famæ si creditur, wrote thus:

Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur, ausi
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris;
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
Noverat, et saxis tantum, volucresque feræque
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.

Phenicians first, if ancient fame be true,
The sacred mystery of letters knew;
They first by sound, in various lines design'd,
Express'd the meaning of the thinking mind;
The power of words by figures rude conveyed,
And useful science everlasting made.
Then Memphis, ere the reedy leaf was known,
Engraved her precepts and her arts in stone;
While animals, in various order placed,
The learned hieroglyphic column graced.

Rowe.

To this opinion, concerning the use of hieroglyphics, bishop Warburton accedes, in his Divine Legation of Moses, who thinks that they were the production of an unimproved state of society, as yet unacquainted with alphabetical writing. With respect to this opinion of Herodotus, many learned men thought it worthy of credit, from the resemblance betwixt the old Eastern and earliest Greek characters, which is certainly an argument of some weight.

No European nation ever pretended to the honour of this discovery; the Romans confessed they had it from the Greeks, the Greeks from the Phenicians.

Pliny says the use of letters was eternal; and many have made no scruple of ascribing them to a divine revelation. Our countryman Mr. Astle, who has written perhaps the best on this complicated subject, has this expression, with which I shall conclude the subject.

"The vanity of each nation induces them to pretend to the most early civilization; but such is the uncertainty of ancient history, that it is difficult to determine to whom the honour is due. It should seem however, that the contest may be confined to the Egyptians, Phenicians, and Cadmeans."—*T.*

6 *In sound and form.*]—The remark of Dr. Gillies on this passage seems worthy of attention.

"The eastern tongues are in general extremely deficient in vowels. It is, or rather was, much disputed whether the ancient orientals used any characters to express them: their languages therefore had an inflexible thickness of sound, extremely different from the vocal harmony of the Greek, which abounds not only in vowels but in diphthongs. This circumstance denotes in the Greeks organs of perception more acute, elegant, and discerning. They felt such faint variations of liquid sounds as escaped the dulness of Asiatic ears, and invented marks to express them. They distinguished in this manner not only their articulation, but their quantity, and afterwards their musical intonation."

7 *Biblos was scarce.*]—Je ne parlerai point ici de toutes les matieres sur lesquelles on a trace l'ecriture. Les peaux de chevre et de mouton, les differens especes de toile furent successivement employees: on a fait depuis usage du papier tissu des couches interieures de la tige d'une plante qui croit dans les marais de l'Egypte, ou au milieu des eaux dormantes que le Nil laisse apres son inondation. On en fait des rouleaux, a l'extremite desquels est suspendu une etiquette contenant le titre du livre. L'ecriture n'est tracee que sur une des faces de chaque rouleau; et pour en faciliter la lecture, elle s'y trouve divisee en plusieurs compartimens ou pages, &c.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

Every thing necessary to be known on the subject of paper, its first invention, and progressive improvement, is satisfactorily discussed in the edition of Chambers' Dictionary by Rees.—*T.*

by the Ionians. One of the tripods has this inscription:[1]

Amphytrion's present from Teleboan spoils.

This must have been about the age of Laius, son of Labdacus, whose father was Polydore, the son of Cadmus.

LX. Upon the second tripod, are these hexameter verses:—

Scæus, victorious pugilist, bestow'd
Me, a fair offering, on the Delphic god.

This Scæus was the son of Hippocoon, if indeed it was he who dedicated the tripod, and not another person of the same name, contemporary with Œdipus the son of Laius.

LXI. The third tripod bears this inscription in hexameters:—

Royal Laodamas to Phœbus' shrine
This tripod gave, of workmanship divine.

Under this Laodamas, the son of Eteocles, who had the supreme power, the Cadmeans were expelled by the Argives, and fled to the Ancheleans.[2] The Gephyreans were compelled by the Bœotians to retire to Athens.[3] Here they built temples for their own particular use, resembling in no respect those of the Athenians, as may be seen in the edifice and mysteries of the Achæan Ceres.

LXII. Thus have I related the vision of Hipparchus, and the origin of the Gephyreans, from whom the conspirators against Hipparchus were descended: but it will here be proper to explain more at length the particular means by which the Athenians recovered their liberty, which I was beginning to do before. Hippias had succeeded to the supreme authority, and, as appeared by his conduct, greatly resented the death of Hipparchus. The Alcmæonidæ, who were of Athenian origin, had been driven from their country by the Pisistratidæ: they had, in conjunction with some other exiles, made an effort to recover their former situations, and to deliver their country from its oppressors, but were defeated with considerable loss. They retired to Lipsydrium beyond Pæonia, which they fortified, still meditating vengeance against the Pisistratidæ. Whilst they were thus circumstanced, the Amphictyons[4] engaged them upon certain terms to construct that which is now the temple of Delphi,[5] but which did not exist before. They were not deficient in point of wealth; and, warmed with the generous spirit of their race, they erected a temple far exceeding the model which had been given, in splendour and in beauty. Their agreement only obliged them to construct it of the stone of Porus,[6] but they built the vestibule of Parian marble.

LXIII. These men, as the Athenians relate, during their continuance at Delphi, bribed the Pythian to propose to every Spartan who should consult her, in a private or public capacity, the deliverance of Athens. The Lacedæmonians, hearing incessantly the same thing repeated to them, sent an army under the conduct of Anchimolius, son of Aster, a man of a very popular character, to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens. They in this respect violated some very ancient ties of hospitality; but they thought it better became them to listen to the commands of heaven, than to any human consideration. These forces were despatched by sea, and being driven to Phalerus, were there disembarked by

1 *This inscription.*]—Some curious inscriptions upon the shields of the warriors who were engaged in the siege of the capital of Eteocles, are preserved in the "Seven against Thebes of Æschylus," to which the reader is referred.

2 *Encheleans.*]—The Cadmeans and Encheleans of Herodotus are the Thebans and Illyrians of Pausanias.

3 *To Athens.*]—They were permitted to settle on the borders of the Cephissus, which separates Attica from Eleusis; there they built a bridge, in order to have a free communication on both sides. I am of opinion that bridges, γεφυραι, took their name from these people. The author of the Etymologicum Magnum pretends that the people were called Gephyreans from this bridge; but it is very certain that they bore this name before they settled in Attica.—*Larcher.*

4 *Amphictyons.*]—The Amphictyons were an assembly composed of deputies from the different states of Greece. Each state sent two deputies, one to examine into what related to the ceremonies of religion, the other to decide disputes betwixt individuals. Their general residence was at Delphi, and they determined disputes betwixt the different states of Greece. Before they proceeded to business, they sacrificed an ox cut into small pieces; their decisions were sacred, and without appeal. They met twice in the year, in spring and in autumn. In spring at Delphi, in autumn at Thermopylæ.

This council represented but a certain number of the states of Greece; but these were the principal and most powerful. Demosthenes makes mention of a decree where the Amphictyonic council is called το κοινον των Ἑλληνων συνεδριον; and Cicero also calls them commune Græciæ concilium.—*T.*

5 *Temple of Delphi.*]—The temple of Delphi was in its origin no more than a chapel made of the branches of laurel growing near the temple. One Pteras of Delphi afterwards built it of more solid materials: it was then constructed of brass; the fourth time it was erected of stone.—*Larcher.*

6 *Stone of Porus.*]—This stone resembled the Parian marble in whiteness and hardness: but, according to Pliny and Theophrastus, it was less ponderous. Of the marble of Paros I have spoken elsewhere. Larcher remarks that Phidias, Praxiteles, and the more eminent sculptors of antiquity, always preferred it for their works. Tournefort without hesitation prefers the marbles of Italy to those of Greece.

Anchimolius. The Pisistratidæ being aware of this, applied for assistance to the Thessalians with whom they were in alliance. The people of Thessaly obeyed the summons, and sent them a thousand horse,[7] commanded by Cineas their king, a native of Coniæus: on the arrival of their allies, the Pisistratidæ levelled all the country about Phalerus, and thus enabling the cavalry to act, they sent them against the Spartans. They accordingly attacked the enemy, and killed several, amongst whom was Anchimolius. Those who escaped were driven to their vessels. Thus succeeded the first attempt of the Lacedæmonians: the tomb of Anchimolius is still to be seen near the temple of Hercules, in Cynosarges,[8] in the district of Alopece,[9] in Attica.

LXIV. The Lacedæmonians afterwards sent a greater body of forces against Athens, not by sea but by land, under the direction of their king Cleomenes, son of Anaxandrides. These, on their first entrance into Attica, were attacked by the Thessalian horse, who were presently routed,[10] with the loss of forty of their men, the remainder retired without any further efforts into Thessaly. Cleomenes advancing to the city, was joined by those Athenians who desired to be free; in conjunction with whom he besieged the tyrants in the Pelasgian citadel.

LXV. The Lacedæmonians would have found themselves finally inadequate to the expulsion of the Pisistratidæ, for they were totally unprepared for a siege, whilst their adversaries were well provided with necessaries. After therefore continuing the blockade for a few days, they were about to return to Sparta, when an accident happened, as fatal to one party as favourable to the other. The children of the Pisistratidæ in their attempts privately to escape, were taken prisoners: this incident reduced them to extreme perplexity, so that finally, to recover their children, they submitted to such terms as the Athenians imposed, and engaged to leave Attica within five days. Thus, after enjoying the supreme authority for thirty six years, they retired to Sigeum beyond the Scamander. They were in their descent Pylians, of the family of Peleus: they were by birth related to Codrus and Melanthus, who had also arrived at the principality of Athens, though strangers like themselves. In memory of which Hippocrates, the father of Pisistratus, had named his son from the son of Nestor. The Athenians were thus delivered from oppression; and it will now be my business to commemorate such prosperous or calamitous events as they experienced after they had thus recovered their liberties, before Ionia had revolted from Darius, and Aristagoras the Milesian had arrived at Athens to supplicate assistance.

LXVI. Athens was considerable before, but, its liberty being restored, it became greater than ever. Of its citizens, two enjoyed more than common reputation: Clisthenes, of

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7 *Thousand horse.*]—The cavalry of Thessaly were very famous.—See *Theocritus, Id.* xviii. 30.

Η καπῳ κυπαρισσος, η αρματι Θεσσαλος ἱππος,
Ωδε και ῥοδοχρως Ἑλενα Λακεδαιμονι κοσμος.

As the cypress is an ornament to a garden, as a Thessalian horse to a chariot, so is the lovely Helen to the glory of Lacedæmon.—*Larcher.*

Amongst other solemnities of mourning which Admetus prince of Thessaly orders to be observed in honour of his deceased wife, he bids his subjects cut the manes of all the chariot horses.

Τεθριππα τε ζευγνυσθε και μοναμπυκας
Πωλους σιδηρῳ τεμνετ' αυχενων φοβην.

From which incident it may perhaps be inferred, that the Thessalians held their horses in no small estimation; the speech of Admetus being as much as to say, "All that belongs to me, all that have any share of my regard, shall aid me in deploring my domestic loss."—See vol. 1, 215.—*T.*

8 *Cynosarges.*]—This place gave name to the sect of the Cynics. It was a gymnasium, or place for public exercises, annexed to a temple, and situated near one of the gates of Athens. The origin of its appellation *Cynosarges* is thus related; an Athenian named Didymus was performing a sacrifice in his house, but was interrupted by a large white dog, which coming in unexpectedly seized the victim, carried it off, and left it in another place. Much disturbed by an accident so inauspicious, Didymus consulted the oracle in what manner he might avert the omen; he was told to build a temple to Hercules in the place where the dog had deposited the victim: he did so and called it *Cynosarges*, απο του κυνος αργου, from the *white dog*, which that name expresses. When Antisthenes founded his sect, he hired this place as conveniently situated for his lectures: and from the name of the place, added to the consideration of the snarling doggish nature of those philosophers, was derived the appellation *Cynic*, which means *doggish*. Antisthenes himself was sometimes called απλοκυων, *mere* or *genuine dog.*

The expression ad Cynosarges was proverbial.—See this explained at length in the Adagia of Erasmus; it signified the same as abi ad corvos, ad malam rem, &c.—*T.*

9 *Alopece.*]—This place was appropriated to the tribe of Antiochis, and according to Diogenes Laertius, was celebrated for being the birth place of Socrates.—*T.*

10 *Presently routed.*]—Frontinus, in his Stratagemata, relates that Cleomenes obstructed the passage of the Thessalian horse, by throwing branches of trees over the plain. This delivery of the Athenians by Cleomenes, is alluded to by Aristophanes, in his play called Lysistrate.—*Larcher.*

the family of the Alcmæonidæ, who according to the voice of fame had corrupted the Pythian; and Isagoras, son of Tisander, who was certainly of an illustrious origin, but whose particular descent I am not able to specify. The individuals of this family sacrifice to the Carian Jupiter:[1] these two men, in their contention for superiority, divided the state into factions: Clisthenes, who was worsted by his rival, found means to conciliate the favour of the people. The four tribes,[2] which were before named from the sons of Ion, Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, he divided into ten, naming them according to his fancy, from the heroes of his country. One however he called after Ajax,[3] who had been the neighbour and ally to this nation.

LXVII. In this particular, Clisthenes seems to me to have imitated his grandfather of the same name by his mother's side, who was prince of Sicyon: this Clisthenes having been engaged in hostilities with the Argives, abolished at Sicyon the poetical contests of the rhapsodists,[4] which he was induced to do, because in the verses of Homer, which were there generally selected for this purpose, Argos and its inhabitants were such frequent objects of praise. From the same motive he was solicitous to expel the relics of Adrastus, an Argive, the son of Talaus, which were deposited in the forum of Sicyon;[5] he went therefore to inquire of the Delphic oracle, whether he might expel Adrastus. The Pythian said in reply, that Adrastus was a prince of Sicyon, whilst he himself was a robber. Meeting with this repulse

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1 *Carian Jupiter.*]—The Carians were exceedingly contemned, and they were regarded as slaves, because they were the first who let out troops for hire; for which reason they were exposed to the most perilous enterprises. This people had a temple common to themselves, with the Lydians and Mysians; this was called the temple of the Carian Jupiter. They who sacrificed to the Carian Jupiter acknowledged themselves to have been originally from Caria. Plutarch does not omit this opportunity of reproaching Herodotus; and indeed this is amongst the very few instances of his having justice on his side. As early as in the time of Homer, the following proverb was current:

————τιω δε μιν εν Καρος αισῃ,

"I value him no more than a Carian."—*Larcher.*

This interpretation has, however, been justly considered as doubtful. See Dr. Clarke's excellent note on that passage.—*Il.* ix. 378.—*T.*

2 *The four tribes.*]—The names of the four ancient tribes of Athens varied at different times; they were afterwards, as in this place represented, multiplied into ten; two others were then added. Each of these ten tribes, like so many different republics, had their presidents, officers of police, tribunals, assemblies, and different interests. Fifty senators were elected as representatives of each tribe, which of course made the aggregate representation of the state of Athens amount to five hundred. The motives of Clisthenes in dividing the Athenians into ten tribes, was a remarkable instance of political sagacity; till then any one tribe uniting with a second must have rendered any contest equal. The names here inserted have been the subject of much learned controversy. See the Ion of Euripides, ver. 1576, and the commentators upon it. An inscription published by Count Caylus has at length removed many of the difficulties.

3 *Ajax.*]—Ajax, son of Telamon, had been prince of Ægina, an island in the neighbourhood of Attica.—*Larcher.* This is a most remarkable mistake in Larcher: Ajax was of Salamis and not of Ægina. See the well-known line in Homer:

Αιας δ' εκ Σαλαμινος αγεν δυοκαιδεκα νηας.

4 *Rhapsodists.*]—This word is compounded either of ῥαπτω, to sew, or ῥαβδος, a rod or branch, and ᾠδη, a song or poem. According to the first derivation it signifies a poet, author of various songs or poems which are connected together, making one poem, of which the different parts may be detached and separately recited. According to the second, it signifies a singer, who holding in his hand a branch of laurel, recites either his own compositions or those of some celebrated poet.

Hesiod inclines to the former etymology. Homer, Hesiod, &c. were rhapsodists in this sense; they composed their poems in different books and parts, which uniting together made one perfect composition. The ancient poets went from country to country, and from town to town, to instruct and amuse the people by the recital of their verses, who in return treated them with great honours, and much liberality. The most ancient rhapsodist on record is Phemius, whom Homer, after being his disciple, immortalizes in his Odyssey. The most probable opinion is, that in singing the verses which they themselves composed, they carried in their hand a branch of laurel. The rhapsodists of the second kind were invited to feasts and public sacrifices, to sing the poems of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Phocylides, and in particular of Homer. These were satisfied with reciting the compositions of others, and certainly carried a branch of laurel, which particularly has been disputed with respect to the first.

They were also called Homerides or Homerists, because they generally recited verses from Homer.

They sung sitting on a raised chair, accompanying their verses with a cithera or some other instrument, and in return a crown of gold was given them. In process of time the words rhapsodist and rhapsody became terms of contempt, from the abuse which the rhapsodists made of their profession; and at the present day the term rhapsody is applied to a number of vile pieces ill put together.—*Larcher.*

The note above given from Larcher will necessarily bring to the mind of the English reader the character and office of our ancient bards, whom the rhapsodists of old in many respects resembled. Of the two, the bards were perhaps the more honourable, as they confined themselves to the recital of the valorous actions of heroes, and of such sentiments as inspired bravery and virtue. In our language also rhapsody is now always used in a bad sense; but it was not so with our more ancient writers, and our poets in particular.—*T.*

5 *Forum of Sicyon.*]—Dieutychidas relates that Adrastus was buried at Megara, and that at Sicyon there was only a cenotaph of this hero. See Scholiast to Pindar, ad Nem. 30.—*Larcher.*

from the oracle, he on his return concerted other means to rid himself of Adrastus. Thinking he had accomplished this, he sent to Thebes of Bœotia to bring back Melanippus,[6] a native of Sicyon, and son of Astacus. By the consent of the Thebans, his request was granted; he then erected to his honour a shrine in the Prytaneum, and deposited his remains in a place strongly fortified. His motive for thus bringing back Melanippus, which ought not to be omitted, was the great enmity which subsisted betwixt him and Adrastus, and farther, because Melanippus had been accessary to the deaths of Mecistus the brother, and Tydeus the son-in-law of Adrastus. When the shrine was completed, Clisthenes assigned to Melanippus the sacrifices and festivals which before had been appropriated to Adrastus, and solemnized by the Sicyonians with the greatest pomp and magnificence. This district had formerly been under the sovereignty of Polybus, who dying without children, had left his dominions to Adrastus, his grandson by a daughter. Amongst other marks of honour which the Sicyonians paid the memory of Adrastus, they commemorated in tragic choruses[7] his personal misfortunes, to the neglect even of Bacchus. But Clisthenes appropriated the choruses to Bacchus, and the other solemnities to Melanippus.

LXVIII. He changed also the names of the Doric tribes, that those of the Sicyonians might be altogether different from those of the Argives, by which means he made the Sicyonians extremely ridiculous. He distinguished the other tribes by the words Hys and Onos,[8] superadding only their respective terminations; to his own tribe he prefixed the word Arche, expressive of authority; those of his own tribe were therefore termed Archelaens; of the others, some were called Hyatæ, some Oneatæ, others Chæreatæ. The Sicyonians were known by these appellations during the time of Clisthenes, and for sixty years afterwards. After this period, in consequence of a consultation held among themselves, they changed these names to Hylleans, Pamphylians, and Dymanatæ. To these they added a fourth tribe, which in honour of Ægialeus, son of Adrastus, they called Ægialeans.

LXIX. Such was the conduct of Clisthenes of Sicyon. The Clisthenes of Athens, grandson of the former by a daughter, and named after him, was, as it appears to me, desirous of imitating him from whom he was called. To show his contempt of the Ionians, he would not suffer the tribes of Athens to bear any resemblance to those of Ionia. Having conciliated his countrymen, who had before been averse to him, he changed the names of the tribes, and increased their number. Instead of four phylarchi he made ten, into which number of tribes he also divided the people; by which means he so conciliated their favour, that he obtained a decided superiority over his opponents.[9]

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6 *Melanippus.*]—When the Argives attacked Thebes, this warrior slew Tydeus, and Mecistus, the brother of Adrastus, whilst he himself perished by the hands of Amphiaraus.

7 *Tragic choruses.*]—It may be inferred, says Larcher, from this passage, that Thespis was not the inventor of tragedy; and he quotes Themistius as saying, "The Sicyonians were the inventors of tragedy, but the Athenians brought it to perfection." Suidas also at the word Θεσπις, says, that Epigenes of Sicyon was the first tragedian, and Thespis only the sixteenth. M. Larcher is of a contrary opinion, but avoids any discussion of the argument, as beyond the proposed limits of his plan.

To exhibit a chorus, was to purchase a dramatic piece of an author, and defray the expense of its representation. This at Athens was the office of the archon, at Rome of the ædiles. The following passage from Lysias may serve to explain the ancient chorus with regard to its variety and expense.

"When Theopompus was archon, I was furnisher to a tragic chorus, and I laid out 30 minæ—afterwards I got the victory with the chorus of men, and it cost me 20 minæ. When Glaucippus was archon, I laid out 8 minæ upon the pyrrichists; when Diocles was archon, I laid out upon the cyclian chorus three minæ; afterwards, when Alexias was archon, I furnished a chorus of boys, and it cost me fifteen minæ; when Euclides was archon, I was at the charge of sixteen minæ on the comedians, and of seven upon the young pyrrichists."

From which it appears that the tragic was the most expensive chorus, and its splendour in after-times became so extravagant, that Horace complains the spectators minded more what they saw than what they heard:

Dixit adhuc aliquid? nil sane: quid placet ergo?
Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.

The business of the chorus at its first institution was to sing dithyrambic verses in honour of Bacchus. How it afterwards became improved and extended, has been too often and too well discussed to require any elaborate discussion in this place.—*T.*

8 *Hys and Onos.*]—Literally, a swine and an ass.

9 *Over his opponents.*]—Clisthenes and Isagoras had no intention of becoming tyrants, and were united to expel the Pisistratidæ from Athens: but they were not at all the more harmonious on this account. The first desired to establish a democracy, and to accomplish it he gave the people more authority than ever they possessed before, by distributing them into a greater number of tribes, making them by these means the less easy to be gained. Isagoras, on the contrary, wished to establish an aristocracy; and as he could not possibly succeed in his views, unless by force, he therefore invited the Lacedæmonians to assist him.—*Larcher.*

LXX. Isagoras, though overcome, endeavoured to recover his importance; he accordingly applied to Cleomenes the Spartan, with whom he had formed the tie of hospitality whilst he was besieging the Pisistratidæ, and who had been suspected of an improper connection with Isagoras's wife. The Lacedæmonian prince, sending a herald before him, pronounced sentence of expulsion against Clisthenes, and many other Athenians, on pretence of their being polluted by sacrilegious murder. Isagoras prevailed upon him to make this his excuse, because the Alcmæonidæ, with those of their party, had been guilty of a murder, in which neither Isagoras nor any of his followers were concerned.

LXXI. The reason why these Athenians were called polluted,[1] was this: Cylon, a native of Athens, who had obtained the prize in the Olympic games, had been convicted of designs upon the government, for, having procured a number of young men of the same age with himself, he endeavoured to seize the citadel; disappointed in his hopes, he with his companions placed themselves before the shrine of Minerva, as suppliants. The Prytanes of the Naucrari,[2] who then governed Athens, persuaded them to leave this sanctuary, under a promise that their lives should not be forfeited. Their being soon afterwards put to death[3] was generally imputed to the Alcmæonidæ.—These events happened before the time of Pisistratus.

LXXII. Cleomenes having thus ordered the expulsion of Clisthenes, and the other *Enagees*, though Clisthenes had privately retired,[4] came soon afterwards to Athens with a small number of attendants. His first step was to send into exile as polluted seven hundred Athenian families,[5] which Isagoras pointed out to him. He next proceeded to dissolve the senate, and to entrust the office of government with three hundred of the faction of Isagoras. The senate exerted themselves, and positively refused to acquiesce in his projects; upon which Cleomenes, with Isagoras and his party, seized the citadel: they were here, for the space of two days, besieged by the Athenians in a body, who took the part of the senate. Upon the third day certain terms were offered, and accepted, and the Spartans all of them departed from Athens; thus was an omen which had happened to Cleomenes accomplished. For when he was employed in the seizure of the citadel, he desired to enter the adytum and consult the goddess; the priestess, as he was about to open the doors, rose from her seat, and forbade him in these terms; "Lacedæmonian, return, presume not to enter here, where no admittance is permitted to a Dorian." "I," returned Cleomenes, "am not a Dorian, but an Achæan." This omen, however, had no influence upon

1 *Polluted.*]—Literally *Enagees*, that is, polluted by their crime, and therefore devoted to the curse of the goddess whom they had offended: the term implies a sacrilegious offence.—*T.*

2 *The Prytanes of the Naucrari.*]—I shall endeavour, as concisely as possible, to make this intelligible to the English reader.

The magistrates of Athens were composed of the Archons, the Areopagites, and the senate of five hundred. When the people of Athens consisted only of four tribes, one hundred were elected by lot from each tribe; when afterwards they were divided into ten, fifty were chosen from each tribe; these were the Prytanes, and they governed the city by turns. Each body of fifty, according to Solon's establishment, ruled for the space of thirty-five days, not all at once, but in regular divisions of their body for a certain limited time. To expatiate on the subject of the Prytanes, the particulars of their duty, and their various subdivisions into other responsible magistracies, would require a long dissertation.

Of the Naucrari, or, as it is sometimes written, Naucleri, what follows may perhaps be sufficient.

To the ten tribes of Clisthenes, two more were afterwards added; these twelve were divided into Δημοι, or boroughs, who anciently were named Naucrauriæ: of these the magistrates were called Naucrari; each Naucraria furnished for the public service two horsemen and one vessel. Each Athenian borough had anciently its own little senate; thus the Prytanes of the Naucrari were a select number, presiding in each of these senates. With respect to the passage before us, "Many," says Larcher, "are of opinion that Herodotus uses the expression of Prytanes of the Naucrari in a particular sense, meaning by Naucrari the Athenians in general; and by Prytanes, the Archons."—*T.*

3 *Put to death.*]—The particulars of this strange business are related at length by Thucydides; much also concerning it may be found in the Sera numinis vindicta of Plutarch, and in the Life of Solon. The detail in this place would not be interesting; the event happened 612 years before the Christian era.—*T.*

4 *Privately retired.*]—We are told by Ælian, that Clisthenes, having introduced the law of the ostracism, was the first who was punished by it. Few English readers will require to be informed, that the ostracism was the Athenian sentence of banishment, determined by the people writing the name of the person to be banished on an oyster-shell.

The punishment itself was not always deemed dishonourable, for the victim, during the term of his banishment, which was ten years, enjoyed his estate. A person could not be banished by the ostracism, unless an assembly of six thousand were present.—*T.*

5 *Athenian families.*]—This expression is not so unimportant as it may appear to a careless reader. There were at Athens many domesticated strangers, who enjoyed all the rights of citizens, except that they could not be advanced to a station of any authority in the state.—*Larcher.*

his conduct; he persevered in what he had undertaken, and with his Lacedæmonians was a second time[6] foiled. The Athenians who had joined themselves to him were put in irons, and condemned to die; amongst these was Timesitheus of Delphi, concerning whose gallantry and spirit I am able to produce many testimonies.—These Athenians were put to death in prison.

LXXIII. The Athenians having recalled Clisthenes, and the seven hundred families expelled by Cleomenes, sent ambassadors to Sardis to form an alliance with the Persians: for they were well convinced that they should have to support a war against Cleomenes and Sparta. On their arrival at Sardis, and explaining the nature of their commission, Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, and chief magistrate of Sardis, inquired of them who they were, and where they lived, desiring to become the allies of Persia. Being satisfied in this particular, he made them this abrupt proposition; if the Athenians would send to Darius earth and water, he would form an alliance with them, if not, they were immediately to depart. After deliberating on the subject, they acceded to the terms proposed, for which, on their return to Athens, they were severely reprehended.

LXXIV. Cleomenes knowing that he was reproached, and feeling that he was injured by the Athenians, levied forces in the different parts of the Peloponnese, without giving any intimation of the object he had in view. He proposed, however, to take vengeance on Athens, and to place the government in the hands of Isagoras, who with him had been driven from the citadel: with a great body of forces he himself took possession of Eleusis, whilst the Bœotians, as had been agreed upon, seized Oenoe and Hysias,[7] towns in the extremity of Attica; on another side the Chalcidians laid waste the Athenian territories. The Athenians, however, perplexed by these different attacks, deferred their revenge on the Bœotians and Chalcidians, and marched with their army against the Peloponnesians at Eleusis.

LXXV. Whilst the two armies were prepared to engage, the Corinthians first of all, as if conscious of their having acted an unjustifiable part, turned their backs and retired. Their example was followed by Demaratus, son of Ariston, who was also a king of Sparta, had conducted a body of forces from Lacedæmon, and till now had seconded Cleomenes in all his measures. On account of the dissension between their princes, the Spartans passed a law, forbidding both their kings to march with the army at the same time. They determined also, that one of the Tyndaridæ[8] should remain with the prince who was left at home, both of whom, till now, had accompanied them on foreign expeditions. The rest of the confederates at Eleusis, perceiving this disunion of the princes, and the secession of the Corinthians, returned to their respective homes.

LXXVI. This was the fourth time that the Dorians had entered Attica, twice as enemies, and twice with pacific and friendly views. Their first expedition was to establish a colony at Megara, which was when Codrus[9] reigned at Athens. They came from Sparta the second and third time to expel the Pisistratidæ. The fourth time was when Cleomenes and the Peloponnesians attacked Eleusis.

LXXVII. The Athenians, observing the adversary's army thus ignominiously diminish, gave place to the desire of revenge, and determined first to attack the Chalcidians, to assist whom the Bœotians advanced as far as the Euripus.[10] On sight of them the Athenians

6 *Second time.*]—See chapter lxiv. and lxv.—See also the Lysistrate of Aristophanes, verse 273.

"Non memini," says Reiske, "de primo Cleomenis irrito conatu Athenas occupandi in superioribus legere. Nam quod, p. 263, narravit non Cleomeni, sed Anchimolio id evenit."

7 *Hysias.*]—Larcher thinks that Hysias never constituted a part of Attica, and therefore, with Wesseling, wishes to read Phyle.—See Wesseling's note.

8 *One of the Tyndaridæ.*]—It may perhaps be inferred from this passage, that the symbol or image representing Castor and Pollux, which before was one piece of wood, was separated into two distinct emblems. See Abbe Winckelman:—"Chez les Lacedœmoniens Castor et Pollux avoient la forme de deux morceaux de bois paralleles, joints par deux baguettes de traverse: et cette ancienne figure s'est conservee jusqu'a nous par le signe II, qui denote ces freres gemeaux du zodiaque."—*T.*

9 *Codrus.*]—Of this Codrus the following story is related:—The Dorians of the Peloponnese, as here mentioned, marched against the Athenians, and were promised success from the oracle of Delphi, provided they did not kill Codrus the Athenian prince. Cleomantis of Delphi gave intimation of this to the Athenians; upon which Codrus left his camp, in the habit of a beggar, mingled with the enemy's troops, and provoked some amongst them to kill him; when the Athenians sent to demand the body of their prince, the Peloponnesians, on hearing the incident, retreated.—*T.*

10 *Euripus.*]—This was the name of the very narrow strait between Bœotia and Eubœa, where the sea was said by the ancients to ebb and flow seven times a day. It was rendered more memorable, because Aristotle was reported here to have destroyed himself from mortification, being unable to explain the cause of the phenome-

resolved to attack them before the Chalcidians: they accordingly gave them battle, and obtained a complete victory, killing a prodigious number, and taking seven hundred prisoners. On the same day they passed into Eubœa, and fought the Chalcidians; over these also they were victorious, and they left a colony to the number of four thousand on the lands of the Hippobotæ,[1] by which name the most opulent of the Chalcidians were distinguished. Such of these as they took prisoners, as well as their Bœotian captives, they at first put in irons, and kept in close confinement: they afterwards suffered them to be ransomed at two minæ a man, suspending their chains from the citadel. These were to be seen even within my memory, hanging from the walls which were burnt by the Medes, near the temple facing the west. The tenth part of the money produced from the ransom of their prisoners was consecrated; with it they purchased a chariot of brass[2] for four horses; it was placed at the left hand side of the citadel, with this inscription:—

Her arms, when Chalcis and Bœotia tried,
Athens in chains and darkness quell'd their pride:
Their ransom paid, the tenths are here bestow'd,
A votive gift to favouring Pallas owed.

LXXVIII. The Athenians continued to increase in number and importance: not from their example alone, but from various instances, it may be made appear that an equal form of government is the best. Whilst the Athenians were in subjection to tyrants, they were superior in war to none of their neighbours, but when delivered from their oppressors, they far surpassed them all; from whence it is evident, that whilst under the restraint of a master, they were incapable of any spirited exertions, but as soon as they obtained their liberty, each man zealously exercised his talents on his own account.

LXXIX. The Thebans after this, desirous of obtaining revenge, sent to consult the oracle. In reply, the Pythian assured them, that of themselves they would be unable to accomplish this. She recommended them to consult their popular assembly, and to apply to their nearest neighbours[3] for assistance. Those employed in this business called on their return an assembly of their countrymen, to whom they communicated the reply of the oracle. Hearing that they were required to ask assistance of their neighbours, they deliberated amongst themselves. "What," said some of them, "do not the Tanagræi,[4] the Coronæi,[5] and the Thespians,[6] who are our neighbours, constantly act in concert with us; do they not always assist us, in war, with the most friendly and spirited exertions? To these there can be no occasion to apply; the oracle must therefore have some other meaning."

LXXX. Whilst they were thus debating, some one amongst them exclaimed, "I think that I am able to penetrate the meaning of the oracle; Asopus[7] is reported to have had two daughters, Thebe and Ægina; as these were sisters, I am inclined to believe that the deity would have us apply to the Æginetæ, to assist us in obtaining revenge." The Thebans, not being able to devise any more plausible interpretation, thought that they acted in conformity to the will of the oracle, by sending to the Æginetæ for assistance, as to their nearest

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non. It afterwards became an appellation for any strait of the sea.

The circumstance of the ebb and flow of the sea in this place happening seven times a day, is thus mentioned in the Hercules of Seneca:

Euripus undas flectit instabilis vagas,
Septemque cursus volvit et totidem refert,
Dum lassa Titan mergat oceano juga.—T

1 *Hippobotæ*.]—literally means keepers of horses, from ἵππος, a horse, and βοσκω, to feed.

2 *Chariot of brass*.]—From the tenth of the spoils of the Bœotians, and of the people of Chalcis, they made a chariot of brass.—*See Pausanias, Attic.* chap. xxviii.

3 *Nearest neighbours*.]—The term των αγχιστα is ambiguous, and may be understood either of neighbours or relations.

4 *Tanagræi*.]—The country of Tanagra, according to Pliny and others, was very celebrated for a breed of fighting cocks.—Jam ex his quidam (galli) ad bella tantum et prœlia assidua nascuntur, quibus etiam patrias nobilitarunt Rhodum ac Tanagram.—*Pliny*, x. 21.

Its modern name is Anatoria.—*T.*

5 *Coronæi*.]—Of Coronea a very singular circumstance is related, that whereas all the rest of Bœotia abounded with moles, not one was ever seen in Coronea.—*T.*

6 *Thespians*.]—Thespia was one of those cities considered by the ancients as sacred to the muses, whence one of their names, Thespiades.—*T.*

7 *Ascpus*.]—Oceanus and Tethys, as the story goes, amongst other sons after whom rivers were named, had also Peneus and Asopus; Peneus remained in the country now called Thessaly, and gave his name to the river which waters it. Asopus residing at Phlyus, married Merope, the daughter of Laden, by whom he had two sons, Pelasgus and Ismenus, and twelve daughters, Cencyra, Salamis, Ægina, Pirene, Cleone, Thebe, Tanagra, Thespia, Asopis, Sinope, Ænia, and Chalcis. Ægina was carried away by Jupiter to the island which was called after her.

Asopus, informed of this by Sisyphus, pursued her, but Jupiter struck him with his thunder.—*Diodorus Siculus.*

neighbours, who, in return, engaged to send the Æacidæ[8] to their aid.

LXXXI. The Thebans, relying on the assistance of Æacidæ, commenced hostilities with the Athenians, but they met with so ill a reception, that they determined to send back the Æacidæ, and to require the aid of some troops. The application was favourably received, and the Æginetæ, confident in their riches, and mindful of their ancient enmity with the Athenians, began hostilities against them, without any formal declaration of war. Whilst the forces of Athens were solely employed against the Bœotians, they passed over with a fleet into Attica, and not only plundered Phalerum,[9] but almost all the inhabitants of the coast; by which the Athenians sustained considerable injury.

LXXXII. The first occasion of the enmity between the Æginetæ and the Athenians was this:—The Epidaurians being afflicted by a severe and continued famine, consulted the Delphic oracle; the Pythian enjoined them to erect statues to Damia and Auxesia,[10] promising that their situation would then be amended. The Epidaurians next inquired, whether they should construct these statues of brass or of stone. The priestess replied, of neither, but of the wood of the garden olive. The Epidaurians, in consequence, applied to the Athenians for permission to take one of their olives, believing these of all others the most sacred; indeed it is said, that at this period olives were no where else to be found.[11] The Athenians granted their request, on condition that they should every year furnish a sacrifice to Minerva Polias,[12] and to Erectheus.[13] The Epidaurians acceding to these terms, constructed of Athenian olive the figures which had been enjoined, and as their lands immediately became fruitful, they punctually fulfilled their engagements with the Athenians.

LXXXIII. At and before this period, the Æginetæ were so far in subjection to the Epidaurians, that all subjects of litigation betwixt themselves and the people of Epidaurus were determined among the latter. In process of time they built themselves a fleet, and revolted from their allegiance; becoming still more powerful, they made themselves masters of the sea, and plundered their former masters, carrying away the images of Damia and Auxesia. These they deposited in the centre of their own territories, in a place called Œa, about twenty stadia from their city; having done this they instituted sacrifices in their honour, with ludicrous choruses of women,[14] assigning to each of these goddesses ten men, who were to preside over the choruses. These choruses did not insult any male, but the females of the country. The Epidaurians had dances similar to these, with other ceremonies which were mysterious.

LXXXIV. From the time of their losing these images, the Epidaurians ceased to observe their engagements with the Athenians, who sent to remonstrate with them on the occasion. They made reply, that in this respect they were guilty of no injustice, for as long as they possessed the images, they had fulfilled all that was expected from them; having lost these, their obligation became void, devolving from them to the Æginetæ. On receiving this answer, the Athenians sent to Ægina to demand the images, but the Æginetæ denied that the Athenians had any business with them.

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8 *Æacidæ.*]—M. Larcher, comparing this with a paragraph in the following chapter, is of opinion that Herodotus here speaks not of any persons, but of images representing the Æacidæ, which the Æginetæ lent the Thebans.

9 *Phalerum.*]—This place is now called Porto Leone. —*T.*

10 *Damia and Auxesia.*]—These were the same as Ceres and Proserpine: these goddesses procured fertility, and had a temple in Tegea, where they were called Carpophoræ. Pausanias relates the same fact as Herodotus, except that he calls the two goddesses Auxesia and Lamia.

They were also worshipped at Trœzene, but for different reasons: Damia was the Bona Dea of the Romans; she was, also, according to Valcnaer, the same as the Roman Maia.—*Larcher.*

11 *To be found.*]—This assertion was by no means true, as Larcher remarks, Herodotus knew it, but not choosing to hurt the pride of the Athenians, he admits the report, qualifying it with, "it is said."

The olive, which loves a warm climate, was probably a native of the East, and was carried from thence to Greece.

12 *Minerva Polias.*]—Patroness of the city; for the same reason she was called Poliouchos.

13 *Erectheus.*]—Was the sixth king of Athens, in whose reign Ceres came to Athens, and planted corn; not only he but his daughters were received into the number of the gods.

Nostri quidem publicani, cum essent in Bœotia, deorum immortalium excepti lege censoria, negabant immortales esse ullos qui aliquando homines fuissent.—Sed si sunt hi dii, est certe Erectheus, cujus Athenis et delubrum vidimus et sacerdotem.—*Cic. de Nat. Deor.* iii. 19.

14 *Ludicrous choruses of women.*]—If Herodotus, where he says that the Epidaurians honoured the goddesses Damia and Auxesia, χοροῖσι γυναικηΐοισι κερτομοῖσι, with choruses of women, that used to abuse and burlesque the women of the country, had called them χοροῖσι κωμικοῖσι, comical choruses, he had said nothing unworthy of a great historian; because those choruses of women were much of the same sort that were afterwards called comical.—*Bentley on Phalaris.*

LXXXV. The Athenians relate, that after this refusal of their demand, they sent the persons before employed in this business in a vessel to Ægina. As these images were made of the wood of Athens, they were commissioned to carry them away from the place where they stood; but their attempt to do this not prevailing, they endeavoured to remove them with ropes: in the midst of their efforts they were alarmed by an earthquake, and loud claps of thunder; those employed were seized with a madness, which caused them to kill one another; one only survived, who immediately fled to Phaleros.

LXXXVI. The above is the Athenian account. The Æginetæ affirm, that this expedition was not made in a single vessel, for the attacks of one, or even of many vessels, they could easily have repelled, even if they had possessed no ships of their own; but they say that the Athenians invaded them with a powerful fleet; in consequence of which they retired, not choosing to hazard a naval engagement. It is, however, by no means evident, whether they declined a sea-fight from a want of confidence in their own power, or whether they retired voluntarily and from design. It is certain that the Athenians, meeting with no resistance, advanced to the place where the images stood, and not able to separate them from their bases, they dragged them along with ropes; during which, both the figures did what seems incredible to me, whatever it may to others.[1] They assert, that they both fell upon their knees, in which attitude they have ever since remained. Such were the proceedings of the Athenians. The people of Ægina, according to their own account, hearing of the hostile intentions of the Athenians, took care that the Argives should be ready to assist them. As soon therefore, as the Athenians landed at Ægina, the Argives were at hand, and unperceived by the enemy, passed over from Epidaurus to the island, whence intercepting their retreat to their ships, they fell upon the Athenians; at which moment of time an earthquake happened, accompanied with thunder.

LXXXVII. In their relation of the above circumstances, the Æginetæ and the Argives concur. The Athenians acknowledge, that only one of their countrymen returned to Attica; but this man, the Argives say, was the sole survivor of a defeat, which they gave the Athenians; whilst these affirm, that he escaped from the vengeance of the divinity, which, however, he did not long elude, for he afterwards perished in this manner: when he returned to Athens, and related at large the destruction of his countrymen, the wives of those who had been engaged in the expedition against Ægina were extremely exasperated that he alone should survive; they accordingly surrounded the man, and each of them asking for her husband, they wounded him with the clasps[2] of their garments, till he died. This behaviour of their women was to the Athenians more afflicting than the misfortune which preceded it; all however they could do was to make them afterwards assume the Ionian dress. Before this incident, the women of Athens wore the Doric vest, which much resembles the Corinthian; that they might have no occasion for clasps, they obliged them to wear linen tunics.

LXXXVIII. It seems reasonable to believe, that the vest was not originally Ionian but Carian; formerly the dress of the Grecian females was universally the same with what we now call Dorian. It is reported, that the Ar-

1 *Whatever it may to others.*]—This is one of the numerous examples in Herodotus, which concur to prove, that the character of credulity, so universally imputed to our historian, ought to be somewhat qualified. For my own part, I am able to recollect very few passages indeed, where, relating any thing marvellous, or exceeding credibility, he does not at the same time intimate, in some form or other, his own suspicions of the fact.—*T.*

2 *With the clasps.*]—The Greeks called the clasp or buckle with which they fastened their garments, περονη, and sometimes πορπη; the Latins for the same thing used the word *fibula*. Various specimens of ancient clasps or buckles may be seen in Montfaucon, the generality of which resemble a bow that is strung. Montfaucon rejects the opinion of those who affirm, that the buckles of which various ancient specimens were preserved, were only styli, or instruments to write with.—"The styli," he adds, "were long pins, and much stronger than the pins with which they fastened the buckles anciently." When Julius Cæsar was assassinated, he defended himself with his stylus, and thrust it through the arm of Casca. When the learned Frenchman says, that the ancient clasps or buckles could not possibly serve for offensive weapons, he probably was not acquainted with the fact here mentioned by Herodotus. An elegant use is made by Homer, of the probability of a wound's being inflicted by a clasp: when Venus, having been wounded by Diomed, retires from the field, Minerva says sarcastically to Jupiter,

Permit thy daughter, gracious Jove, to tell
How this mischance the Cyprian queen befall;
As late she tried with passion to inflame
The tender bosom of a Grecian dame,
Allured the fair with moving thoughts of joy,
To quit her country for some youth of Troy;
The clasping zone, with golden buckles bound,
Rased her soft hand with this lamented wound.

gives and the Æginetæ, in opposition to the above ordinance of the Athenians, directed their women to wear clasps, almost twice as large as usual, and ordained these to be the particular votive offering made by the women, in the temples of the above divinities. They were suffered to offer there nothing which was Attic, even the common earthen vessels were prohibited, of which they were allowed to use none but what were made in their own country. Such, even to my time, has been the contradictory spirit of the women of Argos and Ægina, with respect to those of Athens, that the former have persevered in wearing their clasps larger than before.

LXXXIX. This which I have related, was the origin of the animosity between the people of Athens and Ægina. The latter still having in mind the old grievance of the statues, readily yielded to the solicitations of the Thebans, and assisted the Bœotians, by ravaging the coast of Attica. Whilst the Athenians were preparing to revenge the injury, they were warned by a communication from the Delphic oracle, to refrain from all hostilities with the people of Ægina for the space of thirty years; at the termination of this period, they were to erect a fane to Æacus, and might then commence offensive operations against the Æginetæ with success; but if they immediately began hostilities, although they would do the enemy essential injury, and finally subdue them, they would in the interval suffer much themselves. On receiving this communication from the oracle, the Athenians erected a sacred edifice to Æacus,[3] which may now be seen in their forum; but notwithstanding the menace impending over them, they were unable to defer the prosecution of their revenge for the long period of thirty years.

XC. Whilst they were thus preparing for revenge, their designs were impeded by what happened at Lacedæmon. The Spartans having discovered the intrigues between the Alcmæonidæ and the Pythian, and what this last had done against the Pisistratidæ and themselves, perceived that they were involved in a double disappointment. Without at all conciliating the Athenians, they had expelled from thence their own friends and allies. They were also seriously impressed by certain oracles, which taught them to expect from the Athenians many and great calamities. Of these they were entirely ignorant, till they were made known by Cleomenes at Sparta. Cleomenes had discovered and seized them in the citadel of Athens, where they had been originally deposited by the Pisistratidæ, who, on being expelled, had left them in the temple.

XCI. On hearing from Cleomenes the above oracular declarations, the Lacedæmonians observed that the Athenians increased in power, and were but little inclined to remain subject to them; they farther reflected, that though when oppressed by tyrants, the people of Athens were weak and submissive, the possession of liberty would not fail to make them formidable rivals. In consequence of these deliberations, they sent for Hippias the son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum on the Hellespont, where the Pisistratidæ had taken refuge. On his arrival, they assembled also the representatives of their other allies, and thus expressed themselves: "We confess to you, friends and allies, that under the impression of oracles, which deceived us, we have greatly erred. The men who had claims upon our kindness, and who would have rendered Athens obedient to our will, we have banished from their country, and have delivered that city into the power of an ungrateful faction. Not remembering that to us they are indebted for their liberty, they are become insolent, and have expelled disgracefully from amongst them, us, and our king. They are endeavouring, we hear, to make themselves more and more formidable; this their neighbours the Bœotians and Chalcidians have already experienced, as will others also who may happen to offend them. To atone for our past errors and neglect, we now profess ourselves ready to assist you in chastising them: for this reason, we have sent for Hippias, and assembled you; intending, by the joint operations of one united army, to restore him to Athens, and to that dignity of which we formerly deprived him."

XCII. These sentiments of the Spartans were approved by very few of the confederates. After a long interval of silence, Sosicles of

3 *Æacus.*]—The genealogy of Æacus is related in Ovid, book xiii. The circumstance of Jupiter, at the request of Æacus, turning ants into men, who were called from thence Myrmidons, may be found in Ovid, book vii.

> Myrmidonasque voco, nec origine nomina fraudo;
> Corpora vidisti; mores, quos ante gerebant,
> Nunc quoque habent; parcum genus est, patiensque laborum,
> Quæsitique tenax, et qui quæsita reservent.

The word Myrmidons has been anglicised, and is used to express any bold hardy ruffians, by no less authority than Swift.—*T.*

Corinth made this reply: "We may henceforth certainly expect to see the heavens take the place of the earth,[1] the earth that of the heavens; to see mankind existing in the waters, and the scaly tribe on earth, since you, O Lacedæmonians, meditate the subversion of free and equal governments, and the establishment of arbitrary power; than which surely nothing can be more unjust in itself or more sanguinary in its effects. If you consider tyranny with so favourable an eye, before you think of introducing it elsewhere, show us the example, and submit first to a tyrant yourselves; at present, you are not only without a tyrant, but it should seem, that in Sparta, nothing can be guarded against with more vigilant anxiety; why then wish to involve your confederates in what to you appears so great a calamity; a calamity which like us if you had known, experience would doubtless have prompted a more sagacious counsel. The government of Corinth was formerly in the hands of a few; they who were called the Bacchiadæ[2] had the administration of affairs. To cement and confirm their authority, they were careful to contract no marriages but amongst themselves. One of these whose name was Amphion, had a daughter called Labda,[3] who was lame. As none of the Bacchiadæ were willing to marry her, they united her to Eetion, son of Echecrates, who, though of the low tribe of Petra, was in his origin one of the Lapithæ[4] descended from Cæneus.[5] As he had no children by this or by any other wife, he sent to Delphi to consult the oracle on the subject. At the moment of his entering the temple, he was thus addressed by the Pythian:—

'Eetion, honour'd far below thy worth;
Know Labda shall produce a monstrous birth,
A stone, which, rolling with enormous weight,
Shall crush usurpers, and reform the state.'

This prediction to Eetion came by accident to the ears of the Bacchiadæ. An oracle had before spoken concerning Corinth, which though dark and obscure, was evidently of the same tendency with that declared to Eetion: it was this:—

'Amidst the rocks an eagle[6] shall produce
An eagle, who shall many knees unloose,
Bloody and strong: guard then your measures well,
Ye who in Corinth and Pirene[7] dwell!'

When this oracle was first delivered to the Bacchiadæ, they had no conception of its meaning; but as soon as they learned the particulars of that given to Eetion, they understood the first from the last. The result was, that they confined the secret to themselves, determined to destroy the future child of Eetion. As soon as the woman was delivered, they commissioned ten of their number to go to the place where Eetion lived, and make away with the infant. As soon as they came to where the tribe of Petra resided, they went to Eetion's house, and asked for the child: Labda, ignorant of their intentions, and imputing this visit to their friendship for her husband, produced her infant, and gave it to the arms of one of them. It had been concerted, that whoever should first have the child in his hands, was to dash it to the ground: it happened, as if by divine interposition, that the infant smiled in the face[8]

1 *Take the place of the earth.*]—With a sentiment similar to this, Ovid commences one of his most beautiful elegies:

In caput alta suum labentur ab æquore retro
Flumina, conversis solque recurret equis,
Terra feret stellas, cœlum findetur aratro,
Unda dabit flammas, et dabit ignis aquas;
Omnia naturæ præpostera legibus ibunt,
Parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter.
Omnia jam fient fieri quæ posse negabam,
Et nihil est de quo non sit habenda fides.—*T.*

2 *Bacchiadæ.*]—Pausanias and Diodorus Siculus are a little at variance with our author in their accounts of the Bacchiadæ. The matter, however, seems from them all to be this: Bacchis was one of the Heraclidæ, and prince of Corinth; on account of his splendid character and virtues, his descendants took the name of Bacchiadæ, which, with the sovereignty of Corinth, they retained till they were expelled by Cypselus.—*T.*

3 *Labda.*]—This, says M. Larcher, was not her real name, but was given her on account of the resemblance which her lameness made her bear to the letter L, or Lambda. Anciently the letter Lambda was called Labda. It was the common custom amongst the ancients to give as nicknames the letters of the alphabet. Æsop was called Theta, by his master Iadmus, from his superior acuteness, Thetes being also a name for slaves. Galerius Crassus, a military tribune under the Emperor Tiberius, was called Beta, because he loved Beet (poiree). Orpyllis, a courtesan of Cyzicum, was named Gamma; Anthenor, who wrote the history of Crete, was called Delta; Apollonius, who lived in the time of Philopater, was named Epsilon. &c.—*Larcher.*

4 *Lapithæ.*]—The Lapithæ were celebrated in antiquity, as being the first who used bridles and harness for horses:

Frena Pelethronii Lapithæ gyrosque dedere
Impositi dorso. *Virgil.*

5 *Cæneus.*]—The story of Cæneus is this: Cænis was a virgin, and was ravished by Neptune, who afterwards at her request, turned her into a man, and caused her to be invulnerable. After this change of sex his name also was changed to Cæneus; he then fought with the Lapithæ against the centaurs, who not being able otherwise to destroy him, overwhelmed him beneath a pile of wood. Ovid says he was then turned into a bird; Virgil, on the contrary asserts, that he resumed his former sex.—*T.*

6 *An eagle.*]—Eetion is derived from the Greek word αετος, an eagle.

7 *Pirene.*]—This fountain was sacred to the muses, and remarkable for the sweetness of its waters.

8 *Smiled in the face.*]—The effects of an infant smiling

of the man to whom the mother had intrusted it. He was seized with an emotion of pity, and found himself unable to destroy it; with these feelings, he gave the child to the person next him, who gave it to a third, till thus it passed through the hands of all the ten; no one of them was able to murder it, and it was returned to the mother. On leaving the house, they stopped at the gate, and began to reproach and accuse each other, but particularly him who first receiving the child, had failed in his engagements. After a short interval, they agreed to enter the house again, and jointly destroy the child: but fate had determined that the offspring of Eetion should ultimately prove the destruction of Corinth. Labda, standing near the gate, had overheard their discourse, and fearing that as their sentiments were changed, they would infallibly, if they had opportunity, murder her infant, she carried it away, and hid it in a place little obvious to suspicion, namely, in a corn-measure.[9] She was satisfied, that on their return they would make a strict search after the child, which accordingly happened: finding however all their diligence ineffectual, they thought it only remained for them to return and acquaint their employers, that they had executed their commission. When the son of Eetion grew up, he was called Cypselus, in memory of the danger he had escaped in the 'corn-measure,' the meaning of the word Cypsela. On his arrival at manhood, he consulted the Delphic oracle: the answer he received was ambiguous; but confident of its favourable meaning, he attacked and made himself master of Corinth. The oracle was this:—

'Behold a man whom fortune makes her care,
Corinthian Cypselus, Eetion's heir;
Himself shall reign, his children too prevail,
But there the glories of his race must fail.'

"When Cypselus had obtained possession of the government, he persecuted the inhabitants of Corinth, depriving many of their wealth, and more of their lives. After an undisturbed reign of thirty years, he was succeeded by his son Periander, who at first adopted a milder and more moderate conduct; but having by his emissaries formed an intimate connection with Thrasybulus, sovereign of Miletus, he even exceeded his father in cruelty. The object of one of his embassies was to inquire of Thrasybulus what mode of government would render his authority most secure and most honourable. Thrasybulus conducted the messenger to a corn-field without the town, where, as he walked up and down, he asked some questions of the man relative to his departure from Corinth; in the meanwhile, wherever he discerned a head of corn taller than the rest,[10] he cut it off, till all the highest, and the richest were levelled with the ground. Having gone over the whole field in this manner, he retired, without speaking a word to the person who attended him. On the return of his emissary to Corinth, Periander was extremely anxious to learn the result of his journey, but he was informed that Thrasybulus had never said a word in reply; that he even appeared to be a man deprived of his reason, and bent on the destruction of his own property. The messenger then proceeded to inform his master of what Thrasybulus had done. Periander immediately conceived the meaning of Thrasybulus to be, that he should destroy the most illustrious of his citizens. He in consequence exercised every species of cruelty, till he completed what his father Cypselus had begun, killing some, and driving others into exile. On account of his wife Melissa, he one day stripped all the women of Corinth of their clothes. He had sent into Thesprotia, near the river Acheron, to consult the oracle of the dead[11] concerning

in the face of rude untutored men, is delightfully expressed in part of an ode on the use and abuse of poetry, preserved by Warton, in his Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.

Father of peace and arts—he first the city built;
No more the neighbour's blood was by his neighbour spilt;
He taught to till and separate the lands;
He fix'd the roving youths in Hymen's myrtle bands,
Whence dear domestic life began,
And all the charities that soften'd man:
The babes that in their fathers' faces smiled,
With lisping blandishments their rage beguiled,
And tender thoughts inspired.

9 *In a corn-measure.*]—The description of this chest, which was preserved in the temple of Juno at Olympia, employs several chapters in the fifth book of Pausanias. He tells us that the chest was made of cedar, and that its outside was enriched with animals, and a variety of historical representations in cedar, ivory, and gold. "It is not likely," says M. Larcher, "that the chest described by Pausanias was the real chest in which Cypselus was preserved, but one made on purpose to commemorate the incident."—*T.*

10 *Taller than the rest.*]—A similar story is told of Tarquin the Proud, and his son Sextus, who, striking off the heads of the tallest poppies in his garden, thus intimated his desire that his son should destroy the most eminent characters of Gabii, of which he was endeavouring by stratagem to make himself master—See *Livy*, b. i. ch. 54. It is remarkable that Aristotle, in his Politics, twice mentions this enigmatical advice as given by Periander to Thrasybulus.—*T.*

11 *The oracle of the dead.*]—Νεκρομαντεῖον, a place

something of value which had been left by a stranger. Melissa appearing, declared that she would by no means tell where the thing required was deposited, for she was cold and naked: for the garments in which she was interred were of no service to her, not having been burned. In proof of which she asserted, that Periander had 'put bread into a cold oven;' Periander, on hearing this, was satisfied of the truth of what she said, for he had embraced Melissa after her decease. On the return therefore of his messengers, he commanded all the women of Corinth to assemble at the temple of Juno. On this occasion the women came as to some public festival, adorned with the greatest splendour. The king, having placed his guards for the purpose, caused them all to be stripped, free women and slaves, without distinction. Their clothes were afterwards disposed in a large trench, and burned in honour of Melissa, who was solemnly invoked on the occasion. When this was done, a second messenger was despatched to Melissa, who now vouchsafed to say where the thing required might be found.—Such, O men of Sparta, is a tyrannical government, and such its effects. Much therefore were we Corinthians astonished when we learned you had sent for Hippias; but the declaration of your sentiments surprises us still more. We adjure you therefore, in the names of the divinities of Greece, not to establish tyranny in our cities. But if you are determined in your purpose, and are resolved in opposition to what is just, to restore Hippias, be assured that the Corinthians will not second you."

XCIII. Sosicles, the deputy of the Corinthians, having delivered his sentiments, was answered by Hippias. He having adjured the same divinities, declared that the Corinthians would most of all have occasion to regret the Pisistratidæ, when the destined hour should arrive, and they should groan under the oppression of the Athenians. Hippias spoke with the greater confidence, because he was best acquainted with the declarations of the oracles. The rest of the confederates, who had hitherto been silent, hearing the generous sentiments of Sosicles, declared themselves the friends of freedom, and favourers of the opinions of the Corinthians. They then conjured the Lacedæmonians to introduce no innovations which might affect the liberties of a Grecian city.

where divination was carried on by calling up the dead with magical rites. Pausanias places this oracle at Aornos in Thesprotia. The superstitions of Italy seem to have been borrowed from that country; hence Cicero mentions an oracle of the same kind at the lake Avernus in Italy.—*Tusc.* i. 16.

XCIV. When Hippias departed from Sparta, Amyntas the Macedonian prince offered him for a residence, Anthemos, as did the Thessalians, Iolcos;[1] but he would accept of neither, and returned to Sigeum, which Pisistratus had taken by force from the people of Mitylene. He had appointed Hegesistratus, his natural son by a woman of Argos, governor of the place, who did not retain his situation without much and violent contest. The people of Mitylene and of Athens issuing, the one from the city of Achilles,[2] the other from Sigeum, were long engaged in hostilities. They of Mitylene insisted on the restoration of what had been violently taken from them; but it was answered, that the Æolians had no stronger claims upon the territories of Troy than the Athenians themselves, and the rest of the Greeks, who had assisted Menelaus in avenging the rape of Helen.

XCV. Among their various encounters it happened, that in a severe engagement, in which the Athenians had the advantage, the poet Alcæus[3] fled from the field. The Athenians

1 *Iolcos.*]—This place is now called Iaco; we learn from Horace, that it was formerly famous for producing poisonous plants:

Herbasque quas Iolcos atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum ferax.

2 *Achillea.*]—In the fourth book, Herodotus calls this place the Course of Achilles. Its modern name is Fiodonisi.—*T.*

3 *Alcæus*]—was a native of Mitylene, in the island of Lesbos; he was cotemporary with Sappho, and generally is considered as the inventor of lyric poetry. Archilochus, Alcæus, and Horace, were all unsuccessful in their attempts to distinguish themselves as soldiers; and all of them ingenuously acknowledged their inferiority in this respect. Bayle doubts whether Horace would have confessed his disgrace, if he had not been sanctioned by the great examples above mentioned. However this may be, he writes thus of himself:

Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relicta non bene parmula;
Quum fracta virtus et minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento.

Of Alcæus we have but very few remains; but it is understood that Horace in many of his odes minutely imitated him. The principal subjects of his muse seem to have been the praise of liberty and a hatred of tyrants. The ancient poets abound with passages in his honour, and his memory receives no disgrace from the following apostrophe by Akenside, in his ode on lyric poetry:

Broke from the fetters of his native land,
Devoting shame and vengeance to her lords,
With louder impulse and a threatening hand
The Lesbian patriot smites the sounding chords.
Ye wretches, ye perfidious train,
Ye cursed of gods and free-born men.

obtained his arms, and suspended them at Sigeum, in the temple of Minerva. Alcæus recorded the event in a poem which he sent to Mitylene, explaining to a friend named Melanippus the particulars of his misfortune. Periander, the son of Cypselus, at length re-united the contending nations: he being chosen arbiter, determined that each party should retain what they possessed. Sigeum thus devolved to the Athenians.

XCVI. Hippias, when he left Sparta, went to Asia, where he used every effort to render the Athenians odious to Artaphernes, and to prevail on him to make them subject to him and to Darius. As soon as the intrigues of Hippias were known at Athens, the Athenians despatched emissaries to Sardis, entreating the Persians to place no confidence in men whom they had driven into exile. Artaphernes informed them in reply, that if they wished for peace, they must recall Hippias. Rather than accede to these conditions, the Athenians chose to be considered as the enemies of Persia.

XCVII. Whilst they were resolving on these measures, in consequence of the impression which had been made to their prejudice in Persia, Aristagoras the Milesian, being driven by Cleomenes from Sparta, arrived at Athens, which city was then powerful beyond the rest of its neighbours. When Aristagoras appeared in the public assembly, he enumerated, as he had done in Sparta, the riches which Asia possessed, and recommended a Persian war, in which they would be easily successful against a people using neither spear nor shield.[4] In addition to this, he remarked that Miletus was an Athenian colony, and that consequently it became the Athenians to exert the great power they possessed in favour of the Milesians. He proceeded to make use of the most earnest entreaties and lavish promises, till they finally acceded to his views. He thought, and as it appeared with justice, that it was far easier to delude a great multitude than a single individual; he was unable to prevail upon Cleomenes, but he won to his purpose no less than thirty thousand[5] Athenians. The people of Athens accordingly agreed to send to the assistance of the Ionians twenty vessels of war, of which Melanthius, a very amiable and popular character, was to have the command. This fleet was the source of the calamities[6] which afterwards ensued to the Greeks and Barbarians.

XCVIII. Before their departure, Aristagoras returned to Miletus, where he contrived a measure from which no advantage could possibly result to the Ionians. Indeed, his principal motive was to distress Darius. He despatched a messenger into Phrygia, to those Pæonians who from the banks of the Strymon had been led away captive by Megabyzus, and who inhabited a district appropriated to them. His emissaries thus addressed them :—"Men of Pæonia, I am

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Ye murderers of the laws,
Though now ye glory in your lust,
Though now ye tread the feeble neck in dust,
Yet time and righteous Jove will judge your dreadful cause.

After all, Alcæus does not appear to have been one of the fairest characters of antiquity, and has probably received more commendation than he deserved. His house, we learn from Athenæus, was filled with military weapons; his great desire was to attain military glory; but in his first engagement with an enemy, he ignominiously fled. The theme of his songs was liberty, but he was strongly suspected of being a secret friend to some who meditated the ruin of their country. I say nothing of his supposed licentious overture to Sappho, thinking with Bayle, that the verses cited by Aristotle have been too hardly construed. Of these verses the following is an imperfect translation:

ALCÆUS.

I wish to speak but still through shame conceal
The thoughts my tongue most gladly would reveal.

SAPPHO.

Were your request, O bard, on virtue built,
Your cheeks would wear no marks of secret guilt;
But in prompt words the ready thought had flown,
And your heart's honest meaning quickly shown.

I give them, with some slight alteration, from Bayle. —*T.*

4 *Spear nor shield.*]—A particular account of the military habit and arms of the oriental nations may be found in the seventh book of Herodotus, where he speaks of the nations which composed the prodigious armament of Xerxes.—*T.*

5 *Thirty thousand.*]—Herodotus is the only ancient author who makes the aggregate of the Athenians amount to more than twenty-one thousand individuals. Is this, inquires M. Larcher, a fault of the copyists, or were the Athenians more populous before the Persian and Peloponnesian wars? "The narrow policy," observes Mr. Gibbon, "of preserving, without any foreign mixture, the pure blood of the ancient citizens, had checked the fortune, and hastened the ruin of Athens and Sparta. The aspiring genius of Rome sacrificed vanity to ambition, and deemed it more prudent as well as honourable, to adopt virtue and merit for her own, wheresoever they were found, among slaves or strangers, enemies or barbarians."

6 *Source of the calamities.*]—This is another of the examples which Plutarch adduces in proof of the malice of Herodotus. "He has the audacity," says Plutarch, "to affirm, that the vessels which the Athenians sent to the assistance of the Ionians, who had revolted from the Persians, were the cause of the evils which afterwards ensued, merely because they endeavoured to deliver so many and such illustrious Grecian cities from servitude." In point of argument, a weaker tract than this of Plutarch was never written; and this assertion in particular is too absurd to require any formal refutation.—*T.*

commissioned by Aristagoras, prince of Miletus, to say, that if you will follow his counsel, you may be free. The whole of Ionia has revolted from Persia, and it becomes you to seize this opportunity of returning to your native country. You have only to appear on the banks of the ocean; we will provide for the rest." The Pæonians received this information with great satisfaction, and with their wives and children fled towards the sea. Some, however, yielding to their fears, remained behind, from the sea coast they passed over to Chios: here they had scarce disembarked before a large body of Persian cavalry, sent in pursuit of them, appeared on the opposite shore. Unable to overtake them, they sent over to them at Chios, soliciting their return. This, however, had no effect: from Chios they were transported to Lesbos, from Lesbos to Doriscus,[1] and from thence they proceeded by land to Pæonia.

XCIX. At this juncture, Aristagoras was joined by the Athenians in twenty vessels, who were also accompanied by five triremes of Eretrians. These latter did not engage in the contest from any regard for the Athenians, but to discharge a similar debt of friendship to the Milesians. The Milesians had formerly assisted the Eretrians against the Chalcidians, when the Samians had united with them against the Eretrians and Milesians. When these and the rest of his confederates were assembled, Aristagoras commenced an expedition against Sardis: he himself continued at Miletus, whilst his brother Charopinus commanded the Milesians, and Hermophantus had the conduct of the allies.

C. The Ionians arriving with their fleet at Ephesus, disembarked at Coressus, a place in its vicinity. Taking some Ephesians for their guides, they advanced with a formidable force, directing their march towards the Cayster.[2] Passing over mount Tmolus, they arrived at Sardis, where meeting no resistance, they made themselves masters of the whole of the city, except the citadel. This was defended by Artaphernes himself, with a large body of troops.

CI. The following incident preserved the city from plunder:—the houses of Sardis[3] were in general constructed of reeds; the few which were of brick had reed coverings. One of these being set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house, till the whole city was consumed. In the midst of the conflagration, the Lydians, and such Persians as were in the city, seeing themselves surrounded by the flames, and without the possibility of escape, rushed in crowds to the forum, through the centre of which flows the Pactolus. This river brings, in its descent from mount Tmolus, a quantity of gold dust;[4] passing, as we have described, through Sardis, it mixes with the Hermus, till both are finally lost in the sea. The Persians and Lydians, thus reduced to the last extremity, were compelled to act on the defensive. The Ionians seeing some of the enemy prepared to defend themselves, others advancing to attack them, were seized with a panic, and retired to mount Tmolus,[5] from whence, under favour of the night, they retreated to their ships.

CII. In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddess of the country, was totally destroyed, which was afterwards made a pretence by the Persians for burning the temples of the Greeks. When the Persians who dwell on this side the Halys were acquainted with the above invasion they determined to assist the Lydians. Following the Ionians regularly from Sardis, they came up with them at Ephesus. A general engagement ensued, in which the Ionians were defeated with great slaughter. Amongst others of distinction who fell, was Eualcis, chief of the Eretrians; he had frequently been victorious in many contests, of which a garland was the reward, and had been particularly celebrated by Simonides of Ceos.[6] They who escaped from this battle, took refuge in the different cities.

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1 *Doriscus.*]—Doriscus is memorable for being the place where Xerxes numbered his army.—*T.*

2 *Cayster.*]—This river was very famous in classic story. It anciently abounded with swans, and from its serpentine course has sometimes been conf unded with the Mæander; the Mæander was the appropriate river of the Milesians, as was the Cayster of the Ephesians. The name the Turks now give it is Chiay.—*T.*

3 *Sardis.*]—The reader will recollect that Sardis was the capital of Crœsus, which is here represented as consisting only of a number of thatched houses, a proof that architecture had as yet made no progress.—*T.*

4 *Gold dust.*]—It had ceased to do this in the time of Strabo, that is to say, in the age of Augustus.—*Larcher.*

5 *Tmolus.*]—Strabo enumerates mount Tmolus amongst the places which produced the most excellent vines. It was also celebrated for its saffron.—See Virgil.

Nonne vides croceos ut Tmolus odores &c.

It was also called Timolus. See Ovid,

Deseruere sui nymphæ vineta Timoli.

It is now named Timolitze.—*T.*

6 *Simonides of Ceos.*]—There were several poets of

CIII. After the event of the above expedition, the Athenians withdrew themselves entirely from the Ionians, and refused all the solicitations of Aristagoras by his ambassadors, to repeat their assistance. The Ionians, though deprived of this resource, continued with no less alacrity to persevere in the hostilities they had commenced against Darius. They sailed to the Hellespont, and reduced Byzantium, with the neighbouring cities: quitting that part again, and advancing to Caria, the greater part of the inhabitants joined them in their offensive operations. The city of Caunus, which at first had refused their alliance, after the burning of Sardis, added itself to their forces.

CIV. The confederacy was also farther strengthened by the voluntary accession of all the Cyprians, except the Amathusians.[7] The following was the occasion of the revolt of the Cyprians from the Medes:—Gorgus prince of Salamis, son of Chersis, grandson of Sinomus, great-grandson of Euelthon, had a younger brother, whose name was Onesilus; this man had repeatedly solicited Gorgus to revolt from the Persians; and on hearing of the secession of the Ionians, he urged him with still greater importunity. Finding all his efforts ineffectual, assisted by his party, he took an opportunity of his brother's making an excursion from Salamis, to shut the gates against him: Gorgus, thus deprived of his city, took refuge amongst the Medes. Onesilus usurped his station, and persuaded the Cyprians to rebel. The Amathusians, who alone opposed him, he closely besieged.

CV. At this period, Darius was informed of the burning of Sardis by the Athenians and Ionians, and that Aristagoras of Miletus was the principal instigator of the confederacy against him. On first receiving the intelligence, he is said to have treated the revolt of the Ionians with extreme contempt, as if certain that it was impossible for them to escape his indignation; but he desired to know who the Athenians were? On being told, he called for his bow, and shooting an arrow into the air, he exclaimed: —"Suffer me, O Jupiter, to be revenged on these Athenians!" He afterwards directed one of his attendants to repeat to him, three times every day, when he sat down to table, "Sir, remember the Athenians."

CVI. After giving these orders, Darius summoned to his presence Histiæus of Miletus, whom he had long detained at his court. He addressed him thus: "I am informed, Histiæus, that the man to whom you intrusted the government of Miletus, has excited a rebellion against me; he has procured forces from the opposite continent, and seduced the Ionians, whom I shall unquestionably chastise, from their duty. With their united assistance, he has destroyed my city of Sardis. Can such a conduct possibly meet with your approbation? or, unadvised by you, could he have done what he has? Be careful not to involve yourself in a second offence against my authority."—"Can you, Sir, believe," said Histiæus in reply, "that I would be concerned in any thing which might occasion the smallest perplexity to you? What should I, who have nothing to wish for, gain by such conduct? Do I not participate all that you yourself enjoy; and have I not the honour of being your counsellor and your friend? If my representative has acted, as you allege, it is entirely his own deed; but I cannot easily be persuaded that either he or the Milesians would engage in any thing to your prejudice. If, nevertheless, what you intimate be really true, by withdrawing me from my own proper station you have only to blame yourself for the event. I suppose that the Ionians have taken the opportunity of my absence, to accomplish what they have for a long time meditated. Had I been present in Ionia, I will venture to affirm, that not a city would have revolted from your power: you have only therefore to send me instantly to Ionia, that things may resume their former situation, and that I may give into your power the present governor of Miletus, who has occasioned all this mischief. Having first effected this, I swear by the deities of Heaven, that I will not change the garb in which I shall set foot in

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this name; the celebrated satire against women was written by another and more modern Simonides. The great excellence of this Simonides of Ceos was elegiac composition, in which Dionysius Halicarnassus does not scruple to prefer him to Pindar. The invention of local memory was ascribed to him, and it is not a little remarkable, that at the age of eighty, he contended for and won a poetical prize. His most memorable saying was concerning God. Hiero asked him what God was? After many and reiterated delays, his answer was, "The longer I meditate upon it, the more obscure the subject appears to me." He is reproached for having been the first who prostituted his muse for mercenary purposes. Bayle seems to have collected every thing of moment relative to this Simonides, to whom for more minute particulars, I refer the reader.—*T.*

7 *Amathusians.*]—From Amathus, which was sacred to Venus, the whole island of Cyprus was sometimes called Amathusia.—According to Ovid, it produced abundance of metals;

Gravidamque Amathunta metallis.

Ionia, without rendering the great island of Sardinia [1] tributary to your power."

CVII. Histiæus made these protestations to delude Darius. The king was influenced by what he said, only requiring his return to Susa as soon as he should have fulfilled his engagements.

CVIII. In this interval, when the messenger from Sardis had informed Darius of the fate of that city, and the king had done with his bow what we have described; and when, after conferring with Histiæus, he had dismissed him to Ionia, the following incident occurred: Onesilus of Salamis being engaged in the siege of Amathus, word was brought him that Artybius, a Persian officer, was on his way to Cyprus with a large fleet, and a formidable body of Persians. On hearing this, Onesilus sent messengers to different parts of Ionia, expressing his want and desire of assistance. The Ionians, without hesitation, hastened to join him with a numerous fleet. Whilst they were already at Cyprus the Persians had passed over from Cilicia, and were proceeding by land to Salamis. The Phenicians in the meantime had passed the promontory which is called the Key of Cyprus.

CIX. Whilst things were in this situation, the princes of Cyprus assembled the Ionian chiefs, and thus addressed them:—"Men of Ionia, we submit to your own determination, whether you will engage the Phenicians or the Persians. If you rather choose to fight on land and with the Persians, it is time for you to disembark, that we may go on board your vessels, and attack the Phenicians. If you think it more advisable to encounter the Phenicians, it becomes you to do so immediately.—Decide which way you please, that as far as our efforts can prevail, Ionia and Cyprus may be free." "We have been commissioned," answered the Ionians, "by our country, to guard the ocean, not to deliver our vessels unto you, nor to engage the Persians by land.—We will endeavour to discharge our duty in the station appointed us; it is for you to distinguish yourselves as valiant men, remembering the oppressions you have endured from the Medes."

1 *Sardinia.*]—It has been doubted by many, whether on account of the vast distance of Sardinia from the Asiatic continent, the text of Herodotus has not here been altered. Rollin in particular is very incredulous on the subject; but as it appears by the preceding passages of our author, that the Ionians had penetrated to the extremities of the Mediterranean, and were not unacquainted with Corsica, all appearance of improbability in this narration ceases.—*T.*

CX. When the Persians were drawn up before Salamis, the Cyprian commanders placed the forces of Cyprus against the auxiliaries of the enemy, selecting the flower of Salamis and Soli to oppose the Persians: Onesilus voluntarily stationed himself against Artybius the Persian general.

CXI. Artybius was mounted on a charger, which had been taught to face a man in complete armour: Onesilus hearing this, called to him his shield-bearer, who was a Carian of great military experience, and of undaunted courage:—"I hear," says he, "that the horse of Artybius, by his feet and his teeth, materially assists his master against an adversary; deliberate on this, and tell me which you will encounter, the man or the horse." "Sir," said the attendant, "I am ready to engage with either, or both, or indeed to do whatever you command me; I should rather think it will be more consistent for you, being a prince and a general, to contend with one who is a prince and a general also.—If you should fortunately kill a person of this description, you will acquire great glory, or if you should fall by his hand, which heaven avert, the calamity is somewhat softened by the rank of the conqueror: it is for us of inferior rank to oppose men like ourselves. As to the horse, do not concern yourself about what he has been taught; I will venture to say, that he shall never again be troublesome to any one."

CXII. In a short time afterwards, the hostile forces engaged both by sea and land; the Ionians, after a severe contest, obtained a victory over the Phenicians, in which the bravery of the Samians was remarkably conspicuous. Whilst the armies were engaged by land, the following incident happened to the two generals:—Artybius, mounted on his horse, rushed against Onesilus, who, as he had concerted with his servant, aimed a blow at him as he approached: and whilst the horse reared up his feet against the shield of Onesilus, the Carian cut them off with an axe.—The horse, with his master, fell instantly to the ground.

CXIII. In the midst of the battle, Stesenor, prince of Curium, with a considerable body of forces, went over to the enemy (it is said that the Curians are an Argive colony); their example was followed by the men of Salamis, in their chariots of war;[2] from which events the

2 *Chariots of war.*]—Of these chariots, frequent mention is made in Homer: they carried two men, one of whom guided the reins, the other fought.—Various specimens of ancient chariots may be seen in Montfaucon.—*T.*

Persians obtained a decisive victory. The Cyprians fled. Among the number of the slain was Onesilus, son of Chersis, and principal instigator of the revolt; the Solian prince Aristocyprus, also fell, son of that Philocyprus,[3] whom Solon of Athens, when at Cyprus, celebrated in verse amongst other sovereign princes.

CXIV. In revenge for his besieging them, the Amathusians took the head of Onesilus, and carrying it back in triumph, fixed it over their gates: sometime afterwards, when the inside of the head was decayed, a swarm of bees settling in it, filled it with honey. The people of Amathus consulted the oracle on the occasion, and were directed to bury the head, and every year to sacrifice to Onesilus as to an hero. Their obedience involved a promise of future prosperity; and even within my remembrance, they have performed what was required of them.

CXV. The Ionians, although successful in the naval engagement off Cyprus, as soon as they heard of the defeat and death of Onesilus, and that all the cities of Cyprus were closely blockaded, except Salamis, which the citizens had restored to Gorgus, their former sovereign, returned with all possible expedition to Ionia. Of all the towns in Cyprus, Soli made the longest and most vigorous defence; but of this, by undermining the place, the Persians obtained possession after a five months' siege.

CXVI. Thus the Cyprians, having enjoyed their liberties for the space of a year, were a second time reduced to servitude. All the Ionians who had been engaged in the expedition against Sardis, were afterwards vigorously attacked by Daurises, Hymees, Otanes, and other Persian generals, each of whom had married a daughter of Darius: they first drove them to their ships, then took and plundered their towns, which they divided among themselves.

CXVII. Daurises, afterwards turned his arms against the cities of the Hellespont, and in as many successive days made himself master of Abydos, Percotes, Lampsacus,[4] and Pæsos. From this latter place he proceeded to Parion, but learning on his march, that the Carians, taking part with the Ionians, had revolted from Persia, he turned aside from the Hellespont, and led his forces against Caria.

CXVIII. Of this motion of Daurises the Carians had early information, in consequence of which they assembled at a place called the White Columns, not far from the river Marsyas, which, passing through the district of Hidryas, flows into the Mæander. Various sentiments were on this occasion delivered; but the most sagacious in my estimation was that of Pixodarus, son of Mausolus; he was a native of Cindys, and had married the daughter of Syennesis, prince of Cilicia. He advised, that passing the Mæander, they should attack the enemy, with the river in their rear; that thus deprived of all possibility of retreat, they should from compulsion stand their ground, and make the greater exertions of valour. This advice was not accepted; they chose rather that the Persians should have the Mæander behind them, that if they vanquished the enemy in the field they might afterwards drive them into the river.

CXIX. The Persians advanced, and passed the Mæander; the Carians met them on the banks of the Marsyas, when a severe and well fought contest ensued. The Persians had so greatly the advantage in point of number, that they were finally victorious; two thousand Persians, and ten thousand Carians, fell in the battle; they who escaped from the field fled to Labranda, and took refuge in a sacred wood of planes, surrounding a temple of Jupiter Stratius.[5] The Carians are the only people, as far as I have been able to learn, who sacrifice to this Jupiter. Driven to the above extremity, they deliberated among themselves, whether it would be better to surrender themselves to the Persians, or finally to relinquish Asia.

3 *Philocyprus.*]—Philocyprus was prince of Soli, when Solon arrived at Cyprus; Soli was then called Æpeia, and the approaches to it were steep and difficult, and its neighbourhood unfruitful. Solon advised the prince to rebuild it on the plain which it overlooked, and undertook the labour of furnishing it with inhabitants. In this he succeeded, and Philocyprus, from gratitude, gave his city the name of the Athenian philosopher. Solon mentions this incident in some verses addressed to Philocyprus, preserved in Plutarch.—*Larcher.*

4 *Lampsacus.*]—This place was given to Themistocles to furnish him wine, and was memorable in antiquity for producing many eminent men.—Epicurus resided here a long time.—*T.*

5 *Jupiter Stratius—(or Jupiter the warrior.)*]—The Carians were the only people, in the time of Herodotus, who worshipped Jupiter under this title. He was particularly honoured at Labranda, and therefore Strabo calls him the Labrandinian Jupiter. He held a hatchet in his hand, and Plutarch (in his Greek Questions) relates the reason; he was afterwards worshipped in other places under the same appellation. Amongst the marbles at Oxford, there is a stone which seems to have served for an altar, having an axe, and this inscription: ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΒΡΑΥΝΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ—"Of the Labrandinian Jupiter, and of the very Great Jupiter." It was found in a Turkish cemetery, between Aphrodisias and Hieropolis, and consequently in Caria, though at a great distance from Labranda.—*Larcher.*

CXX. In the midst of their consultation, the Milesians with their allies arrived to reinforce them; the Carians resumed their courage, and again prepared for hostilities; they a second time advanced to meet the Persians, and after an engagement more obstinate than the former, sustained a second defeat, in which a prodigious number, chiefly of Milesians, were slain.

CXXI. The Carians soon recruited their forces, and in a subsequent action, somewhat repaired their former losses. Receiving intelligence that the Persians were on their march to attack their towns, they placed themselves in ambuscade, in the road to Pidasus. The Persians by night fell into the snare, and a vast number were slain, with their generals Daurises, Amorges, and Sisimaces; Myrses the son of Gyges, was also of the number.

CXXII. The conduct of this ambuscade was intrusted to Heraclides, son of Ibanolis, a Mylassian.—The event has been related. Hymees, who was engaged amongst others in the pursuit of the Ionians, after the affair of Sardis, turning towards the Propontis, took Cios, a Mysian city. Receiving intelligence that Daurises had quitted the Hellespont, to march against Caria, he left the Propontis, and proceeded to the Hellespont, where he effectually reduced all the Æolians of the Trojan district; he vanquished also the Gergithæ, a remnant of the ancient Teucri. Hymees himself, after all these successes, died at Troas.

CXXIII. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, and Otanes, the third in command, received orders to lead their forces to Ionia and Æolia, which is contiguous to it; they made themselves masters of Clazomenæ in Ionia, and of Cyma, an Æolian city.

CXXIV. After the capture of these places, Aristagoras of Miletus, though the author of all the confusion in which Ionia had been involved, betrayed a total want of intrepidity, these losses confirmed him in the belief, that all attempts to overcome Darius would be ineffectual; he accordingly determined to seek his safety in flight. He assembled his party, and submitted to them whether it would not be advisable to have some place of retreat, in case they should be driven from Miletus. He left it to them to determine, whether they should e tablish a colony in Sardinia, or whether they should retire to Myrcinus, a city of the Edonians, which had been fortified by Histiæus, to whom Darius had presented it.

CXXV. Hecatæus the historian, who was the son of Hegasander, was not for establishing a colony at either of these places; he affirmed, that if they should be expelled from Miletus, it would be more expedient for them to construct a fort in the island of Leros, and there remain till a favourable opportunity should enable them to return to Miletus.

CXXVI. Aristagoras himself was more inclined to retire to Myrcinus; he confided therefore the administration of Miletus to Pythagoras, a man exceedingly popular, and taking with him all those who thought proper to accompany him, he embarked for Thrace, where he took possession of the district which he had in view. Leaving this place, he proceeded to the attack of some other, where both he and his army fell by the hands of the Thracians, who had previously entered into terms to resign their city into his power.[1]

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1 I cannot dismiss this book of Herodotus without remarking, that it contains a great deal of curious history, and abounds with many admirable examples of private life. The speech of Sosicles of Corinth, in favour of liberty, is excellent in its kind; and the many sagacious, and indeed moral sentiments, which are scattered throughout the whole book, cannot fail of producing both entertainment and instruction.—*T*

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VI.

ERATO.

I. Such was the fate of Aristagoras, the instigator of the Ionian revolt.—Histiæus of Miletus, as soon as Darius had acquiesced in his departure from Susa, proceeded to Sardis. On his arrival, Artaphernes the governor asked him what he thought could possibly have induced the Ionians to revolt? He expressed himself ignorant of the cause, and astonished at the event. Artaphernes, however, who had been informed of his preceding artifice, and was sensible of his present dissimulation, observed to him, that the matter might be thus explained: "You," says he, "made the shoe [1] which Aristagoras has worn."

II. Histiæus, perceiving himself suspected, fled the very first night towards the sea; and instead of fulfilling his engagements with Darius, to whose power he had promised to reduce the great island of Sardinia, assumed the command of the Ionian forces against him. Passing over into Chios, he was seized and thrown into chains by the inhabitants, who accused him of coming from the king with some design against their state. When they had heard the truth, and were convinced that he was really an enemy to Darius, they released him.

III. Histiæus was afterwards interrogated by the Ionians, why he had so precipitately impelled Aristagoras to revolt, a circumstance which had occasioned the loss of so many of their countrymen. His answer was insidious, and calculated to impress the Ionians with alarm; he told them what really was not the fact, that his conduct had been prompted by the avowed intentions of Darius, to remove the Phenicians [2] to Ionia, and the Ionians to Phenicia.

IV. His next measure was to send letters to certain Persians at Sardis, [3] with whom he

1 *Made the shoe.*]—I have given a literal translation from the Greek; but M. Larcher, thinking perhaps the expression somewhat inclining to vulgarity, has rendered it thus, "You contrived the plot which he has executed." Not very unlike this phrase used by the Persian to Aristagoras, is our English one of standing in another person's shoes; which perhaps may be traced to times more remote than may at first be imagined. When the Greeks reclined upon their couches at meals and entertainments, they pulled off their sandals; if any one, on any occasion, wanted to leave the apartment, he put them on again. Therefore, says the poet, I do that with respect to your manners, as a man does at an entertainment, who, wanting to go out of the room, uses another person's sandals. It would by no means be an uninteresting work, to trace the meaning of our proverbial expressions to their remotest application: for my own part I am well convinced, that more of them might be discovered in the customs and languages of Greece and Rome, than an English antiquary would at first perhaps be willing to allow.—*T.*

2 *To remove the Phenicians, &c.*]—It was the easier to make the Ionians credit this assertion, because such kind of transmigrations were frequent amongst the Assyrians and Persians. It is well known that the Jews were removed to Babylon and Media, and Hyrcanians were to be found in Asia Minor: it would indeed be endless to enumerate all the transmigrations which were made by the command of those people.—*Larcher.* —We have already seen a great part of the Pæonians of Thrace removed into Asia by order of Darius. See book v. ch. 15.—*T.*

3 *Sardis.*]—As this city was one of the most celebrated in ancient history, for its dignity and wealth, the following succinct account of the various masters through whose hands it passed, may not be unacceptable.

On the defeat of Crœsus, it came under the power of Cyrus. On the division of the Persian monarchy into satrapies, it became the residence of the satrap, who had the government of the sea-coast. When the Ionians revolted from Darius, son of Hystaspes, it was burnt by the confederates, under the conduct of Aristagoras, see chapter 99 of this book. This was one of the principal motives which induced Darius to make war on Greece. It soon recovered its splendour, and surpassed all the cities of Asia in its opulence. When Alexander the Great vanquished the generals of Darius on the banks of the Granicus, it fell into his hands; but it finally came into the power of the kings of Syria. Attalus Philometer, one of the descendants of Antiochus the great, bequeathed this among his other possessions to the Romans,

had previously communicated on the subject of a revolt; these he intrusted to Hermippus, a native of Atarnis, who abused the confidence reposed in him, by delivering the letters into the hands of Artaphernes. The governor, after acquainting himself with their contents, desired Hermippus to deliver them according to their first directions, and then to give to him the answers intended for Histiæus. In consequence of the intelligence which he by these means obtained, Artaphernes put a great number of Persians to death.

V. A tumult was thus excited at Sardis; but Histiæus failing in this project, prevailed on the Chians to carry him back to Miletus. The Milesians, delighted with the removal of Aristagoras, had already tasted the sweets of liberty, and were little inclined to give admission to a second master. Histiæus, attempting to effect a landing at Miletus in the night, was, by some unknown hand, wounded in the thigh: rejected by his country, he again set sail for Chios, whence, as the inhabitants refused to intrust him with their fleet, he passed over to Mitylene.[1] Having, from the Lesbians, obtained the command of eight triremes properly equipped, he proceeded to Byzantium. Here he took his station, and intercepted all the vessels coming from the Euxine, except those which consented to obey him.

VI. Whilst Histiæus, with the aid of the people of Mitylene, was acting thus, Miletus itself was threatened with a most formidable attack, both by sea and land. The Persian generals had collected all their forces into one body, and making but little account of the other cities, advanced towards Miletus. Of those who assisted them by sea, the Phenicians were the most alert; with these served the Cyprians, who had been recently subdued as well as the Cilicians and Egyptians.

VII. When the Ionians received intelligence of this armament, which not only menaced Miletus, but the rest of Ionia, they sent delegates to the Panionium.[2] The result of their deliberations was, that they should by no means meet the Persians by land; that the people of Miletus should vigorously defend their city; and that the allies should provide and equip every vessel in their power; that as soon as their fleet should be in readiness, they should meet at Lade,[3] and risk a battle in favour of Miletus. Lade is a small island immediately opposite to Miletus.

VIII. The Ionians completed their fleet, and assembled at the place appointed: they were reinforced by the collective power of the Æolians of Lesbos, and prepared for an engagement in the following order. The Milesians furnished eighty vessels, which occupied the east wing; next to these were the Prienians, with twelve, and the Mysians with three ships; contiguous were the Chians in one hundred vessels, and the Teians in seventeen; beyond these were the Erytheans and Phocæans, the former with eight, the latter with three ships. The Lesbians in seventy ships were next to the Phocæans; in the extremity of the line, to the west, the Samians were posted in sixty ships: the whole fleet was composed of three hundred and fifty-three triremes.

IX. The Barbarians were possessed of six hundred vessels: as soon as they came before Miletus, and their land forces also were arrived, the Persian commanders were greatly alarmed by the intelligence they received of their adversaries' force; they began to apprehend that their inferiority by sea might at the same time prevent their capture of Miletus, and expose them to the resentment of Darius. With these sentiments, they called together those Ionian princes, who, being deposed by Aristagoras, had taken refuge among the Medes, and were present on this expedition.—They addressed them to this effect: "Men of Ionia, let each of you now show his zeal in the royal cause, by endeavouring to detach from this confederacy his own countrymen: allure them by the promise that no punishment shall be the consequence of their revolt; that neither their temples nor other edifices shall be burned: that their treat-

and three years after his death it was reduced into a Roman province.

For farther particulars concerning it, the reader may, with much satisfaction, consult a Dissertation by the Abbe Belley, in the 18th volume of the Memoirs of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

1 *Mitylene.*]—In the first book, ch. 100. it is written Mytilene; the difference is in the original.

2 *Panionium.*]—See chap. 148 of book the first.—In my note upon this word, I omitted to mention, that the Panionium probably suggested to Milton the idea of his Pandemonium:—

> Meanwhile the winged heralds by command
> Of sovereign power, with awful ceremony
> And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
> A solemn council forthwith to be held
> At *Pandemonium*, the high capital
> Of Satan and his peers.

3 *Lade.*]—Pausanias informs us that this island was divided into two, one of which parts was called Asterius, from Asterius, the son of Anactes. See book i. chap. 5.—*T.*

ment shall not in any respect be more violent than before. If they persevere in trusting to the event of a battle, tell them that the contrary of all these will assuredly happen;—themselves shall be hurried into servitude, their youths castrated,[4] their daughters carried to Bactra,[5] and their country given to others."

X. Under cover of the night the Ionian princes were despatched with the above resolutions to their respective countrymen. The Ionians who were thus addressed, refused to betray the common cause, believing these propositions made to themselves alone.—Such were the incidents which happened on the arrival of the Persians before Miletus.

XI. The Ionians assembled at Lade, as had been appointed, and amongst the various opinions which were delivered in council, Dionysius the Phocæan leader expressed himself as follows:—"Our affairs are come to that delicate point,[6] O, Ionians, that we must either be free men or slaves, and even fugitive slaves. If you willingly submit to the trouble, your situation will at first be painful, but having vanquished your enemies, you will then enjoy your liberties; if you suffer your vigour to relax, or disorder to take place among you, I see no means of your evading the indignation with which the Persian king will punish your revolt. Submit yourselves to my direction, and I will engage, if the gods be but impartial, that either the enemy shall not attack you at all, or if they do, it shall be greatly to their own detriment."

XII. In consequence of this speech, the Ionians resigned themselves to the will of Dionysius. Every day he drew out the whole fleet in order of battle, leaving a proper interval for the use of the oars; he then taught them to manœuvre[7] their ships, keeping the men at

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4 *Youths castrated.*]—We learn that castration was in a very early period of society inflicted as a punishment for various crimes. Diodorus Siculus, book i. ch. 78. speaking of the Egyptians, has this passage:

"The laws with respect to women were remarkably severe: if a man committed a rape upon a free woman, he had his private parts cut off; they were of opinion, that this one crime included three others of a heinous nature—injustice, defilement, (και των τεκνων συγχυσιν) and confusion with respect to children."

Castration, in many countries, was the punishment of adultery; and by an edict of Justinian it was inflicted also on Sodomites. Hume, in his history of England, gives the following extraordinary act of cruelty from Fitzstephen, which was perpetrated on the clergy by Geoffrey, the father of Henry II.

"When he was master of Normandy, the chapter of Seez presumed, without his consent, to proceed to the election of a bishop; upon which he ordered all of them, with the bishop elect, to be castrated, and made all their testicles be brought him in a platter."

Mr. Gibbon, relating this anecdote, subjoins, in his usual sarcastic style, "Of the pain and danger they might justly complain; yet, since they had vowed chastity, he deprived them of a superfluous treasure."—*T.*

It may not be improper to observe in this place, that the Hottentots have a most preposterous custom of depriving their males of one testicle, which is religiously observed through all the Hottentot nations, with a great deal of ceremony. See Kolben. It is worthy also of remark, that this custom owes its rise to some precept of the most remote antiquity; for the Hottentots confess it is a law, which has prevailed through all their generations, that no man shall have carnal knowledge of a woman before he is deprived of the left testicle. A custom so singular as this must surely have originated from some adequate cause: what this may have been, well deserves the investigation of the learned. Jupiter castrated Saturn; in Phrygia, Atys and the priests of Cybele were castrated; thus we see, that anciently it was considered as a religious rite. From some traditions of these facts the Hottentots might also take up this practice.

Bochart is of opinion, that the fable of Jupiter's castrating Saturn arose from the story which scripture tells of Noah lying in his tent, Gen. ix. 21. The Phrygian custom of castrating the priests of Cybele might perhaps be owing to some erroneous and imperfect tradition of this event.

5 *Bactra.*]—This place, though mentioned by Strabo, and other ancient writers, as of great importance, and the capital of a province remarkable for its fertility, is now either entirely unknown, or a very insignificant place.—Some are of opinion, that its modern name is Termend; d'Anville thinks it is the city Balck, and Major Rennell is entirely of this opinion. Bactra is thus mentioned by Virgil:

Sed neque Medorum sylvæ, ditissima terra,
Nec pulcher Ganges, atque auro turbidus Hermus,
Laudibus Italiæ certent; non Bactra, neque Indi,
Totaque thuriferis Panchaia pinguis arena.—*T.*

6 *Delicate point.*]—Literally, "are upon the point of a razor." This passage is quoted by Longinus, sect. 22. as a happy example of the hyperbaton, which he explains to be a transposition of words or sentiments, out of the natural order of discourse, and implying extreme violence of passion.

The word *hyperbaton* is derived from ὑπερ, beyond, and βαινω, to go; and Pearce, in his notes upon Longinus, from two examples of the use of this figure from Virgil:

Moriamur—et in media arma ruamus. Æn. ii. 353.
Me, me, adsum qui feci; in me convertite ferrum. Æn. ix. 427.

Livy also has an expression similar to this of Herodotus:—"Jam enim sub ictu teli erant et undique instabant hostes."

Erasmus, in his Adagia, gives us three examples of this proverbial expression, from Homer, Sophocles, and Theocritus. That of Homer is in the tenth book of the Iliad, where Nestor says, as Pope has rendered it, diffusely indeed, but with peculiar force and beauty, except in the second line, which is rather flat;

But now the last despair surrounds our host,
No hour must pass, no moment must be lost;
Each single Greek in this conclusive strife
Stands on the sharpest edge of death or life.—*T.*

7 *To manœuvre.*—Διεκπλοον ποιευμενος.]—This passage Larcher renders thus: "He made them pass betwixt the ranks, and quickly retreat." Ernesti under-

their arms: the rest of the day the ships lay at their anchors.[1] Without being suffered to receive any relaxation from this discipline, the Ionians, till the seventh day, punctually obeyed his commands; on the eighth, unused to such fatigue, impatient of its continuance, and oppressed by the heat, they began to murmur.—"We must surely," they exclaimed one to another, "have offended some deity, to be exposed to these hardships; or we must be both absurd and pusillanimous, to suffer this insolent Phocæan, master but of three vessels, to treat us as he pleases. Having us in his power, he has afflicted us with various evils. Many of us are already weakened by sickness, and more of us likely to become so. Better were it for us to endure any calamities than these, and submit to servitude, if it must be so, than bear our present oppressions. Let us obey him no longer." The discontent spread, and all subordination ceased; they disembarked, fixed their tents in Lade, and keeping themselves under the shade,[2] would neither go on board nor repeat their military exercises.

XIII. The Samian leaders, observing what passed amongst the Ionians, were more inclined to listen to the solicitations of the Persians to withdraw from the confederacy; these solicitations were communicated to them by Æaces, the son of Solyson; and the increasing disorder which prevailed so obviously amongst the Ionians added to their weight. They moreover reflected that there was little probability of finally defeating the power of the Persian monarch, sensible that if the present naval armament of Darius were dispersed, a second, five times as formidable, would soon be at hand. Availing themselves therefore of the first refusal of the Ionians to perform their customary duty, they thought this no improper opportunity of securing their private and sacred buildings. Æaces, to whose remonstrance the Samians listened, was son of Syloson, and grandson of Æaces: he had formerly enjoyed the supreme authority of Samos, but, with the other Ionian princes, had been driven from his station by Aristagoras.

XIV. Not long afterwards the Phenicians advanced, and were met by the Ionians, with their fleet drawn up with a contracted front. A battle ensued, but who amongst the Ionians on this occasion disgraced themselves by their cowardice, or signalized themselves by their valour, I am unable to ascertain; for they reciprocally censure each other. It is said that the Samians, as they had previously concerted with Æaces, left their place in the line, and set sail for Samos. We must except eleven vessels, whose officers, refusing to obey their superiors in command, remained and fought. To commemorate this act of valour, the general council of the Samians ordained that the names of these men, and of their ancestors, should be inscribed on a public column,[3] which is still to be seen in their forum. The Lesbians seeing what was done by the Samians, next whom they

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stands the expression differently; it is certainly a nautical term; I have therefore preferred the interpretation which I think the words will admit, and which will certainly be more intelligible and satisfactory to the English reader.—*T.*

1 *At their anchors.*]—The Greeks used to draw up their vessels along shore while they themselves were on land. When the sentinels perceived the enemy's fleet, they made signals, and their troops immediately came on board. The Ionians, whom their leader would not suffer to come on shore, found the service very laborious; and, as they were not accustomed to military discipline, it is not surprising that they considered this as a species of servitude, which they were impatient to break.—*Larcher.*

The first anchors were probably nothing more than large stones, and we know that they sometimes used for this purpose bags of sand, which might answer well enough for vessels of small burden, in a light and sandy bottom. Travellers to the east make no mention of wooden anchors; and there belonged to the large ship made for king Hiero, eight anchors of iron and four of wood. The Phenicians used lead for some part of their anchors; for, in a voyage which they made to Sicily, Diodorus Siculus says, they found silver in such great abundance, that they took the lead out of their anchors, and put silver in its place.

More anciently, the anchor had but one fluke or arm; the addition of a second has been ascribed to Anacharsis the Scythian.

Our vessels carry their anchors at the prow; but it should seem, from Acts xxvii. verse 29, that the ancients carried theirs at the stern.

"Then fearing lest they should have fallen upon rocks, they cast four anchors out of the stern, and wished for the day."—*T.*

2 *Under the shade.*]—This expression may seem to border a little on the ridiculous, till it is remembered, that in all oriental climates, both travellers and natives place their greatest delight in sleeping and taking their repast under shade.

3 *Public column.*]—Various were the uses for which pillars or columns were erected in the earlier ages of antiquity. In the second book of Herodotus, we read that Sesostris erected pillars as military trophies in the countries which he conquered. In the book of Pausanias de Eliacis, we find them inscribed with the particulars of the public treaties and alliances. There were some placed round the temple of Æsculapius at Corinth, upon which the names of various diseases were written, with their several remedies. They were also frequently used as monuments for the dead.—*T.*

were stationed, followed their example, as did the greater number of the Ionians.

XV. Of those who remained, the Chians suffered the most, as well from the efforts which they made, as from their wish not to act dishonourably. They had strengthened the confederacy, as I have before observed, by a fleet of a hundred vessels, each manned with four hundred chosen warriors. They observed the treachery of many of the allies, but disdained to imitate their example. With the few of their friends which remained, they repeatedly broke the enemy's line; till, after taking a great number of vessels, and losing many of their own they retired to their own island.

XVI. Their disabled ships being pursued, they retreated to Mycale. The crews here ran their vessels on shore, and leaving them marched on foot over the continent. Entering the Ephesian territories, they approached the city in the evening, when the women were celebrating the mysteries of Ceres.[4] The Ephesians had heard nothing concerning them, and seeing a number of armed men in their territories, they suspected them to be robbers, who had violent designs upon their women. They assembled therefore to repel the supposed invaders, and killed them all on the spot. Such was the end of these Chians.

XVII. Dionysius the Phocæan, perceiving the Ionian power effectually broken, retreated, after taking three of the enemy's ships. He did not however go to Phocæa, which he well knew must share the common fate of Ionia, but he directed his course immediately to Phenicia. He here made himself master of many vessels richly laden, and a considerable quantity of silver, with which he sailed to Sicily: here he exercised a piratical life, committing many depredations on the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but not molesting the Greeks.

XVIII. The Persians having thus routed the Ionians, laid close siege to Miletus, both by sea and land. They not only undermined the walls, but applied every species of military machines against it. In the sixth year after the revolt of Aristagoras, they took and plundered the place. By this calamity the former prediction of the oracle was finally accomplished.

XIX. The Argives, having consulted the oracle of Delphi relative to the future fate of their city, received an answer which referred to themselves in part, but which also involved the fortune of the Milesians. Of what concerned the Argives, I shall make mention when I come to speak of that people; what related to the absent Milesians was conceived in these terms:—

Thou, then, Miletus, versed in ill too long,
Shalt be the prey and plunder of the strong;
Your wives shall stoop to wash a long-hair'd[5] train,
And others guard our Didymæan fane.

Thus, as we have described, was the prediction accomplished. The greater part of the Milesians were slain by the Persians, who wear their hair long; their wives and children were carried into slavery; the temple at Didymus,[6] and the shrine near the oracle, were consumed by fire. Of the riches of this temple I have elsewhere and frequently spoken.

XX. The Milesians who survived the slaughter were carried to Susa. Darius treated them with great humanity, and no farther pun-

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4 *Mysteries of Ceres.*]—The same jealousy which prevailed in Greece with respect to the intrusion of men at the celebration of the Thesmophoria, was afterwards imitated at Rome in the rites of the Bona Dea. Witness the abhorrence in which the criminality of Clodius in this instance was held by the more respectable part of his countrymen, and the very strong language applied against him by Cicero. This peculiarity is introduced with much humour and effect by Lucian, where speaking of two men, one remarkable for his attachment to boys, and another to women; "the house of the one," says he, "was crowded with beardless youths; of the other, with dancing and singing women," indeed, (ὡς ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις) as in the Thesmophoria, there was not a male to be seen, except perhaps an infant, or an old cook too far advanced in years to excite jealousy.—See the edition of Hemsterhusius, vol. ii. 467.—*T.*

5 *Long-hair'd.*]—From hence we may infer that it was not peculiar to the Greeks to use female attendants for the offices of the bath. The passages in Homer which describe the particulars of a custom so contradictory to modern delicacy and refinement, are too numerous to be specified, and indeed too familiar to be repeated here. I find the following passage in Athenæus, which being less notorious, I insert for the gratification of the English reader:—

"Homer also makes virgins and women wash strangers, which they did without exciting desire, or being exposed to intemperate passion, being well regulated themselves, and touching those who were virtuous also: such was the custom of antiquity, according to which the daughters of Cocalus washed Minos, who had passed over into Sicily."—*See Athenæus*, l. 8.—*T.*

6 *Didymus.*]—This place was in the territories of Miletus, and celebrated for the temple of the Didymean Apollo. This temple was more anciently denominated the temple of Branchidæ, the oracle of which I have before described. As this title was given Apollo from the circumstance of the sun and moon enlightening the world alternately by day and night, it may not be improper to insert in this place the literal translation of an ænigma on the day and night, the original lines of which are preserved in Athenæus, from a tragedy of Œdipus; "There are two sisters, one of which produces the other, and that which produces is in its turn produced by the other."—*T.*

ished them than by removing them to Ampe,[1] a city near that part of the Erythræan sea where it receives the waters of the Tigris. The low country surrounding the town of Miletus, the Persians reserved for themselves; but they gave the mountainous parts to the Carians of Pedasus.[2]

XXI. The Milesians, on suffering these calamities from the Persians, did not meet with that return from the people of Sybarus, who had been driven from Laon and Scidron, which they might justly have expected. When Sybaris was taken by the Crotoniati, the Milesians had shaved their heads,[3] and discovered every testimony of sorrow: for betwixt these two cities a most strict and uncommon hospitality[4] prevailed. The Athenians acted very differently. The destruction of Miletus affected them with the liveliest uneasiness, which was apparent from various circumstances, and from the following in particular:—On seeing the capture of Miletus represented in a dramatic piece by Phrynichus,[5] the whole audience burst into tears. The poet, for thus reminding them of a domestic calamity, was fined a thousand drachmæ, and the piece was forbidden to be repeated.

XXII. Thus was Miletus stripped of its ancient inhabitants. The Samians, to whom any part of their property remained, were far from satisfied with the conduct of their leaders in the contest with the Medes. After this event of the above naval fight, and previous to the return of Æaces, they determined to remove, and found a colony, not choosing to expose themselves to the complicated tyranny of the Medes and of Æaces. About this period the Zancleans of Sicily sent a deputation to invite the Ionians to Calacte,[6] wishing to found there an Ionian city. This coast belongs to the Sicilians, but is in that part of Sicily which inclines towards Tyrrhenia. The Samians were the only

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1 *Ampe.*]—See what Bryant says on the terms Ampelus or Ampe, vol. i. 275, 276.—*T.*

2 *Pedasus.*]—This was also the name of one of the horses of Achilles.—See *Homer*, *Il.* xvi.—*T.*

3 *Shaved their heads.*]—Consult Deuteronomy, chap. xxi. ver. 12, 13, from whence it seems that to shave the head was one instance of exhibiting sorrow among the ancient Jews.—*T.*

4 *Hospitality.*]—As there is nothing in the manners of modern times which at all resembles the ancient customs respecting *hospitality*, it may be pleasing to many readers to find the most remarkable particulars of them collected in this place.

The barbarous disposition, to consider all strangers as enemies, gave way to the very first efforts towards civilization; and, as early as the time of Homer, provision was made for the reception of travellers into those families with which they were connected by the ties of hospitality. This connection was esteemed sacred, and was under the particular sanction of the hospitable Jupiter, *Zeus Xenius*. The same word *Xenos* which had originally denoted a barbarian and an enemy (*Herodotus*, ix. ch. 11.) then became the term to express either an host, or his guest. When persons were united by the tie of hospitality, each was *Xenos* to the other, though, when they were together, he who received the other was properly distinguished as the *Xenodocus* (Ξεινοδόκος.) In the Alcestis of Euripides, l. 546, and in Plato, we find mention of a *Xenon* (Ξεινων,) or an apartment appropriated to the reception of such visitors. The bond of hospitality might subsist, 1. between private individuals; 2. between private persons and states; 3. between different states. Private hospitality was called *Xenia*; public, *Proxenia*. Persons who, like Glaucus and Diomede, ratified their hospitality in war, were called *Doryxeni* (Δορυξεινοι.) See *Hom. Il.* vi. 215. &c.—This connection was in all cases hereditary, and was confirmed by gifts mutually interchanged, which at first were called symbols, (Eurip. Medea, 613;) afterwards, when reduced to a kind of tickets, instead of presents, αστραγαλοι or tesseræ, *Plaut. Pæn.* act. 5. sc. 2.—Every thing gave way to this connection: Admetus could not bear the thought of turning away his *Xenos*, Hercules, even when his wife was just dead; and is highly praised for it. *Eurip. Alcest.*—Hospitality might, however, be renounced by a solemn form of abjuration, and yet after that might be renewed by a descendant. Thus, between the city of Sparta and the family of Alcibiades, a public hospitality had subsisted; his grandfather had solemnly renounced it, but he by acts of kindness revived it again. See Thucyd. v. 43; vi. 89.—This circumstance of renunciation has not been noticed, so far as I have seen, by any modern writers. See Feithius, Antiq. Homericæ, iii. 12, 13. Potter, iv. 21.—Some of the ancient tesseræ have been dug up at Rome and elsewhere. See Thomasinus de Tesseris Hospitalitatis.—The rights of suppliants were similar to, and nearly connected with, those of hospitality.

So Homer (Odyss. xvi. 56, as translated by Pope:)

> The swain replied, It never was our guise
> To slight the poor, or aught humane despise;
> For Jove unfolds our hospitable door,
> 'Tis Jove that sends the stranger and the poor.—*Pope.*

5 *Phrynichus.*]—There were three dramatic authors of this name, not far distant from each other in time. The first, a tragic poet, the son of Polyphradmon; the second, a writer of comedy; the third, a tragic poet, the son of Melanthus. Suidas, who mentions all these particulars, yet ascribes the tragedy of the taking of Miletus neither to the first nor to the third. But in all probability it was the first and not the third whom Herodotus, and the numerous historians who copy him, mean to point out. The time in which he flourished (for Suidas informs us that he gained his first victory in the sixty-seventh Olympiad) makes this supposition the nearer to truth.—*T.*

6 *Calacte.*]—Καλη ακτη, the beautiful coast.—See D'Orville's Sicula, xxii. 3.

The learned author proceeds to prove, which he does incontestably, that they who would read Calata, are certainly mistaken, nam oppida quibus Calata nomen Saracenæ et proinde recentioris originis, &c. Silius Italicus calls this place Piscosa Calacte, which term is applied by Homer to the Hellespont.—*T.*

Ionians who accepted the invitation, accompanied by those Milesians who had escaped.

XXIII. When they were on their way to Sicily, and had arrived off the Epizephyrian Locri,[7] the Zancleans,[8] under the conduct of Scythes their king, laid close siege to a Sicilian city. Intelligence of this was communicated to Anaxilaus,[9] prince of Rhegium:[10] he being hostile to the Zancleans, went to the Samians, persuading them that it would be better for them to turn aside from Calacte, where they were bound, and possess themselves of Zancle, now deserted by its inhabitants. The Samians followed his advice; upon which anxious to recover their city, the Zancleans called to their assistance Hippocrates their ally, prince of Gela.[11] He came with an army as desired, but he put in irons Scythes the Zanclean prince, already deprived of his city, together with his brother Pythogenis, and sent him to Inycus.[12] The rest of the Zancleans he betrayed to the Samians, upon terms agreed upon between them at a previous interview. These terms were,

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7 *Epizephyrian Locri.*]—The Epizephyrian Locri were a colony from the Locri of Proper Greece, who migrating to Magna Græcia, took their distinctive name from the Zephyrian promontory, near which they settled. In Proper Greece there were the Locri Ozolæ, situated betwixt the Æolians and Phocæans, and so called, as Hoffman says, a gravitate odoris; the Locri Epi-Cnemidii, who resided in the vicinity of mount Cnemis; and the Locri Opuntii, who took their name from the city Opus.

In Plutarch's Greek Questions, I find this account of the Locri Ozolæ:

"Some affirm that these Locrians were called the Locri Ozolæ, from Nessus; others say they were so named from the serpent Python, which being cast on shore by the foam of the sea there putrified. Others assert, that these Locri wore for garments the skins of he-goats, and lived constantly among the herds of goats, and from this became strong-scented; whilst there are others who report of this country, that it brought forth many flowers, and that the people were called Ozolæ, from the grateful perfume which they diffused. Architas is one of those who asserts this last opinion. Athenæus, in his first book, chap. xix. reckons the Epizephyrians amongst those who had a particular kind of dance appropriate to their nation.

"There were certain nations," says he, "who had dances peculiar to themselves, as the Lacedæmonians, the Trezerians, the Epizephyrians, the Cretans, the Ionians, and the Mantineans. Aristoxenus preferred the dances of the Mantineans to all the rest, on account of the quickness with which they moved their hands."

8 *Zancleans.*]—Of all the cities of Sicily, this was the most ancient; it was afterwards named Messana, and now Messina. See what Peter Burman says on this city, in his Commentaries on the "Urbium Siculæ numismata."—D'Orville, 290. The reader may there find a very ancient coin, in which Zancle is represented by a dolphin in a semicircular position.

Consult also Bentley's Dissertation upon Phalaris, page 107.

The Greeks call it Zancle, or the Sickle, from the supposition that the sickle of Saturn fell here, and occasioned its semicircular form. The Latins called it Messana or Messina, from Messis, a harvest. Modern travellers describe the approach to this place from the sea as remarkably beautiful, and the harbour, which the promontory forms in the shape of a reaping-hook, as one of the finest in the world. Near the entrance of this harbour is the famous gulf of Charybdis, described by so many ancient writers; compare Homer, Odyss. xii. with Virgil, Æn. iii.—*T.*

9 *Anaxilaus.*—This personage constituted one of the subjects of controversy betwixt Boyle and Bentley, who disputed whether the Anaxilaus mentioned by Pausanias is the Anaxilaus of Herodotus and Thucydides. Bentley, I think, proves beyond the possibility of dispute, that the three writers above mentioned spoke of the same person, and that the only difference was with respect to the time in which he was supposed to live.—*T.*

10 *Rhegium,*]—now called Reggio. Its particular situation is thus described by Ovid:

> Oppositumque potens contra Zanclaia saxa
> Ingreditur Rhegium.

Its name was taken απο του ρηγνυμι, because in this place, by some convulsive operation of nature, Sicily was anciently supposed to have been torn from Italy. This incident is mentioned by almost all the Latin poets and philosophers. The best description in verse of this phenomenon, is that of Virgil:

> Hæc loca, vi quondam vasta convulsa ruina
> (Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
> Dissiluisse ferunt, &c. Æn. iii. 414.

Pliny, Strabo, and others affirm, that the strata in the corresponding and opposite sides of the strait are minutely similar. The same thing, it is almost unnecessary to add, is reported of England and France, and the opposite rocks of Dover and Boulogne. The curious reader will find some interesting particulars relating to Rhegium in D'Orville's Sicula, page 560, where is also engraved an ancient marble found at Rhegium. We learn from Strabo, that the deities principally worshipped here were Apollo and Diana, and that the inhabitants were eminent for works in marble.—*T.*

11 *Gela.*]—I inform the reader once for all, that my intelligence concerning the Sicilian cities is derived principally from the interesting work of D'Orville.

Gela was anciently a considerable city, and situated near the river of the same name; of the qualities of which, Ovid thus speaks:

> Præterit et Cyanen et fontem lenis Anapi,
> Et te verticibus non adeunde Gela.

Virgil calls it immanis:

> Immanisque Gela fluvii cognomine dicta.

It was built by the inhabitants of Rhodes and Crete in conjunction; but whether the epithet *immanis* is applied by Virgil as descriptive of its greatness, may fairly be disputed; D'Orville considers it as synonymous with *crudelis*, *effera*, *&c.* or else, as he afterwards adds, from its situation, ad amnem verticosum et immanem. The symbol of this city on the Sicilian coins was a minotaur. Its modern name is Terra Nova.—*T.*

12 *Inycus.*]—I find no mention of Inycus in D'Orville, but Hesychius has the expression Ινυκινος οινος: who adds that Inycus was anciently famous for its wine.—*T.*

that Hippocrates should have half of the booty, and the slaves found in the place, with every thing which was without the city. The greater part of the Zancleans he put in chains, and treated them as slaves, selecting three hundred of the more distinguished to be put to death by the Samians, who nevertheless spared their lives.

XXIV. Scythes, the Zanclean prince, escaped from Inycus to Himera,[1] from thence he crossed over to Asia, and presented himself before Darius. Of all who had yet come to him from Greece, Darius thought this man the most just; for having obtained the king's permission to go to Sicily, he again returned to the Persian court, where he happily passed the remainder of a very long life.

XXV. The Samians, delivered from the power of the Medes, thus possessed themselves, without any trouble, of the beautiful city of Zancle. After the sea fight, of which Miletus was the object, the Phenicians were ordered by the Persians to replace Æaces in Samos, as a mark of their regard, and as a reward of his services. Of this city alone, of all those which had revolted from the Persians, the temples and public buildings were not burned, as a compensation for its desertion of the allies. After the capture of Miletus, the Persians made themselves masters of Caria, some of its cities being taken by force, whilst others surrendered.

XXVI. Histiæus the Milesian, from his station at Byzantium, was intercepting the Ionian vessels of burden in their way from the Euxine, when word was brought him of the fate of Miletus; he immediately confided to Bisaltes, son of Apollophanes of Abydos, the affairs of the Hellespont, and departed with some Lesbians for Chios. The detachment to whom the defence of Chios was assigned refused to admit him; in consequence of which he gave them battle, at a place in the territories of Chios, called Cœlœ,[2] and killed a great number. The residue of the Chians not yet recovered from the shock they had sustained in the former naval combat, he easily subdued, advancing for this purpose with his Lesbians from Polichna,[3] of which he had obtained possession.

XXVII. It generally happens when a calamity is impending over any city or nation, it is preceded by some prodigies.[4] Before this misfortune of the Chians, some extraordinary incidents had occurred:—Of a band of one hundred youths[5] whom they sent to Delphi, ninety-

1 *Himera.*]—Himera was a Grecian city, built, according to Strabo, by the Zancleans. It was anciently famous for its baths. It flourished for a long time, till it was taken and plundered by the Carthaginians. There are two rivers of this name, which has occasioned some perplexity to the geographers in ascertaining the precise situation of the city here mentioned. It certainly emptied itself into the Tyrrhene sea. Its modern name is Termini. I should not omit mentioning that it was the birth-place of the lyric poet Stesichorus.—*T.*

2 Εν Κοιλοις.

3 *Polichna.*]—The Latin versions render the Greek word πολιχνη, a small town; but Wesseling and Larcher are both of opinion, that it is the proper name of a town in the island of Chios.

4 *Prodigies.*]—See Virgil's beautiful episode, where he introduces the prodigies preceding the assassination of Cæsar:

> Solem quis dicere falsum
> Audeat? Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
> Sæpe monet, fraudemque et operta tumescere bella:
> Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam,
> Quum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit,
> Impiaque æternam timuerunt sæcula noctem; &c.
> *Georg.* i. 464.

Consult all the whole history of ancient superstition, as it appeared in the belief of prodigies, admirably discussed by Warburton, in his Critical and Philosophical Inquiry into the causes of Prodigies and Miracles.

Julius Obsequens collected the prodigies supposed to have appeared within the Roman empire, from its first foundation to the year 742.

Our Shakspeare has made an admirable use of human superstition, with regard to prodigies, in many of his plays, but particularly in Macbeth:

> Thou seest the heavens, as troubled with man's act,
> Threaten his bloody stage: by the clock 'tis day,
> And yet dark night strangles the travelling lamp:
> Is it night's predominance, or the day's shame,
> That darkness does the face of earth intomb,
> When living light should kiss it?——

However a moralist and divine may be inclined to reprobate the spirit of Mr. Gibbon, with which he generally seems influenced when speaking of religion, and of Christianity in particular, what he says on the subject of prodigies from its great good sense, and application to the subject in question, I may introduce without apology.

"The philosopher, who with calm suspicion examines the dreams and omens, the miracles and prodigies of profane and even of ecclesiastical history, will probably conclude, that if the eyes of the spectators have sometimes been deceived by fraud, the understanding of the readers has much more frequently been insulted by fiction. Every event, or appearance, or accident, which seems to deviate from the ordinary course of nature, has been rashly ascribed to the immediate action of the deity, and the astonished fancy of the multitude has sometimes given shape, colour, language, and motion to the fleeting but uncommon meteors of the air."

The quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia, applied by the Roman satirist to the Greek historians, partakes more of insolence than justice; perhaps it is not very extravagant to affirm, that there are more prodigies in Livy, than in all the Greek historians together.—*T.*

5 *One hundred youths.*]—See Voyage du jeune Anacharsis, vol. ii. 443.

eight perished by some infectious disorder; two alone returned. Not long also before the great sea-fight, the roof of a building fell in upon some boys at school, so that of one hundred and twenty children, one only escaped; these warnings were sent them by the deity, for soon after happened the fight at sea, which brought their city to so low a condition. At this period Histiæus appeared with the Lesbians, and easily vanquished a people already exhausted.

XXVIII. Histiæus proceeded from hence on an expedition against Thasus,[6] followed by a numerous body of Ionians and Æolians. Whilst he was before this place he learned that the Phenicians, leaving Miletus, were advancing against the rest of Ionia. He without delay raised the siege of Thasus, and with his whole army passed over to Lesbos; from hence, alarmed by the want of necessaries, he crossed to the opposite continent, intending to possess himself of the corn which grew in Atarneum,[7] and in the province of Caicus, belonging to the Mysians. Harpagus, a Persian, was accidentally on this station, at the head of a powerful army: a battle ensued by land, in which Histiæus himself was taken prisoner, and the greater part of his forces slain.

XXIX. The capture of Histiæus was thus effected:—the engagement took place at Malena, in the district of Atarnis, and the Greeks made an obstinate stand against the Persians, till the cavalry pouring in among them, they were unable to resist the impression. Histiæus had conceived the idea that the king would pardon his revolt; and the desire of life so far prevailed, that during the pursuit, when a Persian soldier overtook and had raised his sword to kill him, he exclaimed aloud in the Persian tongue that he was Histiæus the Milesian.

XXX. I am inclined to believe[8] that if he had been carried alive to the presence of Darius, his life would have been spared and his faults forgiven. To prevent this, as well as all possibility of his obtaining a second time any influence over the king, Artaphernes the governor of Sardis, and Harpagus, who had taken him, crucified[9] their prisoner on their return to Sardis. The head they put in salt, and sent to Darius at Susa: Darius, on hearing this, rebuked them for what they had done, and for not conducting their prisoner alive to his presence. He directed the head to be washed, and honourably interred, as belonging to a man who had deserved well of him and of Persia. Such was the fate of Histiæus.

XXXI. The Persian forces wintered near Miletus, with the view of renewing hostilities early in the spring; they accordingly, and without difficulty, took Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos, contiguous to the continent. At each of these islands, as they fell into their hands, they in this manner inclosed the inhabitants, as it were in a net:—taking each other by the hand, they advanced from the sea on the north, and thus chasing the inhabitants, swept the whole island to the south. They also made themselves masters of the Ionian cities on the continent, but they did not sweep them in the same manner, which indeed was not practicable.

XXXII. The threats of the Persian generals, when first opposed to the Ionians, were fully put in execution: as soon as they possessed their cities, they made eunuchs of their most beautiful youths, who were selected for this purpose. The loveliest of their maidens they sent to the king; and they burned the cities with their temples. The Ionians were thus a third time reduced to servitude, once by the Lydians and twice by the Persians.

XXXIII. From Ionia the fleet advanced and regularly subdued all the places to the left of the Hellespont; those on the right had already been reduced by the Persian forces on

6 *Thasus.*]—This was a little island in the Ægean, on the Thracian coast, so called from Thasos, son of Agenor; it was anciently famous for its wine.—See Virgil, Georg. ii. 91.

Sunt Thasæ vites, &c.—*T.*

7 *Atarneum*]—was very fertile in corn, and peopled from the isle of Chios, near which it was.

8 *I am inclined to believe.*]—Valcnaer remarks on this passage, that humanity was one of the most conspicuous qualities of Darius. The instances of his forgiving various individuals and nations, against whom he had the justest reason to be incensed, are almost without number. In the case of Histiæus, it should however be remembered, that his interposition in preserving the bridge of boats over the Danube, preserved the person and army of Darius. But, perhaps, a perfectly absolute monarch is never implicitly to be trusted, but, like a wild beast, is liable, however tamed and tractable in general, to sudden fits of destructive fury. Of this nature is the detestable fact related of Darius himself, in the 84th chap. of book the 4th; a piece of cruelty aggravated by a cool and deep dissimulation beforehand, which raised false hopes, and renders the comparison still more closely applicable.—*T.*

9 *Crucified.*]—The moderns are by no means agreed about the particular manner in which the punishment of the cross was inflicted. With respect to our Saviour the Gospel informs us, that he was nailed to the cross through the hands and feet. This mode of punishment was certainly abolished by Constantine, but prevailed to his time amongst the Assyrians, Egyptians, Persians, and Greeks.—*T.*

the continent. The European side of the Hellespont contains the Chersonese (in which are a number of cities,) Perinthus, many Thracian forts, Selybria, and Byzantium. The Byzantians and the Chalcedonians, on the remote parts of the coast, did not wait for the coming of the Phenician fleet, but forsaking their country, retired to the interior parts of the Euxine, where they built the city Mesambria. The cities thus forsaken were burnt by the Phenicians, who afterwards advanced against Prœconnesus and Artace; to these also they set fire, and returned to the Chersonese, to destroy those places from which in their former progress they had turned aside. They left Cyzicus unmolested, the inhabitants of which, previous to the arrival of the Phenician fleet, had submitted to the king, through the mediation of Œbarus, governor of Dascylium, and son of Megabyzus; but, except Cardia, the Phenicians reduced all the other parts of the Chersonese.

XXXIV. Before this period, all these places were in subjection to Miltiades, son of Cimon, and grandson of Stesagoras. This sovereignty had originated with Miltiades the son of Cypselus, in this manner:—This part of the Chersonese was possessed by the Thracian Dolonci,[1] who being involved in a troublesome contest with the Absinthians, sent their leaders to Delphi, to inquire concerning the event of the war. The Pythian in her answer recommended them to encourage that man to found a colony amongst them, who, on their leaving the temples, should first of all offer them the rites of hospitality. The Dolonci returning by the Sacred Way,[2] passed through Phocis and Bœotia; not being invited by either of these people, they turned aside to Athens.

XXXV. At this period the supreme authority of Athens, was in the hands of Pisistratus;[3] but an important influence was also possessed by Miltiades. He was of a family which maintained four horses[4] for the Olympic games, and was descended from Æacus and Ægina. In more modern times it became Athenian, being first established at Athens by Philæus the son of Ajax. This Miltiades, as he sat before the door of his house,[5] perceived the Dolonci passing by; and as by their dress and spears they appeared to be foreigners, he called to them; on their approach he offered them the use of his house, and the rites of hospitality. They accepted his kindness, and being hospitably treated by him, they revealed to him all the will of the oracle, with which they entreated his compliance. Miltiades was much disposed to listen to them, being weary of the tyranny of Pisistratus, and desirous to change

1 *Dolonci.*]—So called from Doloncus, a son of Saturn.

2 *Sacred way.*]—There was a very celebrated "Sacred Way," which led from Athens to Eleusis, but this could not be the one intended in this place; it was probably that by which the Athenians accompanied the sacred pomp to Delphi.—*Wesseling.*

The deputations which were repeatedly sent from the different states and cities of Greece to the oracle at Delphi, bore in many instances a strong resemblance to the modern pilgrimages of the Mahometans, to the tomb of their prophet at Mecca.

There was a "Via Sacra" leading from Rome, which took its name from the solemn union which with the attendant ceremonies here took place betwixt Romulus and Tatius, prince of the Sabines.—*T.*

3 *Pisistratus.*]—I have made several remarks on Pisistratus, in a preceding part of this work; but I neglected to mention that Athenæus ranks him amongst those ancients who were celebrated for collecting valuable libraries. "Larensius," says Athenæus, "had more books than any of those ancients who were celebrated for their libraries: such as Polycrates of Samos, Pisistratus the tyrant of Athens, Euclid the Athenian, Nicocrates of Cyprus, the kings of Pergamus, Euripides the poet, Aristotle the philosopher, Theophrastus, Neleus, who possessed the libraries of the two last-named, and whose descendants sold them to Ptolemy Philadelphus."

The curious intelligence which this citation communicates, affords an excellent specimen of the amusement and information to be gained by the perusal of Athenæus.—*T.*

4 *Four horses.*]—The first person, according to Virgil, who drove with four horses, was Ericthonius:

> Primus Ericthonius currus et quatuor ausus
> Jungere equos, rapidisque rotis insistere victor.
> *Georg.* iii.

Of the passage, "He maintained four horses," M. Larcher remarks, "that it is as much as to say he was very rich, for Attica being a barren soil, and little adapted to pasturage, the keeping of horses was necessarily expensive."

In this kind of chariot-race the four horses were ranged abreast; the two in the middle were harnassed to the yoke, the two side horses were fastened by their traces to the yoke, or to some other part of the chariot.—*See West's Dissertation on the Olympic Games.*—*T.*

5 *Before the door of his house.*]—Abraham and Lot were sitting before the doors of their houses, when they were accosted by the angels of God. Modern travellers to the east remark, that all the better houses have porches or gate-ways, where the master of the family receives visits, and sits to transact business. There is a passage to the present purpose in Chandler's Travels in Asia-Minor;—"At ten minutes after ten in the morning, we had in view several fine bays, and a plain full of booths, with the Turcomans *sitting by the doors*, under sheds resembling porticoes, or by shady trees," &c.—*T.*

his situation: he immediately went to Delphi, to consult the oracle whether he should do what the Dolonci required.

XXXVI. Thus, having received the sanction of the oracle, Miltiades, son of Cypselus, who had formerly at the Olympic games been victorious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, accompanied the Dolonci: he took such of the Athenians as were willing to go with him, and arriving on the spot, was by those who had invited him, elected their prince. His first care was to fortify the isthmus of the Chersonese, from the city Cardia[6] as far as Pactya, to prevent any hostile incursions on the part of the Absinthians. At this point the length of the isthmus is thirty-six furlongs: the extreme length of the Chersonese, including the isthmus, is four hundred and twenty furlongs.

XXXVII. Miltiades blockading the entrance of the Chersonese, and thus keeping out the Absinthians, commenced hostilities with the people of Lampsacus; but they by an ambuscade made him their prisoner. Intelligence of this event being communicated to Crœsus the Lydian, who held Miltiades in great esteem, he sent to the Lampsacenes, requiring them to set him at liberty; threatening on their refusal to destroy them like pines.[7] They deliberated among themselves concerning the meaning of this menace from Crœsus,[8] which greatly perplexed them: at length one of their elders explained it, by informing them, that of all the trees the pine was the only one which, once being cut down, shot out no more off-sets, but totally perished. Intimidated by this threat of Crœsus, the Lampsacenes dismissed Miltiades.

XXXVIII. Miltiades thus escaped through the interposition of Crœsus; but dying afterwards without issue, he left his authority and wealth to Stesagoras, son of Cimon, his uterine brother. Upon his death he was honoured by the inhabitants of the Chersonese with the marks of esteem usually paid to the founder of a place; equestrian and gymnastic exercises were periodically observed in his honour, in which none of the Lampsacenes are permitted to contend. It afterwards happened, that during a war with the people of Lampsacus, Stesagoras also died, and without children: he was wounded in the head, whilst in the Prytaneum, with a blow from an axe. The person who inflicted the wound pretended to be a deserter, but proved in effect a most determined enemy.[9]

XXXIX. After the death of Stesagoras, as above described, the Pisistratidæ despatched in a trireme, Miltiades, another son of Cimon, and brother of the deceased Stesagoras, to take the government of the Chersonese. Whilst he was at Athens they had treated him with much kindness, as if ignorant of the death of his father Cimon; the particulars of which I shall relate in another place. Miltiades, as soon as he landed in the Chersonese, kept himself at home, as if in sorrow[10] for his brother: which

6 *Cardia.*]—This place was so named from its resemblance to a heart.—*T.*

7 *Like pines.*]—From the time of Herodotus this expression passed into a proverb, denoting a final destruction, without any possibility of flourishing again.

In nothing was the acuteness and learning of our Bentley more apparent, than in his argument against the genuineness of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris, drawn from this expression of Herodotus.—See his Dissertation, last edit. 122. "A strange piece of stupidity in our letter-monger (I cite Bentley's words) or else contempt of his readers, to pretend to assume the garb and person of Phalaris, and yet knowingly to put words into his mouth, not heard of till a whole century after him. What is here individually ascribed to the pine-tree, is applicable to other trees; such as the fir, the palm, the cedar, the cypress, &c. which all perish by lopping."—*T.*

8 *Crœsus.*]—By this menace of Crœsus, we may reasonably infer, that he was advanced from his captive and dependant state to some office of trust and authority. His name occurs no more in the history of Herodotus.

9 *Determined enemy.*]—I cannot better introduce, than in the midst of a digression like the present, the opinion which Swift entertained of Herodotus. It may justly be regarded as a great curiosity, it proves that Swift had perused the Greek historian with particular attention, it exhibits no mean example of his critical sagacity, and is perhaps the only specimen in being of his skill in Latinity.—It is preserved in Winchester college, in the first leaf of Stevens's edition of Herodotus; and to add to its value, is in Swift's own hand-writing:

Judicium de Herodoto post longum tempus relecto.

"Ctesias mendacissimus Herodotum mendaciorum arguit; exceptis paucissimis (ut mea fert sententia) omni modo excusandum; cæterum diverticulis abundans hic pater historicorum filum narrationis ad tædium abrumpit, unde oritur, ut par est legentibus, confusio et exinde oblivio.—Quin et forsan ipsæ narrationes circumstantiis nimium pro re scatent.—Quod ad cætera hunc scriptorem inter apprime laudandos censeo neque Græcis neque Barbaris plus æquo faventem aut iniquum—in orationibus fere brevem, simplicem, nec nimis frequentem.—Neque absunt dogmata e quibus eruditus lector prudentiam tam moralem quam civilem haurire potuerit." —*T.*

In opposition to what I have here intimated concerning the learning of Swift, I find, in a posthumous work of Dr. Jortin, these strong expressions.—"As to the knowledge which Swift is said to have acquired of the learned languages—*Cras credo, hodie nihil.*"—To such respectable and high authority I willingly sacrifice my own opinion.

10 *As if in sorrow.*]—This passage has greatly perplex-

being known, all the principal persons of the Chersonese assembled from the different cities, and coming in one common public procession, as if to condole with him, he put them in chains; after which he secured the possession of the Chersonese, maintaining a body of five hundred guards.—He then married Hegesipyle, daughter of Olorus king of Thrace.

XL. The son of Cimon had not been long in the Chersonese, before he was involved in difficulties far heavier than he had yet experienced; for in the third year of his authority he was compelled to fly from the power of the Scythians. The Scythian Nomades being incensed against Darius, assembled their forces, and advanced to the Chersonese. Miltiades, not venturing to make a stand against them, fled at their approach; when they retired, the Dolonci, after an interval of three years, restored him.

XLI. The same Miltiades, on being informed that the Phenicians were arrived off Tenedos, loaded five triremes with his property, and sailed for Athens. He went on board at Cardia, crossed the gulf of Melas, and passing the Chersonese, he himself, with four of his vessels, eluded the Phenician fleet, and escaped to Imbros;[1] the fifth was pursued and taken by the enemy, it was commanded by Metiochus, the eldest son of Miltiades, not by the daughter of Olorus, but by some other female. The Phenicians, on learning that he was the son of Miltiades, conducted him to the king, expecting some considerable mark of favour; for his father Miltiades had formerly endeavoured to prevail on the Ionians to accede to the advice of the Scythians, who wished them to break down their bridge of boats, and return home. Darius, however, so far from treating Metiochus with severity, showed him the greatest kindness; he gave him a house, with some property, and married him to a woman of Persia: their offspring are considered as Persians.

XLII. Miltiades leaving Imbros, proceeded to Athens: the Persians executed this year no father hostilities against the Ionians, but contrived for them many useful regulations. Artaphernes, governor of Sardis, assembled the deputies of the different cities, requiring them to enter into treaty for the mutual observance of justice with respect to each other, and for the prevention of reciprocal depredation and violence. His next step was to divide all the Ionian districts into parasangs (the Persian name for a measure of thirty furlongs) by which he ascertained the tributes they were severally to pay. This distribution of Artaphernes has continued, with very little variation, to the present period, and was certainly an ordinance which tended to establish the general tranquillity.

XLIII. At the commencement of the spring, the king sent Mardonius to supersede the other commanders: he was the son of Gobryas, a very young man, and had recently married Artozostra, a daughter of Darius. He accordingly appeared on the coast ready to embark, with a considerable body of land and sea forces; arriving at Cilicia, he went himself on board, taking under his command the rest of the fleet: the land army he sent forward to the Hellespont, under the direction of their different officers. Mardonius passed by Asia, and came to Ionia, where an incident happened which will hardly obtain credit with those Greeks who are unwilling to believe that Otanes, in the assembly of the seven conspirators, gave it as his opinion that a popular government would be most for the advantage of Persia:—for Mardonius, removing the Ionian princes from their station, every where established a democracy. He then proceeded towards the Hellespont, where collecting a numerous fleet and a powerful army, he passed them over the Hellespont in ships, and proceeded through Europe, towards Eretria and Athens.

XLIV. These two cities were the avowed object of his expedition, but he really intended to reduce as many of the Greek cities as he possibly could. By sea he subdued the Thasians, who attempted no resistance; by land his army reduced all those Macedonians who were more remote: the Macedonians on this side had been reduced before. Leaving Thasos, he coasted by the opposite continent as far

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ed all the commentators. It is certain that the word επιτιμιων, as it now stands in the text, is wrong, but it is by no means clear what it ought to be; Valcnaer wishes to read ετι πενθηων, which seems very satisfactory in itself, and best agrees with the context, where it is said the great men went to condole with him (συλλυπηθησομενοι.) Wesseling is inclined to read επιτυμβιον, as if to bury him: Larcher, differing from all these readings, renders it "under pretence of doing honour to his memory;" which seems of all others the most difficult to justify, and to rest only on the far-fetched idea, that during the time of mourning people confined themselves to their apartments.—*T.*

1 *Imbros.*]—This was an island of the Ægean, betwixt Lemnos and the Thracian Chersonese, it was anciently famous for producing a prodigious number of hares.—*T.*

as Acanthus; from Acanthus, passing onwards, he endeavoured to double mount Athos; but at this juncture a tempestuous wind arose from the north, which pressing hard upon the fleet, drove a great number of ships against mount Athos. He is said on this occasion to have lost three hundred vessels, and more than twenty thousand men: of these numbers were destroyed by the sea-monsters, which abound off the coast near Athos, others were dashed on the rocks, some lost their lives from their inability to swim, and many perished by the cold.

XLV. Whilst Mardonius with his land forces was encamped in Macedonia, he was attacked in the night by the Brygi[2] of Thrace, who killed many of his men, and wounded Mardonius himself. They did not, however, finally elude the power of the Persians, for Mardonius would not leave that region till he had effectually reduced them under his power. After this event he led back his army, which had suffered much from the Brygi, but still more by the tempest off Athos;[3] his return therefore, to Asia, was far from being glorious.

XLVI. In the following year Darius, having received intelligence from their neighbours, that the Thasians meditated a revolt, sent them orders to pull down their walls, and remove their ships to Abdera. The Thasians had formerly been besieged by Histiæus of Miletus; as therefore they were possessed of considerable wealth, they applied it to the purpose of building vessels of war, and of constructing a stronger wall: their wealth was collected partly from the continent, and partly from their mines. From their gold mines at Scaptesyla[4] they obtained upon an average eighty talents; Thasus itself did not produce so much, but they were on the whole so affluent, that being generally exempt from taxes, the whole of their annual revenue was two hundred, and in the times of greatest abundance, three hundred talents.

XLVII. These mines I have myself seen; the most valuable are those discovered by the Phenicians, who, under the conduct of Thasus, first made a settlement in this island, and named it from their leader. The mines so discovered are betwixt a place called Ænyra and Cœnyra. Opposite to Samothracia was a large mountain, which, by the search after mines, has been effectually levelled.

XLVIII. The Thasians, in obedience to the will of Darius, destroyed their walls, and sent their ships to Abdera. To make experiment of the real intentions of the Greeks, and to ascertain whether they were inclined to submit to, or resist his power, Darius sent emissaries to different parts of Greece to demand earth and water.[5] The cities on the coast who paid him tribute, he ordered to construct vessels of war, and transports for cavalry.

XLIX. At the time these latter were preparing, the king's envoys arrived in Greece: most of the people on the continent complied with what was required of them, as did all the islanders whom the messengers visited, and amongst others the Æginetæ. This conduct gave great offence to the Athenians, who concluded that the Æginetæ had hostile intentions towards them, which in conjunction with the Persians they were resolved to execute. They eagerly therefore embraced this pretext, and accused them at Sparta of betraying the liberties of Greece.

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2 *Brygi.*]—See book vii. chap. 73, by which it appears, that these Brygi were the Phrygians.—See also Valcnaer's note on this word.—*T.*

3 *Athos.*]—"We embarked at Lemnos, and landed at Monte Santo, as it is called by the Europeans; it is the ancient Mount Athos in Macedonia, now called both by Greeks and Turks Hagion Oros, the Holy Mountain, by reason that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs. It is a promontory which extends almost directly from north to south, being joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, through which some historians say that Xerxes cut a channel, in order to carry his army a shorter way by water from one bay to the other, which seems very improbable, nor did I see any sign of such a work. The bay of Contessa, to the north of this neck of land, was called by the ancients Strymonicus, to the south of the bay of Monte Santo, anciently called Singiticus, and by the Greeks at this day Amouline, from an island of that name at the bottom of it, between which and the gulf of Salonica is the bay of Haia Mamma, called by the ancients Toronæus. The northern cape of this promontory is called Cape Laura, and is the promontory Nymphæum of the ancients; and the cape of Monte Santo seems to be the promontory Acrathos; over the former is the highest summit of mount Athos, all the other parts of it, though hilly, being low in comparison of it: it is a very steep rocky height, covered with pine-trees. —If we suppose the perpendicular height of it to be four miles from the sea, though I think it cannot be so much, it may easily be computed if its shadow could reach to Lemnos, which they say is eighty miles distant, though I believe it is not above twenty leagues."—*Pococke*, vol. ii. 145.

4 *Scaptesyla.*]—In the Greek it is in two words, Σκαπτῆ ὕλῃ, the wood of Scaptæ. Thus in a former chapter, the beautiful coast, Καλη ακτη, or Calacte.—See also Virgil, Æneid vii. 208.

Threiciamque Samon quæ nunc Samothracia fertur.—*T.*

5 *Earth and water.*]—See in what manner the people of Athens and Lacedæmon treated these messengers, in book the seventh.

L. Instigated by their report, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and prince of Sparta, went over to Ægina, determining fully to investigate the matter. He endeavoured to seize the persons of the accused, but was opposed by many of the Æginetæ, and in particular by Crius son of Polycritus, who threatened to make him repent any violent attempts upon his countrymen. He told them that his conduct was the consequence, not of the joint deliberations of the Spartans, but of his being corrupted by the Athenians, otherwise the other king also would have accompanied and assisted him. He said this in consequence of a letter received from Demaratus. Cleomenes, thus repulsed from Ægina, asked Crius his name; upon being told, "Well then," returned Cleomenes, "you had better tip your horns with brass,[1] and prepare to resist some calamity."

LI. Demaratus, who circulated this report at Sparta to the prejudice of Cleomenes, was the son of Ariston, and himself also a prince of Sparta, though of an inferior branch: both had the same origin, but the family of Eurysthenes, as being the eldest, was most esteemed.

LII. The Lacedæmonians, in opposition to what is asserted by all the poets, affirm that they were first introduced into the region which they now inhabit, not by the sons of Aristodemus, but by Aristodemus himself. He at that time reigned, and was son of Aristomachus, grandson of Cleodæus, and great-grandson of Hyllus. His wife Argia was the daughter of Autesion, grand-daughter of Tisamenus, great-grand-daughter of Thersander, and in the fourth descent from Polynices. Her husband, to whom she brought twins, died by some disease almost as soon as he had seen them. The Lacedæmonians of that day, after consulting together, elected for their prince the eldest of these children, as their law required. They were still at a loss, as the infants so much resembled each other.[2] In this perplexity, they applied to the mother, she also professed herself unable to decide: her ignorance however was only pretended, and arose from her wish to make both her children kings. The difficulty thus remaining, they sent to Delphi for advice. The Pythian commanded them to acknowledge both the children as their kings, but to honour the first-born the most. Receiving this answer from the Pythian, the Lacedæmonians were still unable to discover the first-born child, till a Messenian, whose name was Panites, advised them to take notice which child the mother washed and fed first: if she was constant in making a distinction, they might reasonably conclude they had discovered what they wished; if she made no regular preference in this respect of one child to the other, her ignorance of the matter in question was probably unaffected, and they must have recourse to other measures. The Spartans followed the advice of the Messenian, and carefully watched the mother of the children of Aristodemus. Perceiving her, who was totally unconscious of their design, regularly preferring her first-born, both in washing and feeding it, they respected this silent testimony of the mother. The child thus preferred by its parent they treated as the eldest, and educated at the public expense, calling him Eurysthenes, and his brother Procles. The brothers, when they grew up, were through life at variance with each other, and their enmity was perpetuated by their posterity.

LIII. The above is related on the authority of the Lacedæmonians alone; but I shall now give the matter as it is generally received in Greece.—The Greeks enumerate these Dorian princes in regular succession to Perseus, the son of Danae, passing over the story of the deity; from which account it plainly appears that they were Greeks, and were always so esteemed. These Dorian princes, as I have observed, go no higher than Perseus, for Perseus had no mortal father from whom his surname could be derived, being circumstanced as Hercules was with respect to Amphitryon. I am

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1 *Your horns with brass.*]—In allusion to his name Κριος, which signifies a ram.—See a remarkable verse in the first book of kings, chap. xxii. ver. 11.

"And Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah made him *horns of iron*; and he said, Thus saith the Lord, with these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them."—*T.*

2 *Resembled each other.*]—Upon the perplexities arising from this resemblance of twins to each other, the whole plot of the Menæchmi of Plautus, and the Comedy of Errors of Shakspeare are made to depend:

> Mercator quidam fuit Syracusis senex,
> Ei sunt nati filii gemini duo.
> Ita forma simili pueri, uti mater sua
> Non internosse posset quæ mammam dabat, &c.
>
> *Prologus ad Menæch.*
>
> There she had not been long, but she became
> A joyful mother of two goodly sons;
> And, which was strange, the one so like the other
> As could not be distinguished, &c.
>
> *Comedy of Errors.*

It seems unnecessary to add, that this latter play is a very minute copy of the former, of which in Shakspeare's time translations in the different languages of Europe were easily to be obtained.—*T.*

therefore justified in stopping at Perseus. If we ascend from Danae, the daughter of Acrisius, we shall find that the ancestors of the Dorian princes were of Egyptian origin.[3]—Such is the Grecian account of their descent.

LIV. The Persians affirm that Perseus was an Assyrian by birth, becoming afterwards a Greek, although none of his ancestors were of that nation. The ancestors of Acrisius claim no consanguinity with Perseus,[4] being Egyptians; which account is confirmed by the Greeks.

LV. In what manner, in being Egyptians, they became the princes of the Dorians, having been mentioned by others, I need not relate; but I shall explain what they have omitted.

LVI. The Spartans distinguished their princes by many honourable privileges. The priesthoods of the Lacedæmonian[5] and of the Celestial Jupiter[6] were appropriated to them: they had the power also of making hostile expeditions wherever they pleased, nor might any Spartan obstruct them without incurring the curses of their religion. In field of battle their post is in the front: when they retire, in the rear. They have a hundred chosen men[7] as a guard for their person: when upon their march they may take for their use as many sheep as they think proper, and they have the back[8] and the skin[9] of all that are sacrificed. Such are their privileges in war.

LVII. In peace also they have many distinctions. In the solemnity of any public sacrifice, the first place is always reserved for the kings, to whom not only the choicest things are presented, but twice as much as to any other person.[10] They have moreover the first of every libation,[11] and the skins of the sacrificed

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3 *Egyptian origin.*]—According to Herodotus, all the principal persons of the Dorian family, upwards, were in a direct line from Egypt. The same author says, that Perseus was originally from Assyria, according to the traditions of the Persians. The like is said, and with great truth of the Heraclidæ, who are represented by Plato as of the same race as the Achæmenidæ of Persia. The Persians therefore, and the Grecians, were in great measure of the same family, being equally Cuthites from Chaldea; but the latter came last from Egypt. *Bryant*, vol. iii. 388.

4 *No consanguinity with Perseus.*]—Herodotus more truly represents Perseus as an Assyrian, by which is meant a Babylonian, and agreeably to this he is said to have married Asterie, the daughter of Belus, the same as Astaroth and Astarte of Canaan, by whom he had a daughter, Hecate. This, though taken from an idle system of theology, yet plainly shows that the history of Perseus had been greatly misapplied and lowered by being inserted among the fables of Greece, &c. *Bryant*, vol. ii. 64.

5 *Lacedæmonian.*]—Larcher remarks on this expression, that Herodotus is the only writer who distinguishes Jupiter by this appellation. I have before observed, that the office of priesthood and king was anciently united in the same person.—*T.*

6 *Celestial Jupiter.*]—This epithet was, I suppose, given to Jupiter, because the sky was considered as his particular department.—See the answer of Neptune to Iris, in the fifteenth book of the Iliad:

> Three brother deities from Saturn came,
> And ancient Rhea, Earth's immortal dame:
> Assigned by lot, our triple rule we know;
> Infernal Pluto sways the shades below:
> O'er the wide clouds, and o'er the starry plain,
> Ethereal Jove extends his wide domain:
> My court beneath the hoary waves I keep,
> And hush the roarings of the sacred deep.

7 *Hundred chosen men.*]—In times of peace, the Lacedæmonian princes were not attended by guards: Thucydides says, that in war they had three hundred.—*T.*

8 *The back.*]—By the back we must understand the chine: and we learn as well from Homer, as other ancient writers, that it was always considered as the honourable portion. See Odyssey, book iv. where Telemachus visits Menelaus at Sparta:

> Ceasing benevolent, he strait assigns
> The royal portion of the choicest chines
> To each accepted friend.

See also the Iliad, book vii.

> The king himself, an honorary sign,
> Before great Ajax placed the mighty chine.

9 *The skin.*]—These skins we find were allotted to the princes during the time of actual service, when, as their residence was in tents, they must have been of the greatest service both as seats and as beds. See Leviticus, vii. 8. where it appears that the priest had the skin.

"And the priest that offereth any man's burnt-offering, even the priest shall have to himself the skin of the burnt-offering which he hath offered."

They were serviceable also in another respect, as they were made into bottles to preserve wine, and to carry liquids of different kinds. Of skins also the first clothes were made.—*T.*

10 *Twice as much as to any other person.*]—Instances of this mode of showing reverence and distinction occur repeatedly in Homer. Diomed, as a mark of honour, had more meat and wine than any other person. Agamemnon also, and Idomeneus, have more wine than the rest. Benjamin's mess was five times as large as that of his brethren. Xenophon observes, that Lycurgus did not assign a double portion to the kings, because they were to eat twice as much as any body else, but that they might give it to whom they pleased. We find from Homer, that this was also a common practice during the repast, to give of their own portion to some friend or favourite. Accordingly in the Odyssey, we find in some very beautiful lines, that Ulysses gave a portion of the chine reserved for himself to Demodocus, "The bard of Fame."

> The bard a herald guides: the gazing throng
> Pay low obeisance as he moves along:
> Beneath a sculptured arch he sits enthroned,
> The peers encircling, form an awful round:
> Then from the chine Ulysses carves with art,
> Delicious food, an honorary part.
> "This let the master of the lyre receive,
> A pledge of love, 'tis all a wretch can give:
> Lives there a man beneath the spacious skies
> Who sacred honours to the Bard denies? &c.

11 *Libation.*]—The ceremony of offering a libation was

victims. On the first and seventh of every month, they give to each of them a perfect animal, which is sacrificed in the temple of Apollo. To this is added a medimnus of meal, and a Lacedæmonian quart of wine.[1] In the public games, they sit in the most distinguished place;[2] they appoint whomsoever they please to the dignity of Proxeni,[3] and each of them chooses two Pythii. The Pythii are those who are sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and are maintained at the public expense as well as the kings. If the kings do not think proper to take their repast in public, two chœnices of meal with a cotyla of wine are sent to their respective houses; but if they are present, they receive a double portion. If any private person invite them to an entertainment, a similar respect is shown them. The oracular declarations are preserved by them, though the Pythii also must know them. The kings alone have the power of deciding in the following matters, and they decide these only: they choose a husband for an heiress, if her father had not previously betrothed her; they have the care of the public ways; whoever chooses to adopt a child,[4] must do it in the presence of the kings. They assist at the deliberations of the senate, which is composed of twenty-eight persons. In case of their not appearing, those senators who are the nearest relations to the kings, take their places and privilege, having two voices independent of their own.

LVIII. Such are the honours paid by the Spartans to their princes whilst alive; they have others after their decease. Messengers are sent to every part of Sparta to relate the event, whilst through the city the women beat on a caldron.[5] At this signal, one free-born person of each sex is compelled under very heavy penalties to disfigure themselves. The same ceremonies which the Lacedæmonians observe on the death of their kings, are practised also by the barbarians of Asia; the greater part of whom on a similar occasion use these rites. When a king of Lacedæmon dies, a certain number of Lacedæmonians, independent of the Spartans, are obliged from all parts of Lacedæmon to attend his funeral. When these, together with the Helots[6] and Spartans, to the amount of several thousands, are assembled in one place, they begin, men and women, to beat their breasts, to make loud and dismal lamentations,[7] always exclaiming of their

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this: When, previous to sacrifice, the sacred meal mixed with salt was placed upon the head of the victim, the priest took the vessel which held the wine, and just tasting it himself, gave it to those near him to taste also: it was then poured upon the head of the beast betwixt the horns. The burnt-offerings enjoined by the Mosaic law were in like manner accompanied by libations.—See Exodus, xxix. 40.—*T.*

1 *Medimnus of meal—quart of wine.*]—"Then shall he that offereth an offering unto the Lord bring a meat-offering of a tenth deal of flour, mingled with the fourth part of an hin of oil.

"And the fourth part of an hin of wine, for a drink-offering shalt thou prepare, with the burnt-offering, or sacrifice."—Numbers xv. 4, 5.

2 *Most distinguished place.*]—We learn from Xenophon, that wherever the kings appeared every body rose out of reverence to their persons, except the Ephori. Of these magistrates Larcher remarks, that they were in some respect superior in dignity to the kings, to limit whose authority they were first instituted.—*T.*

3 *Proxeni.*]—It was the business of the Proxeni to entertain the ambassadors from foreign states, and introduce them at the public assemblies.

4 *Adopt a child.*]—The custom of adoption amongst the Romans was much more frequent than amongst the Greeks, though borrowed from the latter by the former. In Greece, an eunuch could not adopt a child, and it was necessary that the person adopted should be eighteen years younger than the person who adopted him. In Rome, the ceremony of adoption was performed before the prætor, or before an assembly of the people. In the times of the emperors the permission of the prince was sufficient.—*T.*

5 *The women beat on a caldron.*]—A very curious incident relative to this circumstance is given us by Ælian, in his Various History. The Lacedæmonians having subdued the Messenians, took to themselves the half of all their property, and compelled their free-born women εις τα πενθη βαδιζειν, to walk in the funeral processions, and to lament at the deaths of those with whom they were not at all connected.

Women who were free-born never appeared at funerals, except at those of their relations, much less did they lament like the women hired for this purpose, which we find from the above passage the Lacedæmonians compelled the Messenian women to do. It is to be observed, that the women were much more rigorously secluded in Greece than in Rome.—*T.*

6 *Helots.*]—The Helots were a kind of public slaves to the Spartans, and rendered so by the right of conquest. They took their name from Helos, a Lacedæmonian town; their slavery was rigorous in the extreme, but they might on certain terms obtain their freedom. Upon them the business of agriculture and commerce entirely depended, whilst their haughty masters were employed in gymnastic exercises, or in feasting. For a more particular account of them, consult Cragius de Republica Lacedæmon, and Archbishop Potter.—*T.*

7 *Lamentations.*]—This custom still prevails in Egypt, and in various parts of the east. "When the corpse," says Dr. Russel, "is carried out, a number of sheiks with their tattered banners walk first, next come the male friends; and after them the corpse, carried with the head foremost upon men's shoulders. The nearest male relations immediately follow, and the women close the procession with dreadful shrieks."

See also what Mascrier tells us from M. Maillet, that not only the relations and female friends in Egypt, sur-

last prince that he was of all preceding ones the best. If one of their kings die in battle, they make a representation of his person, and carry it to the place of interment upon a bier richly adorned. When it is buried, there is an interval of ten days from all business and amusement, with every public testimony of sorrow.

LIX. They have also another custom in common with the Persians. When a prince dies, his successor remits every debt due either to the prince or the public. In Persia, also, he who is chosen king remits to every city whatever tributes happen to be due.

LX. In one instance, the Lacedæmonians observe the usage of Egypt. Their heralds, musicians, and cooks, follow the profession of their fathers. The son of a herald is of course a herald, and the same of the other two professions. If any man has a louder voice than the son of a herald, it signifies nothing.

LXI. Whilst Cleomenes was at Ægina, consulting for the common interest of Greece, he was persecuted by Demaratus, who was influenced not by any desire of serving the people of Ægina, but by jealousy and malice. Cleomenes on his return endeavoured to degrade his rival from his station, for which he had the following pretence: Ariston succeeding to the throne of Sparta, married two wives, but had children by neither; not willing to believe that any defect existed on his part, he married a third time. He had a friend, a native of Sparta, to whom on all occasions he showed a particular preference. This friend had a wife, who from being remarkable for her ugliness,[8] became exceedingly beautiful. When an infant her features were very plain and disagreeable, which was a source of much affliction to her parents, who were people of great affluence.[9] Her nurse seeing this, recommended that she should every day be carried to the temple of Helen, situate in a place called Therapne, near the temple of Apollo. Here the nurse regularly presented herself with the child, and standing near the shrine implored the goddess to remove the child's deformity. As she was one day departing from the temple, a woman is said to have appeared to her, inquiring what she carried in her arms: the nurse replied, it was a child. She desired to see it; this the nurse, having had orders to that effect from the parents, at first refused, but seeing that the woman persevered in her wishes, she at length complied. The stranger, taking the infant in her arms, stroked it on the face, saying, that hereafter she should become the loveliest woman in Sparta; and from that hour her features began to improve. On her arriving at a proper age, Agetus son of Alcides, and the friend of Ariston, made her his wife.

LXII. Ariston, inflamed with a passion for this woman, took the following means to obtain his wishes; he engaged to make her husband a present of whatever he would select from his effects, on condition of receiving a similar favour in return. Agetus having no suspicion with respect to his wife, as Ariston also was married, agreed to the proposal, and it was confirmed by an oath. Ariston accordingly gave his friend whatever it was that he chose, whilst he in return, having previously determined the matter, demanded the wife of Agetus. Agetus said, that he certainly did not mean to comprehend her in the agreement; but, influenced by his oath, the artifice of the other finally prevailed, and he resigned her to him.

LXIII. In this manner Ariston, having repudiated his second wife, married a third, who in a very short time, and within a less period than ten months,[10] brought him this Demaratus.

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round the corpse while it remains unburied, with the most bitter cries, scratching and beating their faces so violently as to make them bloody, and black and blue. Those of the lower kind also are apt to call in certain women who *play on tabors*, &c. The reader will find many similar examples collected in "Observations on Scripture," vol. iii. 408, 9.—*T.*

8 *Remarkable for her ugliness*]—Pausanias says, that from being remarkable for her ugliness, she became the most beautiful woman in Greece, ὑπο Ἑλενης next to Helen.—*T.*

9 *Great affluence.*]—How was it possible, asks M. Larcher in this place, to have great riches in Sparta? All the lands of Lacedæmon were divided in equal portions amongst the citizens, and gold and silver was prohibited under penalty of death.

10 *Within a less period than ten months*]—This, it seems, was thought sufficient cause to suspect the legitimacy of a child. It is remarkable, that ten months is the period of gestation, generally spoken of by the ancients.—See Plutarch in the life of Alcibiades; and Virgil, Ecl. iv.

Matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses.

A. Gellius, who gives a curious dissertation on the subject, l. iii. cap. 16, seems to pronounce very positively, that it was ten months fully completed: decem menses non inceptos sed exactos; but we should take the whole sentence together—eumque esse hominem gignendi *summum finem*, decem menses non inceptos sed exactos. This I understand as if he had written, "but that the *utmost* period (not the *usual*) is when the tenth

Whilst the father was sitting at his tribunal, attended by the Ephori, he was informed by one of his domestics of the delivery of his wife: reflecting on the interval of time which had elapsed since his marriage, he reckoned the number of months upon his fingers, and said with an oath, "This child is not mine." The Ephori, who heard him, did not at the moment esteem what he said of any importance:[1] afterwards, when the child grew up, Ariston changed his sentiments concerning the legitimacy of his son, and repented of the words which had escaped him. Demaratus owed his name[2] to the following circumstance: before he was born the people had unanimously made a public supplication that Ariston, the best of their kings, might have a son.

LXIV. Ariston died, and Demaratus succeeded to his authority. But it seemed destined that the above expression should lose him his crown. He was in a particular manner odious to Cleomenes, both when he withdrew his army from Eleusis, and when Cleomenes passed over to Ægina, on account of the favour which the people of that place showed to the Medes.

LXV. Cleomenes being determined to execute vengeance on his rival, formed a connection with Leutychides, who was of the family of Demaratus, being the son of Menaris, and grandson of Agis: the conditions were, that Leutychides should succeed to the dignity of Demaratus, and should in return assist Cleomenes in his designs upon Ægina. Leutychides entertained an implacable animosity against Demaratus. He had been engaged to marry Percalos, the daughter of Chilon, granddaughter of Demarmenes, but Demaratus insidiously prevented him, and by a mixture of violence and artifice married Percalos himself. He was therefore not at all reluctant to accede to the proposals of Cleomenes, and to assist him against Demaratus. He asserted, therefore, that Demaratus did not lawfully possess the throne of Sparta, not being the son of Ariston. He was, consequently, careful to remember and repeat the expression which had fallen from Ariston, when his servant first brought him intelligence of the birth of a son; for, after computing the time, he had positively denied that he was his. Upon this incident Leutychides strongly insisted, and made no scruple of declaring openly, that Demaratus was not the son of Ariston, and that his authority was illegal;[3] to confirm this he adduced the testimony of those Ephori who were present when Ariston so expressed himself.

LXVI. As the matter began to be a subject of general dispute, the Spartans thought proper to consult the oracle of Delphi, whether Demaratus was the son of Ariston or not. Cleomenes was not at all suspected of taking any care to influence the Pythian; but it is certain that he induced Cobon, son of Aristophantes, a man of very great authority at Delphi, to prevail on the priestess to say what Cleomenes desired.[4] The name of this woman was Pe-

month is not only begun, but completed;" namely, when the child is born in the beginning of the eleventh month. To this effect he mentions afterwards a decision of the decemviri under Hadrian, that infants were born regularly in *ten months*, not in the eleventh: this however the emperor set aside, as not being an infallible rule. It appears then, that the ancients, when they spoke of ten months, meant that the tenth month was the time for the birth; and if they express themselves so as to make it appear that they meant ten months complete, it is because they usually reckoned inclusively. The difference between solar and lunar months, to which some have had recourse, does not remove any of the difficulty. Hippocrates speaks variously of the period of gestation, but seems to reckon the longest 280 days, or nine months and ten days. We are told that the ancient Persians, in the time of Zoroaster, counted into the age of a man the *nine* months of his conception.—*Sadder*, cited by M. de Pastoret, in a treatise on Zoroaster, Confucius, and Mahomet.—*T.*

1 *Of any importance.*]—The inattention or indifference of the Ephori in this instance must appear not a little remarkable, when it is considered that it was one part of their appropriate duty to watch over the conduct of their queens, in order to prevent the possibility of any children succeeding to the throne who were not of the family of Hercules.—*T.*

2 *Owed his name;*—Which means prayed for by the people, being compounded of *demos* the people, and *aretos* prayed for.—*T.*

3 *Was illegal.*]—This story is related with equal minuteness by Pausanias, book iii. c. 4; from whence we may conclude, that when there was even any suspicion of the infidelity of the queens, their children were incapacitated from succeeding to the throne.—See Pausanias also on a similar subject, book iii. chap. 8.—*T.*

4 *To say what Cleomenes desired.*]—It is impossible sufficiently to lament the ignorance and delusion of those times, when an insidious expression, corruptly obtained from the Pythian, was sufficient to involve a whole kingdom in misery and blood: of this the fate of Crœsus, as recorded in the first book of Herodotus, is a memorable instance: but I have before me an example, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, where this artifice and seduction of the Pythian had a contrary effect. It was by bribing the priestess of Delphi that Lycurgus obtained from the Lacedæmonians an obedience, which rendered their nation great and powerful, and their legislator immortal. Demosthenes also, in one of his orations against Philip, accuses that monarch of seducing by bribes the oracle to his purposes. However the truth of this may be established from many well-authenticated facts, the

rilla, who, to those sent on this occasion, denied that Demaratus was the son of Ariston. This collusion being afterwards discovered, Cobon was compelled to fly from Delphi, and Perilla was degraded from her office.

LXVII. Such were the measures taken to deprive Demaratus of his dignity; an affront which was afterwards shown him, induced him to take refuge amongst the Medes. After the loss of his throne, he was elected to preside in some inferior office, and happened to be present at the Gymnopædia.[5] Leutychides, who had been elected king in the room of Demaratus, meaning to ridicule and insult him, sent a servant to ask him what he thought of his present, compared with his former office. Demaratus, incensed by the question, replied, that he himself had experienced both, which the person who had asked him had not; he added, that this question should prove the commencement of much calamity or happiness to Sparta. Saying this, with his head veiled,[6] he retired from the theatre to his own house; where, having sacrificed an ox to Jupiter, he sent for his mother.

LXVIII. On her appearance, he placed in her hands the entrails of the victim, and solemnly addressed her in these words:—"I call upon you, mother, in the name of all the gods, and in particular by Jupiter Herceus,[7] in whose immediate presence we are, to tell me, without disguise, who my father was. Leutychides, in the spirit of hatred and jealousy, has objected to me, that when you married Ariston you were with child by your former husband: others more insolently have asserted, that one of your slaves, an ass-driver, enjoyed your familiarity, and that I am his son; I entreat you, therefore, by every thing sacred, to disclose the truth. If you really have done what is related of you, your conduct is not without example, and there are many in Sparta who believe that Ariston had not the power of becoming a father, otherwise, they say, he must have had children by his former wives."

LXIX. His mother thus replied:—"My son, as you have thus implored me to declare the truth, I will not deceive you. When Ariston had conducted me to his house, on the third night of our marriage, a personage appeared[8] to me resembling Ariston, who after enjoying my person crowned me with a garland[9] he had in

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following picture from Lucan, of the priestess of Delphi, under the supposed influence of the god, can never fail of claiming our applause and admiration, though we pity the credulity which regarded, and the spirit which prompted such impostures:

Tandem conterrita virgo
Confugit at tripodas, vastisque abducta cavernis
Hæsit, et insueto concepit pectore numen,
Quod non exhaustæ per tot jam secula rupis
Spiritus ingessit vati: tandemque potitus
Pectore Cirrhæo, non unquam plenior artus
Phœbados irrupit Pæan, mentemque priorem
Expulit, atque hominem toto sibi cedere jussit
Pectore. Bacchatur demens aliena per antrum
Colla ferens, vittasque dei, Phœbeaque serta
Erectis discussa comis, per inania templi
Ancipiti cervice rotat, spargitque vaganti
Obstantes tripodas, magnoque exæstuat igne.

5 *Gymnopædia.*]—This word is derived from γυμνος, naked, and παις, a child; at this feast naked children sung hymns in honour of Apollo, and of the three hundred who died at Thermopylæ. Athenæus describes it as a kind of Pyrrhic dance, in which the young men accompanied the motion of their feet with certain corresponding and graceful ones of their arms; the whole represented the real exercise of wrestling.—*T.*

6 *His head veiled.*]—We may infer from hence, that he *devoted* himself to the accomplishment of some determined purpose. The veiling of the head constituted part of the awful ceremony of *devotion* among the Romans. See the form minutely and admirably described in Livy, book viii. where Decius Mus devotes himself for the preservation of the Roman army. After calling to the Pontifex to perform the accustomed ceremonies, he was ordered, togam prætextam sumere, et *velato capite* manu subter togam ad mentum exerta, super telum subjectum pedibus stantem, sic dicere.

7 *Jupiter Herceus.*]—Jupiter was worshipped under this title, as the Deus Penetralis, the protector of the innermost recesses of the house: he was so called from Ἑρκος, which signifies the interior part of a house.—*T.*

8 *A personage appeared.*]—This story in many respects bears a resemblance to what is related in Grecian history of the birth of Alexander the Great. The chastity of his mother Olympia being in a similar manner questioned, the fiction of his being the son of Jupiter, who conversed familiarly with his mother in the form of a serpent, at first found advocates with the ignorant and superstitious, and was afterwards confirmed and established by his career of conquest and glory. Of this fable no happier use has ever been made, than by Dryden, in his Ode on St. Cecilia's Day:

The song began from Jove,
Who left his blissful seats above;
Such is the power of mighty Love:
A dragon's fiery form belied the god.
Sublime on radiant spires he trod,
When he to fair Olympia press'd;
And while he sought her snowy breast,
Then round her slender waist he curl'd,
And stamp'd an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, informs us that a dragon was once seen to lie close to Olympia whilst she slept, after which her husband Philip, either suspecting her to be an enchantress, or imagining some god to be his rival, could never be induced to regard her with affection.—*T.*

9 *Crowned me with a garland.*]—We learn from a passage in Ovid, not only that it was customary to wear garlands in convivial meetings, which other authors tell us in a thousand places, but that in the festive gayety of

his hand, and retired. Soon afterwards Ariston came to me, and seeing me with a garland, inquired who gave it me; I said that he had, but this he seriously denied; I protested, however, that he had; and I added, it was not kind in him to deny it, who, after having enjoyed my person, placed the garland on my head. Ariston, seeing that I persevered in my story, was satisfied that there had been some divine interposition;[1] and this opinion was afterwards confirmed, from its appearing that this garland had been taken from the shrine of the hero Astrobachus, which stands near the entrance of our house: and indeed a soothsayer declared, that the personage I speak of was that hero himself.—I have now, my son, told you all that you wished to know: you are either the son of Astrobachus or of Ariston, for that very night I conceived. Your enemies particularly object to you, that Ariston, when he first heard of your birth, declared, in the presence of many, that you could not possibly be his son, as the time of ten months was not yet completed; but he said this from his ignorance of such matters. Some women are delivered at nine, others at seven months; all do not go ten. I was delivered of you at seven; and Ariston himself afterwards confessed that he had uttered those words foolishly.—With regard to all other calumnies, you may safely despise them, and rely upon what I have said. As to the story of the ass-driver, may the wives of Leutychides, and of those who say such things, produce their husbands children from ass-drivers."

LXX. Demaratus having heard all that he wished, took some provisions, and departed for Elis; he pretended, however, that he was gone to consult the oracle at Delphi. The Lacedæmonians suspected and pursued him. Demaratus had already crossed from Elis to Zacynthus, where the Lacedæmonians still following him, seized his person and his servants; these they carried away, but the Zacynthians refusing to let them take Demaratus, he passed over into Asia, where he was honourably received by Darius, and presented with many lands and cities.—Such was the fortune of Demaratus, a man distinguished amongst his countrymen by many memorable deeds and sayings; and who alone, of all the kings of Sparta,[2] obtained the prize in the Olympic games in the chariot-race of four horses.

LXXI. Leutychides the son of Menaris, who succeeded Demaratus after he had been deposed, had a son named Zeuxidamus, called by some of the Spartans, Cyniscus, or the whelp. He never enjoyed the throne of Sparta, but dying before his father, left a son named Archidamus. Leutychides, on the loss of his son, took for his second wife Eurydame, sister of Menius, and daughter of Diactoris; by her he had a daughter called Lampito, but no male offspring: she, by the consent of Leutychides, was married to Archidamus, son of Zeuxidamus.

LXXII. The latter days of Leutychides were not spent in Sparta: but the cause of Demaratus was avenged in this manner:—Leutychides commanded an army of his countrymen, in an expedition against Thessaly, and might have reduced the whole country; but suffering himself to be bribed by a large sum of money, he was detected in his own camp, sitting on a sack of money.[3] Being brought to a public trial, he was driven from Sparta, and his house razed.[4] He fled to Tegea, where he

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the moment, it was not unusual for one friend to give them to another:

> Huic si forte bibes, sortem concede priorem,
> Huic detur capiti dempta corona tuo.

1 *Divine interposition.*]—Innumerable instances occur in ancient history, from which we may conclude, that the passions of intemperate but artful men did not fail to avail themselves of the ignorance and superstitious credulity, with which the heathen world was overspread, to accomplish their dishonest purposes. It were endless to specify examples in all respects resembling this before us; but it may seem wonderful, that their occurring so very often did not tend to awaken suspicion, and interrupt their success. Some licentious minister of the divine personage in question might easily crown himself with a consecrated garland, avail himself of an imputed resemblance to the husband of the woman who had excited his passion, and with no greater difficulty prevail on a brother priest to make a declaration; which at the same time softened the crime of the woman, and gratified her vanity.—*T.*

2 *Alone, of all the kings of Sparta.*]—At this passage Valcnaer remarks, that these Spartan princes were probably of the opinion of Agesilaus, who, as is recorded in Plutarch, said, that the victories at these games were carried rather by riches than by merit.—*T.*

3 *Sack of money.*]—"In the more ancient manuscripts," says Wesseling, "these words were probably joined together, whence copyists in aftertimes separating these two words have introduced a false reading." Various errors of a similar kind have crept into modern editions of ancient books.

4 *His house razed.*]—This still constitutes part of the punishment annexed to the crime of high treason in France, and to great state crimes in many places. In the moment of popular fury, when violent resentment will not wait the slow determinations of the law to be appeased, it may admit of some extenuation; but that in a civilized people it should be part of any legal decision, seems preposterous and unmeaning.—*T*

died; but the above events happened some time afterwards.

LXXIII. Cleomenes, having succeeded in his designs upon Demaratus, took with him Leutychides, and proceeded against Ægina, with which he was exceedingly exasperated, on account of the insult he had received. The people of Ægina, on seeing themselves assailed by the two kings, did not meditate a long resistance; ten of the most illustrious and affluent were selected as hostages: among these were Crios, son of Polycritus, and Casambris, son of Aristocrates, men of considerable authority. Being carried to Attica, they there remained among their most inveterate enemies.

LXXIV. Cleomenes afterwards fled to Thessaly; for his treachery against Demaratus becoming manifest, he feared the resentment of the Spartans: from thence he went to Arcadia, where he endeavoured to raise a commotion, by stirring up the Arcadians against Sparta. Amongst other oaths, he exacted of them an engagement to follow him wherever he should think proper to conduct them. He particularly wished to carry the principal men to the city of Nonacris, there to make them swear by the waters of Styx.[5] These waters are said to be found in this part of Arcadia: there is but little water, and it falls drop by drop from a rock into a valley, which is inclosed by a circular wall.—Nonacris is an Arcadian city, near Pheneos.

LXXV. When the Lacedæmonians heard what Cleomenes was doing, through fear of the consequences, they invited him back to Sparta, offering him his former dignity and station. Immediately on his return he was seized with madness, of which he had before discovered very strong symptoms: for whatever citizen he happened to meet, he scrupled not to strike him on the face with his sceptre.[6] This extravagant behaviour induced his friends to confine him in a pair of stocks; seeing himself, on some occasion, left with only one person to guard him, he demanded a sword; the man at first refused to obey him, but finding him persist in his request, he at length, being an Helot, and afraid of what he threatened, gave him one. Cleomenes, as soon as he received the sword, began to cut the flesh off his legs;[7] and from his legs he ascended to his thighs, and from his thighs to his loins, till at length, making gashes in his belly, he died. The Greeks in general consider his death as occasioned by his having bribed the Pythian[8] to give an answer against Demaratus. The Athenians alone assert, that he was thus punished for having plundered the temple of the goddess at Eleu-

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5 *Waters of Styx.*]—It appears by this passage that the Greeks assembled at Nonacris to swear by the waters of Styx; when their oaths were to be considered as inviolable: the gods also swore by Styx, and it was the greatest oath they could use. "This water," observes Pausanias, "is mortal to men and animals;" it was, doubtless, for this reason that it was said to be a fountain of the infernal regions. This water could not be preserved, but in a vessel made of the horn of a mule's hoof See Pliny, N. H. l. xxx. c. 16.—"Ungulas tantum mularum repertas, neque aliam ullam materiam quæ non perroderetur a veneno Stygis aquæ." Pausanias gives the same efficacy to the horn of a horse's hoof; and Plutarch to that of an ass.—*Larcher*.

A few more particulars on this subject, omitted by Larcher, and less familiar perhaps to an English reader, I shall add to the above. Pliny says, it was remarkable for producing a fish, the taste of which was fatal. The solemnity with which the gods regarded the swearing by Styx, is mentioned by Virgil:

> Stygiamque paludem
> Dii cujusque jurare timent et fallere numen.

> The sacred streams which heaven's imperial state
> Attests in oaths, and fears to violate.

The circumstance of this oath being regarded by the gods as inviolable, is mentioned by Homer, Hesiod, and all the more ancient writers. The punishment supposed to be annexed to the perjury of gods in this instance, was that of being tortured 9,000 years in Tartarus.—See Servius on the 6th book of the Æneid.—*T.*

6 *With the sceptre.*]—That princes and individuals of high rank carried their sceptres, or insignia of their dignity, frequently in their hands, may be concluded from various passages of ancient writers: many examples of this occur in Homer. When Thersites clamorously endeavoured to excite the Greeks to murmurs and sedition, Ulysses is described as striking him with the sceptre he had in his hand:

> He said, and cowering as the dastard bends;
> The weighty sceptre on his back descends:
> On the round bunch the bloody tumours rise;
> The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes.

The most ancient sceptre was probably a staff to rest upon, as Ovid describes Jupiter as resting upon his; it was a more ancient emblem of royalty than the crown; the first Roman who assumed the sceptre was Tarquin the Proud.—*T.*

7 *Cut the flesh off his legs.*]—Longinus instances this and a similar passage in Herodotus, to show how a mean action may be expressed in bold and lofty words; see section xxxi.—the word here used by Herodotus is κατάχορδευων. The other passage of Herodotus, alluded to by Longinus, is in book vii. c. 181. where three Grecian ships are described as resisting ten Persian vessels: speaking of Pythes, who commanded one of the former, he says, "that after his ship was taken, he persevered in fighting," ες ὁ κατεκρεουργηθη ἁπας, or, as we should say in English, "till he was quite cut to pieces."—*T.*

8 *Having bribed the Pythian.*]—The disease of madness was frequently considered by the ancients as annexed by the gods to more atrocious acts of impiety, and wickedness.—Orestes was struck with madness for killing his mother; Œdipus, for a similar crime: Ajax Oileus for violating the sanctity of a temple, &c.—*T.*

sis.[1] The Argives say, that it was because he had forced many of their countrymen from the refuge they had taken in the temple of Argos,[2] and had not only put them to the sword, but had impiously set fire to the sacred wood.

LXXVI. Cleomenes, upon consulting the Delphic oracle, had been told that he should certainly become master of Argos: he accordingly led a body of Spartans to the river Erasinus,[3] which is said to flow from the Stymphalian lake. This lake is believed to show itself a second time in the territories of Argos, after disappearing for some time in an immense gulf; it is then called by the Argives, Erasinus. Arriving at this river, Cleomenes offered sacrifices to it: the entrails of the victim gave him no encouragement to pass the stream,[4] from which incident he affected to praise the river god for his attachment to his countrymen; but, nevertheless, vowed that the Argives should have no occasion to rejoice. From hence he advanced to Thyrea, where he sacrificed a bull to the Ocean,[5] and embarking his forces, proceeded to Tirynthia and Nauplia.

LXXVII. The Argives, hearing of this, advanced to the sea to repel him: as soon as they came to Tirynthe,[6] at a place called Sipia, they encamped in the Lacedæmonian territory, at no great distance from the enemy. They were not so much afraid of meeting their adversaries openly in the field, as of falling into an ambuscade: of this indeed they had been forewarned by the Pythian, in the declaration made jointly to the Milesians and themselves:—

When[7] female hands the strength of man shall tame,
And among Argives gain a glorious name,
Women of Argos shall much grief display,
And thus shall one in future ages say:
"A serpent huge, which wreathed its body round,
From a keen sword received a mortal wound."

These incidents filled the Argives with the greatest terror; they accordingly resolved to regulate their motions by the herald of the adverse army; as often, therefore, as this officer communicated any public order to the Lacedæmonians, they did the same.

LXXVIII. Cleomenes taking notice that the Argives observed what the herald of his army announced, directed that when the signal should be given for his soldiers to dine, they should immediately take their arms and attack the Argives. The Lacedæmonians upon this gave the signal for dinner, the Argives did the same; but whilst they were engaged in eating, the enemy rushed upon them, slew a prodigious

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1. *Goddesses at Eleusis.*]—Ceres and Proserpine.

"We turned to the south, into the plain Eleusis, which extends about a league every way; it is probably the plain called Rarion, where they say the corn was sowed; there is a long hill, which divides the plain, extending to the east within a mile of the sea, and on the south side is not half a mile from it: at the east end of this hill the ancient Eleusis was situated. About a mile before we came to it, I saw the ruins of a small temple to the east, which might be that which was built at the thrashing-floor of Triptolemus.

"In the plain, near the north foot of the hill, are many pieces of stones and pillars, which probably are the remains of the temple of Diana Propylæa, which was before the gates of the city; and at the north foot of the hill, on an advanced ground, there are many imperfect ruins, pieces of pillars, and entablatures, and doubtless it is the spot of the temple of Ceres and Proserpine." &c. —*Pococke*, ii. 170.

2 *Temple of Argos.*]—This Argos was the son of Jupiter and Niobe, daughter of Phorone; he had given his name to Argos, and the territory he possessed. He had no temple, and perhaps not even a chapel; Pausanias speaks only of his monument, which doubtless stood in the wood consecrated to him.

This Argos was very different from him surnamed Panoptes, who had eyes in every part of his body: this was the son of Agenor, and great-grandson of him of whom we speak.—*Larcher*.

3 *Erasinus.*]—According to Strabo there was another river of this name; the one here mentioned is now called Rasino, and was called by Ovid "ingens Erasinus."

Redditur Argolicis ingens Erasinus in agris. *T.*

4 *No encouragement to pass the stream.*]—In Lucan, when Cæsar arrived on the banks of the Rubicon, the genius of his country is represented as appearing to him in order to dissuade him from his purpose.—The whole description is admirably beautiful.

5 *A bull to the Ocean.*]—A bull was the usual victim to the Dii Magni. Horace represents one as sacrificed to Pluto; Virgil, to Neptune and Apollo; Homer, to the sea, and to rivers. It was not frequently, if it was ever sacrificed to Jupiter. Bacchus was sometimes worshipped with the head of a bull: and I have before observed, that the bull sacrificed to the Egyptian Typhon gave occasion to the golden calf of the Israelites.—*T.*

6 *Tirynthe.*]—From this place Hercules was sometimes called Tirynthius.

7 *When.*]—The first part of this oracle is explained by what Pausanias and Plutarch, with little variation from each other, relate. The Argive women, taking arms under the conduct of Telesilla, repelled the attempts of Cleomenes on their city, with the loss of numbers of his men.—Plutarch, after relating the above, adds some circumstances so very whimsical, that I may well be excused inserting them. "Some assert," says Plutarch, "that the above feat of the women was performed on the fourth of the month called Hermæus, when to this day they celebrate the feast called Hybristica, when the women are clothed in the coats and breeches of men, and the men in the veils and petticoats of women." He proceeds to say, that the women, to repair the want of men, having many of them lost their husbands, did not marry their servants, but first admitted the best of their neighbours to the rights of citizens, and afterwards married them. But on their reproaching and insulting these husbands, a law passed that new-married women, when they lay for the first time with their husbands, should wear beards.—*T.*

number, and surrounded many others, who escaping from the field, took refuge in the grove of Argos.

LXXIX. Whilst they remained here, Cleomenes determined on the following measure:—by means of some deserters, he learned the names of all those Argives who had escaped to this grove; these he called out one by one, telling them that he had received their ransom; this, in the Peloponnese, is a fixed sum, and is settled at two minæ for each captive. The number of the Argives was fifty, who as they respectively came out, when called, Cleomenes put to death. This incident was unknown to those who remained in the asylum, the thickness of the wood not allowing them to see what passed; till at length one climbing a tree, saw the transaction, after which no one appeared when called.

LXXX. Cleomenes then ordered his helots to encompass the wood with materials for the purpose, and they obeying him, it was set on fire.[8] Whilst it was burning, Cleomenes desired to know of one of the fugitives to what divinity the grove was sacred. He replied, to Argos. At this the Lacedæmonian, in great agitation, exclaimed—"O Apollo, thy prediction has misled me, promising me that I should be master of Argos. Thy oracle has, I fear, no other termination."

LXXXI. Cleomenes afterwards permitted the greater part of his forces to return to Sparta; and reserving only a select body of a thousand men, he went to offer sacrifice at the temple of Juno. Wishing to perform the ceremonies himself on the altar; the priest forbade him, saying, it was a privilege granted to no foreigner. Upon this, he ordered the helots to drag the priest from the altar,[9] and beat him. He then sacrificed, and afterwards returned to Sparta.

LXXXII. On his return, he was accused before the Ephori[10] of bribery, and of neglecting the opportunity he had of taking Argos. Whether the reply which Cleomenes made was true or false, I am not able to determine: he observed, that having taken possession of the temple of Argos, the prediction of the oracle seemed to him finally completed. He concluded therefore, that he ought not to make any further attempts upon the city, till he should first be satisfied from his sacrifices, whether the deity would assist or oppose him. When he was performing the sacred rites auspiciously in the temple of Juno, a flame of fire[11] burst from the bosom of the sacred image, which entirely convinced him that he should not take Argos. If this flame had issued from the head, he should have taken the place by storm, but its coming from the breast decisively declared that all the purposes of the deity were accomplished. His defence appeared plausible and satisfactory to his countrymen, and he was acquitted by a great majority.

LXXXIII. Argos however was deprived of so many of its citizens, that the slaves usurped the management of affairs, and executed the offices of government: but when the sons of those who had been slain, grew up, they obtained possession of the city, and after some contest expelled the slaves, who retired to Tyrinthe, which they seized. They for a time forbore to molest each other, till Cleander,

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8 *Set on fire.*]—Mr. Mason, in his admirable tragedy of Caractacus, has made an excellent use of the supposed sanctity of the groves at Mona. The circumstance of Cleomenes setting fire to the sacred grove of Argos, bears in many instances a resemblance to the burning of the groves of the Druids, by Aulus Didius, the Roman leader.

> *Caractacus.*—Smile, my loved child, and imitate the sun,
> That rises ruddy from behind yon oaks,
> To hail your brother victor.
> *Chorus.* Hail the sun!
> O horror, horror! Sacrilegious fires
> Devour our groves: they blaze, they blaze—Oh, sound
> The trump again, &c.—*T.*

9 *Drag the priest from the altar.*]—A similar act of violence is recorded by Plutarch of Alexander the Great. Wishing to consult the Delphic oracle concerning the success of his designs against Persia, he happened to go there at a time which was deemed inauspicious, and the Pythian refused to do her office. Alexander on this went to her himself, and by personal violence dragged her to the temple: fatigued with her exertions against him, she at length exclaimed, "My son, you are invincible." The Macedonian prince expressed himself perfectly satisfied with her answer, and assured his soldiers that it was unnecessary to consult the deity any more.—*T.*

10 *Ephori.*]—The reader will remember that it was the particular office of the Ephori to watch the conduct of the Spartan kings.—*T.*

11 *Flame of fire.*]—The appearance of fire self-kindled was generally deemed among the ancients an auspicious omen; but, like all other prodigies and modes of divination, they varied their conclusions concerning it according to the different circumstances and places in which it appeared. According to Pliny, Amphiaraus was the first inventor of the divination by fire.

Aruspicium Delphus invenit, ignispicia Amphiaraus, auspicia avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretationem ostentorum et somniorum Amphictyon.

Delphus was the inventor of divination by the entrails of beasts, Amphiaraus of that by fire, Tiresias the Theban of that of birds, and Amphictyon of the interpretation of prodigies and dreams.—*T.*

a soothsayer and an Arcadian, of the district of Phigasia, coming among them, he persuaded the slaves to attack their masters. A tedious war followed, in which the Argives were finally, though with difficulty, victorious.

LXXXIV. The Argives affirm, that on account of the things before mentioned, Cleomenes lost his reason, and came to a miserable end. The Spartans, on the contrary, will not allow his madness to have been occasioned by any divine interposition; they say, that communicating with the Scythians,[1] he became a drinker of wine, and that this made him mad. The Scythian Nomades, after the invasion of their country by Darius, determined on revenge: with this view they sent ambassadors to form an alliance with the Spartans. It was accordingly agreed, that the Scythians should invade the country of the Medes, by the side of the Phasis: the Spartans, advancing[2] from Ephesus, were to do the same, till the two armies formed a junction. With the Scythians sent on this business, Cleomenes is said to have formed too great an intimacy, and thence to have contracted a habit of drinking, which injured the faculties of his mind. From which incident, whoever are desirous to drink intemperately, are said to exclaim Episcythison, "Let us drink like Scythians."—Such is the Spartan account of Cleomenes. To me, however, he seems to have been an object of the divine vengeance, on account of Demaratus.

LXXXV. The people of Ægina no sooner received intelligence of his death, than they despatched emissaries to Sparta, to complain of Leutychides, for detaining their hostages at Athens. The Lacedæmonians, after a public consultation, were of opinion that Leutychides had greatly injured the inhabitants of Ægina; and they determined that he should be given up to them, and be carried to Ægina, instead of such of their countrymen as were detained at Athens. They were about to lead him away, when Theasides, son of Leopropis, a Spartan of approved worth, thus addressed them: "Men of Ægina, what would you do? would you take away a Spartan prince, whom his countrymen have given up? Although the Spartans have in anger come to this resolution, do ye not fear that they will one day, if you persist in your purpose, utterly destroy your country?" This expostulation induced the Æginetæ to change their first intentions: they nevertheless insisted that Leutychides should accompany them to Athens, and set their countrymen at liberty.

LXXXVI. When Leutychides arrived at Athens, and claimed the hostages, the Athenians, who were unwilling to give them up, demurred.—They said, that as the two kings had jointly confided these men to their care, it would be unfair to give them up to one of them. Upon their final refusal to surrender them, Leutychides thus addressed them, "In this business, Athenians, you will do what you please; if you give up these men, you will act justly, if you do not, you will be dishonest. I am desirous however to relate to you what once happened in Sparta upon a similar occasion: We have a tradition amongst us, that about three ages ago there lived in Lacedæmon a man named Glaucus, the son of Epycides; he was famous amongst his countrymen for many excellent qualities, and in particular for his integrity. We are told, that in process of time a Milesian came to Sparta, purposely to solicit this man's advice. 'I am come,' said he, addressing him, 'from Miletus, to be benefited by your justice, the reputation of which, circu-

1 *Communicating with the Scythians.*]—See this story referred to in Athenæus, book x. c. 7; from whence we learn that ἐπισκυθίσαι, or to imitate the Scythians, became proverbial for intemperate drinking.—See also the Adagia of Erasmus, upon the word Episcythizare.—Hard drinking was in like manner characteristic of the Thracians.—See Horace:

> Natis in usum lætitiæ scyphis
> Pugnare, Thracum est: tollite barbarum
> Morem, verecundumque Bacchum
> Sanguineis prohibete rixis.—*L.* i. 27.

Again the same author,

> Non ego sanius
> Bacchabor Edonis.—*L.* ii. 7.

Upon the word Scyphis, in the first quotation, it may not be improper to remark, that Athenæus doubts whether the word σκυφος, scyphus, a bowl, quasi σκυθος, scythus, be not derived from Scythis. The effect of intemperate drinking is well described in the Solomon of Prior:

> I drank, I liked it not—'twas rage, 'twas noise,
> An airy scene of transitory joys:
> In vain I trusted that the flowing bowl
> Would banish sorrow and enlarge the soul.
> To the late revel and protracted feast
> Wild dreams succeeded and disorder'd rest.
> * * * * * *
> Add yet unnumber'd ills that lie unseen
> In the pernicious draught; the word obscene
> Or harsh, which, once elanced, must ever fly
> Irrevocable: the too prompt reply,
> Seed of severe distrust, and fierce debate,
> What we should shun, and what we ought to hate.—*T.*

2 *Advancing.*]—The word in Greek is αναβαινειν; and Larcher remarks, that this word is used in almost all the historians, for to advance from the sea, and that therefore the retreat of the ten thousand was called by Xenophon the αναβασις. The illustration is, however, rather unfortunate, as the return of Xenophon was not from the sea, but from Cunaxa, an inland place on the Euphrates, *to* the sea at Trapezus, &c.—*T.*

lating through Greece, has arrived at Ionia. I have compared the insecure condition of Ionia with the undisturbed tranquillity of the Peloponnese; and observing that the wealth of my countrymen is constantly fluctuating, I have been induced to adopt this measure: I have converted half of my property into money, which, from the confidence of its being perfectly secure, I propose to deposit in your hands; take it therefore, and with it these private marks; to the person who shall convince you that he knows them you will return it.' The Milesian here finished, and Glaucus accepted his money upon these conditions. After a long interval of time, the sons of the above Milesian came to Sparta, and presenting themselves before Glaucus produced the test agreed upon, and claimed the money. He however rejected the application with anger, and assured them that he remembered nothing of the matter. 'If,' says he, 'I should hereafter be able to recollect the circumstance you mention, I will certainly do you justice, and restore that which you say I have received. If, on the contrary, your claim has no foundation, I shall avail myself of the laws of Greece against you; I therefore invite you to return to me again, after a period of four months.' The Milesians accordingly departed in sorrow, considering themselves cheated of their money: Glaucus, on the other hand, went to consult the oracle at Delphi. On his inquiring whether he might absolve himself from returning the money by an oath, the priestess made him this reply;

"Glaucus,[3] thus much by swearing you may gain,
Through life the gold you safely may retain:
Swear then—remembering that the awful grave
Confounds alike the honest man and knave:
But still an oath a nameless offspring bears,
Which though no feet it has, no arm uprears,
Swiftly the perjured villain will o'ertake,
And of his race entire destruction make;
Whilst their descendants, who their oath regard,
Fortune ne'er fails to favour and reward."

"On this reply, Glaucus entreated the deity to forgive him; but he was told by the priestess, that the intention and the action were alike criminal. Glaucus then sent for the Milesians, and restored the money.—My motive, O Athenians, for making you this relation, remains to be told. At the present day no descendant of Glaucus, nor any traces of his family, are to be found; they are utterly extirpated from Sparta.

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3 *Glaucus, son of Epicydes.*]—The words of this oracle, as has been observed by many writers, and in particular by Grotius, may well be compared to a passage in Zechariah, v. 1—5.

"I looked, and behold a flying roll.—Then said he unto me, This is the curse that goeth over the face of the whole earth:—and it shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by my name: and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and shall consume it, with the timber thereof, and the stones thereof."

The story of Glaucus is also well introduced by Juvenal, Sat. xiii.

Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates,
Haud impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
Depositum retinere et fraudem jure tueri
Jurando. Quærebat enim quæ numinis esset
Mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo.
Reddidit ergo metu, non moribus, et tamen omnem
Vocem adyti dignam templo, veramque probavit
Extinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque;
Et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis
Has patitur pœnas peccandi sola voluntas.

A trusty Spartan was inclined to cheat,
(The coin look'd lovely, and the bag was great;
Secret the trust—) and with an oath defend
The prize, and baffle his deluded friend;
But weak in sin, and of the gods afraid,
And not well versed in the forswearing trade,
He goes to Delphos, humbly begs advice,
And thus the priestess by command replies:
Expect sure vengeance by the gods decreed,
To punish thoughts not yet improved to deed.
At this he started, and forbore to swear,
Not out of conscience of the sin, but fear;
Yet plagues ensued, and the contagious sin
Destroy'd himself and ruin'd all his kin.
Thus suffer'd he for the imperfect will
To sin, and bare design of doing ill.

See also Jortin's Discourses on the Christian Religion.

"Josephus says, that Antiochus Epiphanes, as he was dying, confessed that he suffered for the injuries which he had done to the Jews. Then he adds, I wonder how Polybius could say that Antiochus perished because he had purposed to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia; *for to intend the thing only, and not perform it, is not worthy of punishment.* Το γαρ μηδετι ποιησαι το εργον βουλευσαμενον ουκ εστι τιμωριας αξιον."

How contrary to this sentiment of Josephus is the positive declaration of Jesus Christ!

"But I say unto you, that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

I cannot properly omit relating in this place a story from Stobæus, somewhat of a similar nature with this before us.—Larcher has done the same.

Archetimus of Erythræa, in Ionia, deposited at Tenedos, in the hands of his friend Cydias, a considerable sum of money. Having demanded it to be returned, the other denied that he had it; and as the dispute grew warm, it was agreed that in three days he should purge himself by an oath. This time was employed by Cydias in making hollow a cane, in which he placed the gold of Archetimus; and the better to conceal his fraud, he covered the handle of it with a thick bandage of linen. On the appointed day he left his house, resting on his cane, as if indisposed; and arriving at the temple, he placed the cane in the hands of Archetimus, whilst he elevated his own, and swore that he had returned to him the deposit confided to him. Archetimus in anger dashed the cane on the ground: it broke in pieces, the gold fell out and exposed to the eyes of the spectators the perfidy of Cydias, who died prematurely.—*T.*

Wherever, therefore, a trust has been reposed, it is an act of wisdom to restore it when demanded."—Leutychides, finding that what he said made no impression upon the Athenians, left the place.

LXXXVII. Before the Æginetæ had suffered for the insults formerly offered to the Athenians, with the intention of gratifying the Thebans, they had done the following act of violence:—Exasperated against the Athenians for some imagined injury, they prepared to revenge themselves. The Athenians had a quinquereme stationed at Sunium; of this vessel, which was the Theoris,[1] and full of the most illustrious Athenians, they by some artifice obtained possession, and put all whom they found in her in irons. The Athenians instantly meditated the severest vengeance.

LXXXVIII. There was at Ægina a man greatly esteemed, the son of Cnœthus, his name Nicrodomus. From some disgust against his countrymen, he had some time before left the island: hearing that the Athenians were determined on the ruin of Ægina, he agreed with them on certain conditions to deliver it into their hands. He appointed a particular day for the execution of his measures, when they also were to be ready to assist him. He proceeded in his purpose, and made himself master of what is called the old city.

LXXXIX. The Athenians were not punctual to their engagement; they were not prepared with a fleet able to contend with that of Ægina: and in the interval of their applying to the Corinthians for a reinforcement of ships, the favourable opportunity was lost. The Corinthians being at that time on very friendly terms with the Athenians, furnished them, at their request, with twenty ships:[2] as their laws forbade them to give these ships, they sold them to their allies for five drachmæ each. With these, which in addition to their own, made a fleet of seventy ships, the Athenians sailed to Ægina, where however they did not arrive till a day after the time appointed.

XC. The Athenians not appearing as had been stipulated, Nicodromus, accompanied by many of the Æginetæ, fled in a vessel from Ægina. The Athenians assigned Sunium for their residence, from whence they occasionally issued to harass and plunder the people of Ægina; but these things happened afterwards.

XCI. The principal citizens of Ægina having overpowered such of the common people as had taken the part of Nicodromus against them, they proceeded to put their prisoners to death. On this occasion they committed an act of impiety, to atone for which all their earnest endeavours were unavailing; and before they could conciliate the goddess they were driven from the island. As they were conducting to execution seven hundred of the common people, whom they had taken alive, one of them, escaping from his chains, fled to the vestibule of the temple of Ceres Thesmophoros, and seizing the hinges of the door held them fast: unable to make him quit his hold, they cut off his hands,[3] and dragged him away. His hands remained adhering to the valves of the door.

XCII. After the Æginetæ had thus punished their domestic enemies, the seventy vessels of the Athenians appeared, whom they engaged, and were conquered. In consequence of their defeat, they applied a second time to the Argives for assistance, which was refused, and for this reason: they complained that the ships of the Æginetæ which Cleomenes had violently seized, had in conjunction with the Lacedæmonians, made a descent upon their coast: to which act of violence some Sicyonian vessels had also contributed. For this the Argives had demanded by way of compensation, a thousand talents, of which each nation was to pay five hundred. The Sicyonians apologised

1 *The Theoris.*]—This was a vessel which was every year sent to Delos to offer sacrifice to Apollo, in consequence of a vow which Theseus had made at his departure from Crete. As soon as the festival celebrated on this occasion was begun, they purified the place, and it was an inviolable law to put no person to death till this vessel should be returned; and it was sometimes a great while on its passage, particularly when the wind was contrary. The festival called Theoria commences when the priest of Apollo has crowned the prow of the vessel. Theoros was the name of the person sent to offer sacrifice to some god, or consult an oracle; it was given to distinguish such persons from those charged with commissions on civil affairs, who were called Πρεσβεις. —*Larcher.*

See a very poetical description of the arrival of a Theoris at Delos, in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vi. 417, 418.

"On appercevoit dans l'eloignement la Theorie des Atheniens. Tellesque les filles de Neree lorsqu'elles suivent sur les flots le char de la souveraine des mers, une foule de batimens legers se jouoient autour de la galere sacree. Leurs voiles, plus eclatantes que la neige, brilloient comme les cygnes qui agitent leurs ailes sur les eaux du Caistre et du Meandre," &c.

2 *With twenty ships.*]—The Corinthians reproached the Athenians with this act of kindness, when they afterwards discovered an inclination to assist the Corcyreans.—See Thucydides, l. i. c. 41.—*Larcher.*

3 *Cut off his hands.*]—See Hume's Essays, vol. ii. 462.

for their misconduct, and paying one hundred talents, were excused the rest. The Æginetæ were too proud to make any concessions. The Argives therefore refused any public countenance to their application for assistance, but a body of about a thousand volunteers went over to them, under the conduct of Eurybates, a man very skilful in the contests of the Pentathlon.[4] The greater part of these returned no more, but were slain by the Athenians at Ægina. Eurybates their leader, victorious in three different single combats, was killed in a fourth, by Sophanes, a Decelian.

XCIII. The Æginetæ, taking advantage of some confusion on the part of the Athenians, attacked their fleet, and obtained a victory, taking four of their ships, with all their crews.

XCIV. Whilst these two nations were thus engaged in hostilities, the domestic of the Persian monarch continued regularly to bid him "Remember the Athenians,"[5] which incident was farther enforced by the unremitting endeavours of the Pisistratidæ, to criminate that people. The king himself was very glad of this pretext, effectually to reduce such of the Grecian states as had refused him "earth and water." He accordingly removed from his command Mardonius, who had been unsuccessful in his naval undertakings: he appointed two other officers to commence an expedition against Eretria and Athens; these were Datis,[6] a native of Media, and Artaphernes, his nephew, who were commanded totally to subdue both the above places, and to bring the inhabitants captive before him.

XCV. These commanders, as soon as they had received their appointment, advanced to Aleium in Cilicia, with a large and well provided body of infantry. Here, as soon as they encamped, they were joined by a numerous reinforcement of marines, agreeably to the orders which had been given. Not long afterwards those vessels arrived to take the cavalry on board, which in the preceding year Darius had commanded his tributaries to supply. The horse and foot immediately embarked and proceeded to Ionia, in a fleet of six hundred triremes. They did not, keeping along the coast, advance in a right line to Thrace and the Hellespont, but loosing from Samos, they passed through the midst of the islands, and the Icarian sea,[7] fearing as I should suppose, to double the promontory of Athos, by which they had in the former year severely suffered. They were farther induced to this course by the island of Naxos, which before they had omitted to take.

XCVI. Proceeding therefore from the Icarian sea to this island, which was the first object of their enterprize, they met with no resistance. The Naxians remembering their former calamities, fled in alarm to the mountains. Those taken captive were made slaves, the sacred buildings and the city were burned. This done, the Persians sailed to the other islands.

XCVII. At this juncture the inhabitants of Delos deserted their island and fled to Tenos. To Delos the Persian fleet was directing its course, when Datis, hastening to the van, obliged them to station themselves at Rhenea, which lies beyond it. As soon as he learned to what place the Delians had retired, he sent a herald to them with this message:—"Why, O sacred people, do you fly, thinking so injuriously of me? If I had not received particular directions from the king my master to this effect, I, of my own accord, would never have molested you, nor offered violence[8] to a place in which two

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4 *Pentathlon.*]—On this subject I have somewhere spoken in a note, and enumerated the five exercises or contests which were on this occasion celebrated. I should have added, that learned men of modern times, and even the ancients themselves, do not appear unanimous in their opinions what these exercises were. The verse of Simonides, preserved in the Anthologia, has appeared to many decisive on this subject:

Αλμα, ποδωκειην, δισκον, ακοντα, παλην.

5 *Remember the Athenians.*]—This incident will necessarily bring to the mind of the reader what is related of the Macedonian Philip; who to prevent pride and insolence taking too entire a possession of his heart, from his victories and great prosperity, enjoined a domestic every morning to exclaim to him, "Remember, Philip, thou art a man." The word "Remember," is memorable in English history. It was the last word pronounced by Charles the First to Dr. Juxon on the scaffold. Dr. Juxon gave a plausible answer to the Ministers of Cromwell, who interrogated him on the subject; but many are still of opinion, that it involved some mystery never known but by the individuals to whom it immediately related.—*T.*

6 *Datis.*]—This officer, in the exultation which attended his first successes, made use of a term considered as a barbarism in the Grecian language, which kind of barbarisms were afterwards called Datisms. See the Peace of Aristophanes, verse 290; and the observation of the Scholiast on 288.—*Larcher.*

7 *Icarian sea.*]—The story of Dædalus and Icarus, and that the Icarian sea was so named from its being the supposed grave of Icarus, must be sufficiently notorious:

Icarus Icariis nomina fecit aquis.—*Ovid.* T.

8 *Offered violence.*]—On this subject, from the joint authorities of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Callimachus, the Abbe Barthelemy expresses himself thus:

"Les fureurs des barbares, les haines des nations, les

deities[1] were born. Return therefore, and inhabit your island as before." Having sent this message, he offered upon one of their altars incense to the amount of three hundred talents.

XCVIII. After this measure, Datis led his whole army against Eretria, taking with him the Ionians and Æolians. The Delians say, that at the moment of his departure the island of Delos was affected by a tremulous motion,[2] a circumstance which, as the Delians affirm, never happened before or since. The deity, as it should seem by this prodigy, forewarned mankind[3] of the evils which were about to happen. Greece certainly suffered more and greater calamities during the reigns of Darius son of Hystaspes, Xerxes son of Darius, and Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, than in all the preceding twenty generations; these calamities arose partly from the Persians, and partly from the contentions for power amongst its own great men. It was not therefore without reason that Delos, immoveable before, should then be shaken, which event indeed had been predicted by the oracle:

"Although Delos be immoveable, I will shake it."

It is also worth observation, that, translated into the Greek tongue,[4] Darius signifies one who compels, Xerxes a warrior, Artaxerxes a great warrior; and thus they would call them if they used the corresponding terms.

XCIX. The barbarians, sailing from Delos to the other islands, took on board reinforcements from them all, together with the children of the inhabitants as hostages. Cruising round the different islands, they arrived off Carystos:[5] but the people of this place positively refused either to give hostages, or to serve against their neighbours, Athens and Eretria. They were consequently besieged, and their lands wasted; and they were finally compelled to surrender themselves to the Persians.

C. The Eretrians, on the approach of the Persian army, applied to the Athenians for assistance; this the Athenians did not think proper to withhold; they accordingly sent them the four thousand men to whom those lands had been assigned which formerly belonged to the Chalcidian cavalry; but the Eretrians, notwithstanding their application to the Athenians, were far from being firm and determined. They were so divided in their resolutions, that whilst some of them advised the city to be deserted, and a retreat made to the rocks of Eubœa,[6] others expecting a re-

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inimities particulieres tombent a l'aspect de cette terre sacree.—Les coursiers de Mars ne la foulent jamais de leurs pieds ensanglantes.—Tout ce que presente l'image de la guerre en est severement banni: on n'y souffre pas meme l'animal le plus fidele a l'homme, parce qu'il y detruiroit des animaux plus foibles et plus timides; enfin la paix a choisi Delos pour son sejour," &c.—Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. According to Strabo, it was not permitted to have dogs at Delos, because they destroyed hares and rabbits.

1 *Two deities.*]—Apollo and Diana.

2 *Tremulous motion.*]—Thucydides relates that this island was affected by an earthquake at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, but that in the memory of man this had never happened before. Larcher is of opinion that Herodotus and Thucydides may speak of the same fact. Wesseling thinks the same.—*T.*

3 *Forewarned mankind.*]—See the beautiful use which Virgil in his first Georgic has made of the credulity of mankind with respect to prognostics; and in particular his episode on those supposed to precede the death of Julius Cæsar:

Sol tibi signa dabit. Solem quis dicere falsum
Audeat, &c. 464, &c.

See also the prodigies described by Lucan, as preceding the battle of Pharsalia:

Tum ne qua futuri
Spes saltem trepidas mentes levet, addita fati
Pejoris manifesta fides, superique minaces
Prodigiis terras implerunt, æthera, pontum, &c

See the elegant Excursus of Heyne, at the end of the 6th book of the Æneid, on futurarum rerum *prædictiones* in epico carmine. In this he enumerates the uses which poets of all ages have made of the credulity and weakness of human nature, with respect to their desire of knowing the future. The whole Æneis, says he, ex oraculis, somniis et vaticiniis pendet. Among the ancients, they who most happily availed themselves of this natural but preposterous curiosity, were Homer, Æschylus, Lycophron, Argonauticorum Scriptores, Virgil, Silius Italicus, Statius, and Lucan. Of the moderns, Spenser, Ariosto, Tasso, Milton, Camoens, &c. &c.

4 *Into the Greek tongue.*]—The original says, "these names in the *Greek* tongue mean," &c. which seems to imply that the words are themselves significant in Greek, which is not the case, it should surely be "in the Persian tongue," κατα Περσιδα γλωσσαν, otherwise the expression is incorrect, and the remainder of the sentence tautological, and indeed nonsensical. Hyde, Bochart, and others, have treated of these terms of the old Persic.

5 *Carystos.*]—This place is now called Caristo, and is in one of the Cyclades. It was anciently famous for its variegated marble.—*T.*

6 *Rocks of Eubœa.*]—These are what Virgil calls

Euboicæ cautes ultorque Caphareus.

Heyne's observation on this passage of Virgil is sufficiently explicit and satisfactory.—"Promontorium Eubœæ versus orientem ὁ Καφηρευς propter latentia sub unda saxa et vortices marisque æstum imprimis naufragia Græcorum a Troja redeuntium infame."

His explanation of the word *ultor* is not so. *Ultor*, says he, is only added as an ornament, to denote that the rock was destructive, tanquam calamitosum saxum. Servius explains it by the story of Nauplius, who, incensed at the Greeks for the loss of his son Palamedes

ward from the Persians, prepared to betray their country.[7] Æschines the son of Nothon, an Eretrian of the highest rank, observing these different sentiments, informed the Athenians of the state of affairs, advising them to return home, lest they should be involved in the common ruin. The Athenians attended to this advice of Æschines, and by passing over to Oropus escaped the impending danger.

CI. The Persians arriving at Eretria, came near Temenos,[8] Chæreas, and Ægilia; making themselves masters of these places, they disembarked the horse, and prepared to attack the enemy. The Eretrians did not think proper to advance and engage them: the opinion for defending the city had prevailed, and their whole attention was occupied in preparing for a siege. The Persians endeavoured to storm the place, and a contest of six days was attended with very considerable loss on both sides. On the seventh the city was betrayed to the enemy, by two of the more eminent citizens, Euphorbus, son of Alcimachus, and Philagrus, son of Cyneas. As soon as the Persians got possession of the place, they pillaged and burned the temples, to avenge the burning of their temples at Sardis. The people, according to the orders of Darius, were made slaves.[9]

CII. After this victory at Eretria, the Persians staid a few days, and then sailed to Attica, driving all before them, and thinking to treat the Athenians as they had done the Eretrians. There was a place in Attica called Marathon, not far from Eretria, well adapted for the motions of cavalry: to this place therefore they were conducted by Hippias, son of Pisistratus.

CIII. As soon as the Athenians heard this they advanced to the same spot, under the conduct of ten leaders, with a view of repelling force by force. The last of these was Miltiades. His father Cimon, son of Stesagoras, had been formerly driven from Athens by the influence of Pisistratus,[10] son of Hippocrates. During his exile he had obtained the prize at the Olympic games, in the chariot race of four horses. This honour, however, he transferred[11] to Miltiades his uterine brother. At the Olympic games which next followed, he was again victorious, and with the same mares. This honour he suffered to be assigned to Pisistratus, on condition of his being recalled; a re-

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(who was put to death by the stratagems of Ulysses,) made this rock the instrument of his vengeance. He placed a light upon it, which in the evening deluded their fleet, and caused the shipwreck of numbers of their vessels.—See Propertius:

> Nauplius *ultores* sub noctem porrigit ignes
> Et natat exuviis Græcia pressa suis.

This however is not quite right, for the context plainly shows that the revenge of Minerva against Ajax Oileus was present to the poet's mind when he wrote the epithet *ultor*; the remark of Heyne is therefore absurd. The following passage from Ovid is as complete a comment on this of Virgil, as if it had been written on purpose:

> —— Postquam alta cremata est
> Ilion; et Danaas paverunt Pergama flammas;
> *Naryciusque Heros, a virgine, virgine rapta,*
> *Quam meruit solus pœnam digessit in omnes*
> Spargimur, et ventis inimica per æquora rapti
> Fulmina, noctem, imbres, iram cœlique marisque
> Perpetimur Danai, *cumulumque Caphareus cladis.*
>
> Met. xiv. 466.

If the inhabitants of Carystus had retired, says Larcher, to this place, they would have had little to apprehend from the Persians, whose fleet durst not have attacked them amongst rocks so very dangerous.—*T.*

7 *Betray their country.*]—Gorgylus, the only Eretrian who had taken part with the Persians, as Xenophon affirms, had for his reward the cities of Gambrium, Palægambrium, Myrina, and Grynia. Gorgyon and Gorgylus, his descendants, were in possession of them in the 95th Olympiad, when Thymbron, a Lacedæmonian general, passed into Asia Minor to make war on Persia.—*Larcher.*

8 *Near Temenos.*]—The Greek is κατα τεμενος; if this had signified a temple, it would have been κατα το τεμενος. See the notes of Wesseling and Valcnaer.—*T.*

9 *Were made slaves.*]—The first slaves were doubtless those made captive in war. By the injunction of Darius, so often repeated in Herodotus, and, as we perceive, so strictly enforced, we may understand that the Greeks here taken captive were obliged in menial occupations, to wait on the persons of their conquerors. Darius in general treated his captives with extraordinary lenity; it was only against the Greeks, who had in a particular manner provoked his indignation, that we find him thus particular in his severity to those taken prisoners.—*T.*

10 *Pisistratus.*]—I have in different places related many anecdotes of this Pisistratus; I have one now before me in Ælian, which ought not to be omitted. If he met any person who seemed to be idle, he asked him why he was unemployed? If, he would say, your oxen are dead, take mine, and go to your usual business in the field; if you want seed, take some of mine. This he did, says Ælian, lest the idleness of these people should prompt them to raise seditious plots against him.—*T.*

11 *He transferred.*]—This thing we find it was a frequent practice to do. From Pausanias we learn a singular fact: that they who obtained the prize at wrestling, being unable to substitute any person in their room, were accustomed to take bribes to declare themselves natives of places to which they did not belong. The same author informs us, that Dionysius the tyrant frequently sent agents to Olympia, to bribe the conquerors to declare themselves natives of Syracuse. It is proper to add, that they who were mean enough thus to sacrifice the glory of their country to their avarice, or perhaps, as it might occasionally happen, their pride, were subject to the punishment of exile from those cities to which they did really belong.—*T.*

conciliation ensued, and he was permitted to return. Being victorious a third time on the same occasion, and with the same mares, he was put to death by the sons of Pisistratus, Pisistratus himself being then dead. He was assassinated in the night, near Prytaneum, by some villains sent for the purpose; he was buried in the approach to the city, near the hollow way; and in the same spot were interred the mares[1] which had three times obtained the prize in the Olympic games. If we except the mares of Evagoras of Sparta, none other ever obtained a similar honour. At this period, Stesagoras, the eldest son of Cimon, resided in the Chersonese with his uncle Miltiades; the youngest was brought up at Athens under Cimon himself, and named Miltiades, from the founder of the Chersonese.

CIV. This Miltiades, the Athenian leader, in advancing from the Chersonese, escaped from two incidents which alike threatened his life: as far as Imbros he was pursued by the Phenicians, who were exceedingly desirous to take him alive, and present him to the king; on his return home, where he thought himself secure, his enemies accused, and brought him to a public trial, under pretence of his aiming at the sovereignty of the Chersonese; from this also he escaped, and was afterwards chosen a general of the Athenians, by the suffrages of the people.

CV. The Athenian leaders, before they left the city, despatched Phidippides[2] to Sparta: he was an Athenian by birth, and his daily employment was to deliver messages. To this Phidippides, as he himself affirmed, and related to the Athenians, the god Pan appeared on mount Parthenius,[3] which is beyond Tegea.[4] The deity called him by his name, and commanded him to ask the Athenians why they so entirely neglected him,[5] who not only wished them well, but who had frequently rendered them service, and would do so again. All this the Athenians believed, and as the state of their affairs permitted, they erected a temple to Pan[6] near the citadel: ever since the above period, they venerate the god by annual sacrifices, and the race of torches.[7]

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1 *Interred the mares.*]—See this fact mentioned by Ælian in his history of animals, l. xii. c. 40: where we are also told, that Evagoras, mentioned in the subsequent paragraph, in like manner buried his victorious horses.—*T.*

2 *Phidippides.*]—This name is differently written, Phidippides and Philippides.

3 *Mount Parthenius.*]—This place was so named, quasi Virgineus, from the virgins who there offered sacrifice to Venus, or enjoyed the exercise of hunting. Pausanias, in his eighth book, speaks of a temple here erected to Pan, "in the very place," says he, "where the god appeared to Phidippides, and gave him some important advice."—*T.*

4 *Tegea.*]—Tegeæus was one of the epithets of Pan. See Virg. Georg. i. 15.

> Ipse nemus linquens patrium, saltusque Lycæi,
> Pan ovium custos, tua si tibi Mænala curæ
> Adsis, O Tegeæe favens.

5 *Neglected him.*]—The note of Larcher on this passage seems a little remarkable: I therefore give it at length:

"Clemens of Alexandria says, that the Athenians did not even know Pan before Phidippides told them of his existence. With the respect due to a father of the church, this reasoning does not to me seem just, because the Athenians had not yet instituted festivals in honour of Pan, it by no means follows that they knew nothing of him. The majority of feasts instituted in catholic countries, in honour of saints, are greatly posterior to the period of their deaths, and take their date, like those of Pan amongst the Athenians, from the time when their protection and its effects were for the first time experienced."

If this be not a sneer at the Romish saints, it is certainly very like one.—*T.*

6 *To Pan.*]—This sacred building to Pan is mentioned by Pausanias, l. i. c. 28. After the battle of Marathon, they sung in honour of this deity a hymn, which is given by Athenæus, Deipnosoph. l. xv. c. 14. But more correctly by Brunck, in his Analecta. Brunck, however, and Wyttenbach, are both of opinion that this hymn alluded to a victory obtained by some poet at the Panathenæa.—See the remainder of Larcher's note on this passage.

7 *Race of torches.*]—The manner of this race was as follows:—A man with a torch in his hand ran from the altar of the god, in whose honour the race was celebrated, to some certain spot, without extinguishing his torch; if the torch went out he gave it to a second, and he to a third, if he met with the same accident; if the third was also unfortunate, the victory was adjudged to no one.

This feast was celebrated in honour of various deities, as of Minerva, Vulcan, Prometheus, Pan, Æsculapius, &c. In the Panathenæa, or feasts of Minerva, the Lampadophori ran from the Piræeus; from the Ceramicus or academy, in those of Vulcan or Prometheus. There was in the academy a statue of Cupid, consecrated by Pisistratus, where they lighted the sacred torches in the courses instituted in honour of these gods. The same honour was rendered to Pan, as we learn from this passage in Herodotus, and in the manuscript lexicon of Photius.

To this custom various authors allude, and amongst others Lucretius:

> Augescunt aliæ gentes, aliæ minuuntur,
> Inque brevi spatio mutantur secla animantum,
> Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.

I am of opinion that there is an allusion to this custom also in an epigram of Alcæus of Messina, preserved in Brunck:

> Beauty having a torch in his hand runs swiftly.
> Ἡ δὲ ὥρη λαμπάδ' ἔχουσα τρέχει.

Larcher.

CVI. Phidippides, who was sent by the Athenian generals, and who related his having met with Pan, arrived at Sparta on the second day [8] of his departure from Athens. He went immediately to the magistrates, and thus addressed them: "Men of Lacedæmon, the Athenians supplicate your assistance, and entreat you not to suffer the most ancient city of Greece to fall into the hands of the Barbarians: Eretria is already subdued, and Greece weakened by the loss of that illustrious place." After the above speech of Phidippides, the Lacedæmonians resolved to assist the Athenians; but they were prevented from doing this immediately by the prejudice of an inveterate custom. This was the ninth day of the month, and it was a practice with them to undertake no enterprise before the moon was at the full;[9] for this, therefore, they waited.

CVII. In the night before Hippias conducted the Barbarians to the plains of Marathon, he saw this vision: he thought that he lay with his mother.[10] The inference which he drew from this was, that he should again return to Athens, be restored to his authority, and die in his own house of old age: he was then executing the office of a general. The prisoners taken in Eretria he removed to Ægilea, an island belonging to the Styreans; the vessels which arrived at Marathon, he stationed in the port, and drew up the Barbarians in order as they disembarked. Whilst he was thus employed, he was seized with a fit of sneezing,[11]

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8 *On the second day.*]—Larcher, in his observation on this passage, corrects a mistake of Pliny the naturalist. "It was thought," says Pliny, "a great thing that Phidippides ran in two days 1140 stadia, that is to say, the distance betwixt Athens and Lacedæmon, till Lanisis (Larcher says, I know not on what authority, Anistis) and Philonides, who was a courier of Alexander the great, ran in one day 1200 stadia, or the distance betwixt Sicyon and Elis." "Allowing," says Larcher, "for the windings of the road betwixt Sicyon and Elis, the distance is no more than 600 stadia of those which are eight to a mile, of which stadia there are 1140 betwixt Athens and Sparta. If Pliny in this place meant to speak of the smaller stadium, he ought to have said so, because just above he spoke of the greater stadium, as the passage itself proves."

I may be allowed in this place to correct an error of Larcher, who misquotes the above passage from Pliny; he calls Anistis and Philonides *couriers d'Alexandre*, whereas the words of Pliny are "donec Anistis cursor Lacedæmonius et Philonides Alexandri Magni;" that is, till Anistis a Lacedæmonian courier, and Philonides a courier of Alexander, &c. Pliny, it may be added, in the same chapter (book vii. c. 20.) speaks of people who in the circus could run 160 miles a day, and of a boy who betwixt noon and evening ran 75 miles.

9 *Moon was at the full.*]—I will first give the reader what Plutarch, in his Essay on the Malignity of Herodotus, remarks on this passage, and afterwards the observation of Larcher, which seems to me at least a sufficient and satisfactory answer to the censure of Plutarch.

"Herodotus is also evidently convicted of reporting falsely of the Lacedæmonians, saying that waiting for the full moon they did not assist the Athenians at Marathon; but they not only made numberless military excursions at the beginning of the month, and without waiting for the full moon, but they wanted so very little of being present at this battle, which took place on the sixth day of the month Boedromion, that on their arrival they found the dead still lying in the field. Yet Herodotus has thus written concerning the full moon." Plutarch then adds the passage before us, after which he says, "Thou, O Herodotus, transferrest the full moon to the beginning of the month, when she is but yet in her first quarter, and at the same time confoundest the heavens, days, and all things."

"The Lacedæmonians," says Larcher, "did not commence a march before the full moon. This is confirmed by the evidence of Pausanias, b. i. c. 28. of Lucian, in his Tract on Astrology, c. 25. who imputes this regulation to Lycurgus, and of the author of the Tract on Rivers, printed amongst the works of Plutarch; of Hermogenes also, and others. In defiance of these authorities, Plutarch, not satisfied with denying the fact, asserts, that the battle of Marathon took place on the sixth of the month Boedromion, and that the Lacedæmonians, having arrived a short time after the battle, must consequently have begun their march before the full moon. But is it possible to believe that Plutarch, who lived six ages after that battle, should be better informed concerning its date than Herodotus, who often communicated with those who were there in person. Plutarch, who always represents Herodotus as a malignant wretch, still allows him the praise of ingenuity; but if he had been as dull as any Bœotian, I much doubt whether he could have dared to advance a falsehood like this, concerning a matter so very recent, and of which there were still so many evidences, when he recited his history at the Olympic games."

10 *Lay with his mother.*]—This was considered as a fortunate dream, for in a case like this a man's mother intimated his country. Cæsar had a similar dream, at which, although, as Larcher observes, he affected to disbelieve the immortality of the soul, he was rendered uneasy; but the interpreters of dreams, easily as we may suppose, revived his spirits, by assuring him that he should one day become the master of the world.

11 *Sneezing.*]—The act of sneezing was considered as an auspicious omen, at least we find Penelope in the Odyssey welcoming it as such from Telemachus:

> She spoke—Telemachus then sneez'd aloud;
> Constrain'd, his nostrils echoed through the crowd;
> The smiling queen the happy omen bless'd;
> So may these impious fall by fate oppress'd.

Pliny says, that sneezing in the morning was unlucky, sneezing at noon fortunate; to sneeze to the right was lucky, to the left, and near a place of burial, the reverse. The Latins, when any one sneezed, "salvere jusserunt," or as we should say, cried, "save you;" which custom remains to the present period, but for which antiquaries account very differently; but it is generally believed to have arisen from some disease, with which those who were infected inevitably died. Aristotle's account seems as satisfactory as any other why it should be deemed

attended with a very unusual cough. The agitation into which he was thrown, being an old man, was so violent, that, as his teeth were loose, one of them dropped out of his mouth upon the sand. Much pains were taken to find it, but in vain; upon which Hippias remarked with a sigh to those around him: "This country is not ours, nor shall we ever become masters of it—my lost tooth possesses all that belongs to me."

CVIII. Hippias conceived that he saw in the above incident the accomplishment of his vision. In the mean time the Athenians, drawing themselves up in military order near the temple of Hercules, were joined by the whole force of the Plateans. The Athenians had formerly submitted to many difficulties on account of the Plateans, who now, to return the obligation, gave themselves up to their direction. The occasion was this: the Plateans being oppressed by the Thebans, solicited the protection of Cleomenes the son of Anaxandrides, and of such Lacedæmonians as were at hand: they disclaimed, however, any interference, for which they assigned this reason, "From us," said they, "situated at so great a distance, you can expect but little assistance; for before we can even receive intelligence of your danger, you may be effectually reduced to servitude; we would rather recommend you to apply to the Athenians, who are not only near, but able to protect you." The Lacedæmonians, in saying this, did not so much consider[1] the interest of the Plateans, as they were desirous of seeing the Athenians harassed by a Bœotian war. The advice was nevertheless accepted, and the Plateans going to Athens, first offered a solemn sacrifice to the twelve divinities, and then sitting near the altar, in the attitude of supplicants, they placed themselves formally under the protection of the Athenians. Upon this the Thebans led an army against Platea, to defend which the Athenians appeared with a body of forces. As the two armies were about to engage, the Corinthians interfered; their endeavours to reconcile them so far prevailed, that it was agreed, on the part of both nations, to suffer such of the people of Bœotia as did not choose to be ranked as Bœotians, to follow their own inclinations. Having effected this, the Corinthians retired, and their example was followed by the Athenians; these latter were on their return attacked by the Bœotians, whom they defeated. Passing over the boundaries, which the Corinthians had marked out, they determined that Asopus and Hysias should be the future limits between the Thebans and Plateans. The Plateans having thus given themselves up to the Athenians, came to their assistance at Marathon.

CIX. The Athenian leaders were greatly divided in opinion; some thought that a battle was by no means to be hazarded, as they were so inferior to the Medes in point of number; others, amongst whom was Miltiades, were anxious to engage the enemy. Of these contradictory sentiments, the less politic appeared likely to prevail, when Miltiades addressed himself to the Polemarch,[2] whose name was Callimachus of Aphidnæ. This magistrate, elected into his office by vote, has the privilege of a casting voice; and, according to established custom, is equal in point of dignity and influence to the military leaders. Miltiades addressed him thus: "Upon you, O Callimachus, it alone depends, whether Athens shall be enslaved, or whether in the preservation of its liberties, it shall perpetuate your name even beyond the glory of Harmodius and Aristogiton. Our country is now reduced to a more delicate and dangerous predicament than it has ever before experienced; if conquered, we know our fate, and must prepare for the tyranny of Hippias; if we overcome, our city may be made

auspicious: "It is," says he, "a motion of the brain, which through the nostrils expels what is offensive, and in some degree demonstrates internal strength." He adds, "that medical people, if they were able to provoke the act of sneezing from their patients, who might be thought dangerously indisposed, conceived hopes of their recovery."—*T.*

1 *Did not so much consider.*]—Plutarch, in his tract on the Malignity of Herodotus, speaks thus of this passage: 'Herodotus representing this fact adds, not as a matter of suspicion or opinion, but as a certainty well known to him, that the Lacedæmonians gave this counsel to the Plateans, not from any regard or good will to them, but from the wish to involve the Athenians in trouble, by engaging them with the Bœotians. If then Herodotus be not malignant, the Lacedæmonians must have been both fraudful and malevolent: the Athenians must also have been fools, in permitting themselves thus to be imposed upon, and the Plateans were introduced not from any respect, but merely as an occasion of war."—*T.*

2 *Polemarch.*]—The Polemarch was the third of the nine archons: it was his business to offer sacrifice to Diana, surnamed Agrotera, and to Mars; he had the care and protection of all strangers and foreigners who resided at Athens, over whom he had the same authority as the archon had over the citizens; he regulated the funeral games celebrated in honour of those who died in war: he was also to see that the children of those who lost their lives in the public service had a sufficient maintenance from the public treasury.—*T.*

the first in Greece. How this may be accomplished, and in what manner it depends on you, I will explain: the sentiments of our ten leaders are divided, some are desirous of an engagement, others the contrary. If we do not engage, some seditious tumult will probably arise, which may prompt many of our citizens to favour the cause of the Medes; if we come to a battle before any evil of this kind take place, we may, if the gods be not against us, reasonably hope for victory: all these things are submitted to your attention, and are suspended on your will.—If you accede to my opinion, our country will be free, our city the first in Greece; if you shall favour the opinions of those who are averse to an engagement, you may expect the contrary of all the good I have enumerated."

CX. These arguments of Miltiades produced the desired effect upon Callimachus, from whose interposition it was determined to fight. Those leaders[3] who from the first had been solicitous to engage the enemy, resigned to Miltiades the days of their respective command. This he accepted, but did not think proper to commence the attack, till the day of his own particular command arrived in its course.

CXI. When this arrived, the Athenians were drawn up for battle in the following order: Callimachus, as polemarch, commanded the right wing, in conformity with the established custom of the Athenians; next followed the tribes, ranged in close order according to their respective ranks; the Plateans, placed in the rear, formed the left wing. Ever since this battle, in those solemn and public sacrifices, which are celebrated every fifth year, the herald implores happiness for the Plateans jointly with the Athenians. Thus the Athenians produced a front equal in extent to that of the Medes. The ranks in the centre were not very deep, which of course constituted their weakest part; but the two wings were more numerous and strong.

CXII. The preparations for the attack being thus made, and the appearance of the victims favourable, the Athenians ran towards the Barbarians. There was betwixt the two armies an interval of about eight furlongs. The Persians seeing them approach by running, prepared to receive them, and as they observed the Athenians to be few in number, destitute both of cavalry and archers, they considered them as mad, and rushing on certain destruction; but as soon as the Greeks mingled with the enemy, they behaved with the greatest gallantry.[4] They were the first Greeks that I know of, who ran to attack an enemy;[5] they were the first also, who beheld without dismay the dress and armour of the Medes; for hitherto in Greece the very name of a Mede excited terror.

CXIII. After a long and obstinate contest, the Barbarians in the centre, composed of the Persians and Sacæ, obliged the Greeks to give way, and pursued the flying foe into the middle of the country. At the same time the Athenians and Plateans, in the two wings, drove the Barbarians before them; then making an inclination towards each other, by contracting themselves, they formed against that part of the enemy which had penetrated and defeated the Grecian centre, and obtained a complete victory,[6] killing a prodigious number, and pursuing the rest to the sea, where they set fire to their vessels.

CXIV. Callimachus the polemarch, after

3 *Those leaders.*]—Of the ten Athenian generals, it was customary to elect one from each tribe, upon which occasion a memorable saying of Philip of Macedon is preserved by Plutarch in his Apophthegms —"I envy," says Philip, "the good fortune of the Athenians: they every year can find ten men qualified to command their troops, whilst I on my part am only able to find Parmenio, who is capable of conducting mine."—*T.*

4 *Greatest gallantry.*]—Xenophon says that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies, and being unable to procure a sufficient number, they determined every year to sacrifice five hundred. Ælian, with some slight variation, relates the same fact. We read in the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that Callimachus the polemarch vowed to sacrifice as many oxen as they should slay enemies, and unable to obtain a sufficient number, he substituted goats in their room.—Plutarch reproaches Herodotus for saying nothing of this vow.—*Larcher.*

5 *Ran to attack an enemy.*]—According to Pausanias, long before this period, the Messenians ran to attack the Lacedæmonians, "but this author," says Larcher, "is too modern to oppose to Herodotus." It was certainly afterwards the common custom of the Greeks thus to meet the enemy. Cæsar practised this mode of attack against Pompey, and with success.

6 *A complete victory.*]—"It is surprising," says Larcher, "that in his account of this battle, Herodotus makes no mention of Aristides; his silence is amply supplied by Plutarch. Aristides was one of those who advised an engagement, and when the day of his particular command arrived, gave up his right to Miltiades, and the other generals followed his example. Themistocles and Aristides were the two commanders, who, at the head of their different tribes, drove the Persians to their ships.—Aristides was left on the field to guard the prisoners and booty; the confidence placed in him by his country was not disappointed; the gold and silver which was scattered about, the tents and vessels which were taken full of splendid and valuable effects, he neither touched himself, nor would permit others to do so.

the most signal acts of valour, lost his life in this battle. Stesileus also, the son of Thrasylus, and one of the Grecian leaders, was slain. Cynægirus,[1] son of Euphorion, after seizing one of the vessels by the poop, had his hand cut off with an axe, and died of his wounds: with these many other eminent Athenians perished.

CXV. In addition to their victory, the Athenians obtained possession of seven of the enemy's vessels. The Barbarians retired with their fleet, and taking on board the Eretrian plunder, which they had left in the island, they passed the promontory of Sunium, thinking to circumvent the Athenians, and arrive at their city before them. The Athenians impute the prosecution of this measure to one of the Alcmæonidæ, who they say held up a shield[2] as a signal to the Persians, when they were under sail.

CXVI. While they were doubling the cape of Sunium, the Athenians lost no time in hastening to the defence of their city, and effectually prevented the designs of the enemy. Retiring from the temple of Hercules, on the plains of Marathon, they fixed their camp near another temple of the same deity, in Cynosargis. The Barbarians anchoring off Phalerum, the Athenian harbour, remained there some time, and then retired to Asia.

CXVII. The Persians lost[3] in the battle of Marathon six thousand four hundred men, the Athenians one hundred and ninety-two. In the heat of the engagement a most remarkable incident occurred: an Athenian, the son of Cuphagoras, whose name was Epizelus, whilst valiantly fighting, was suddenly struck with blindness. He had received no wound, nor any kind of injury, notwithstanding which he continued blind for the remainder of his life. I have been informed that Epizelus, in relating this calamity, always declared, that during the battle he was opposed by a man of gigantic stature, completely armed, whose beard covered the whole of his shield: he added, that the spectre, passing him, killed the man who stood next him. This, as I have heard, was the narrative of Epizelus.[4]

CXVIII. Datis, on his return with the fleet to Asia, being at Mycone, saw in the night a vision, the particulars of it are not related, but as soon as the morning appeared he examined every vessel of the fleet; finding a golden image of Apollo, on board a Phenician ship, he inquired from whence it had been taken: having learned to what temple it belonged, he took it

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1 *Cynægirus.*]—He was the brother of Æschylus, the celebrated tragic poet; he distinguished himself at the battle of Marathon; but it does not appear that he had any separate command. A remarkable instance is related by Lucan of a man, who, seizing the beak of his enemy's ship, had his hand cut off; undismayed by which he seized it with the other, of which also he was deprived.

> He, the bold youth, as board and board they stand,
> Fix'd on a Roman ship his daring hand;
> Full on his arm a mighty blow descends,
> And the torn limb from off his shoulder rends:
> The rigid nerves are cramp'd with stiffening cold,
> Convulsive grasp, and still retain their hold;
> Nor sunk his valour, by the pain depress'd,
> But nobler rage inflamed his mangled breast:
> His left remaining hand the combat tries,
> And fiercely forth to catch the right he flies;
> The same hard destiny the left demands,
> And now a naked helpless trunk he stands, &c.—*T.*

2 *Held up a shield.*]—"For my part," says Reiske, "I by no means clearly understand this passage; to whom did the Alcmæonidæ show the shield, to the Persians and Athenians? Certainly not to the last, for the Athenians were then in their camp: to the Persians then;—but why to these? To hold up a shield is, according to Diodorus Siculus, ii. 444, a signal for battle; but why should the Alcmæonidæ hold up a shield to the Persians, who were on board their vessels, as a signal to engage a body of land forces?"

The above reasoning of Reiske seems far from satisfactory. If any previous agreement existed betwixt the Alcmæonidæ and the Persians, the holding up of the shield might intimate what could be only known to the persons concerned; and so far from being a signal of battle, might suggest entirely the reverse, and tell them that this was no proper time to hazard an attack. The art of signal making is now brought to an extraordinary degree of perfection, and at sea in particular, orders of the minutest kind are communicated, and distinctly understood, by the simplest process imaginable, hoisting or lowering colours, sails, &c. The more common signal, as being the more obvious in ancient times, was by fire. In Æschylus, Agamemnon tells Clytemnestra that he will inform her of the capture of Troy by lighting fires; this is represented as being done, and a messenger comes to inform the queen that Troy is taken, for Agamemnon's signals had been seen.—*T.*

3 *The Persians lost.*]—Plutarch remarks on this passage, that Herodotus derogates from the honour of the victory, by misrepresenting and diminishing the number of the slain. Some have affirmed (see Suidas, at the word ποικιλη) that the Persians lost two hundred thousand men; but the account of Herodotus certainly appears the more probable.

The battle of Marathon, according to Pausanias, was represented in the portico at Athens called Pœcile, from the variety of paintings on its walls. In this picture the most celebrated Athenian and Platæan heroes were drawn from the life: in one part the Barbarians are flying into the marsh, and in the other the Greeks are slaughtering the enemy as they are entering the Phenician vessels.

4 *Narrative of Epizelus.*]—Plutarch, in his life of Theseus, says, that numbers of those who fought at the battle of Marathon believed that they saw at the head of their ranks Theseus in arms, attacking the Persians.—*T.*

himself in his own ship to Delos. The Delians being returned to their island, he first deposited the image in the temple, and then enjoined the inhabitants to remove it to the Theban Delium, which is on the sea-coast opposite to Chalcis. Having done this, Datis returned; the Delians paid no attention to his request, but in the twentieth year after the above event the Thebans removed the image to Delium, by the command of an oracle.

CXIX. Datis and Artaphernes, sailing to Asia, carried the captive Eretrians[5] to Susa. Darius, before their defeat, had expressed the severest indignation against them, as having first and unjustly commenced hostilities: but when they were conducted to his presence, effectually humbled and reduced to his power, he showed no farther resentment, but appointed them a residence at a place called Ardericca, in the district of Cissia, one of the royal stations. This is distant from Susa two hundred and ten furlongs, and forty from a well which produces the three substances of bitumen, salt, and oil; it is drawn up with an engine, to which a kind of bucket is suspended made of half a skin; it is then poured into one cistern, and afterwards removed into a second. The substances by this process separate; the bitumen and the salt form themselves into distinct masses. The Persians collect the oil, which they call rhadinace, into vessels; this last is of a dark colour and has a strong smell. In this place Darius placed the Eretrians, and here to my memory they have remained, preserving their ancient language.

CXX. After the moon had passed the full,[6] a body of two thousand Lacedæmonians arrived at Athens; such was their expedition, that they reached Attica in three days from their leaving Sparta. They did not arrive till after the battle, but so great was their desire of beholding the Medes, that to gratify their curiosity they proceeded to Marathon; they then returned, after congratulating the Athenians on their prowess and victory.

CXXI. I am equally astonished at having heard, and reluctant to believe, that the Alcmæonidæ held up a shield by way of signal to the Persians, wishing to subject the Athenians to the power of the Barbarians and Hippias. No man, in his hatred against all tyrants, could possibly exceed, or even equal, Callias the son of Phænippus, and father of Hipponicus. Callias[7] was ever distinguished by his implacable animosity against Pisistratus; and when the tyrant was expelled, and his effects sold by public auction, he was the only man who dared to become a purchaser.

CXXII. The above personage deserves to be remembered, not only for what we have already mentioned, proving him a man extremely zealous for the liberties of his country, but for the honors he obtained[8] at the Olympic games. He obtained the first prize in the horse-race, the second in that of the chariots drawn by four horses: at the Pythian games, he was also victorious, upon which occasion he treated the Greeks with great magnificence.[9] His

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5 *Captive Eretrians.*]—Larcher tells us from Philostratus, that the Persians took 780 prisoners at Eretria, but that a great many escaped among the rocks of Eubœa, and that only 400 were carried to Susa, among whom were ten women.

6 *Had passed the full.*]—Mankind in all ages, from observing the visible operations of the moon upon the ocean, have supposed its influence to extend not only to human affairs, but to the state of the human body. The justly celebrated Dr. Mead wrote a treatise, entitled De Imperio Solis et Lunæ in Corpore Humano; but all those prejudices and this superstition are now exploded, by the more satisfactory deductions of a sound philosophy. It has been reasonably urged, that as the most accurate and subtle barometers are not at all affected by the various positions of the moon, it is very unlikely that the human body should be within the sphere of its influence. Some travellers have remarked, that in the countries of the east it is customary to prefer the time of the new moon to begin a journey; from this peculiarity Mr. Harmer takes occasion to comment on Proverbs vii. 19, 20, and 1 Samuel xx. 24, 25, which passage he explains by referring them to some similar prejudice amongst the ancient Jews:

Proverbs vii. 19, 20. The good man is not at home, he is gone a long journey: he hath taken a bag of money in his hand, and will come home at the *appointed time.* "The appointed time," says M. Harmer, "may properly be rendered the *new moon.*"

I Samuel xx. 24. "So David hid himself in the field, and when the *new moon* was come, the king sat him down to eat meat."—*T.*

7 *Callias.*]—A whimsical story is told of this Callias, in Plutarch's Life of Aristides; he was a man of mean rank, but happening to be at the battle of Marathon, was taken by a barbarian for a king, on account of his long hair, and a bandage which he wore round his forehead. The Persian fell at his feet, and discovered to him a prodigious quantity of gold in a ditch: Callias slew him, and took the money. But how does this accord with what is elsewhere written of Aristides, that he remained on the field, and prevented the plunder being taken by any private hands?—*T.*

8 *Honours he obtained.*]—The whole of this passage is wanting in many manuscripts: Valcnaer seems to think it has no business here; and Larcher thinks it was inserted by some sophist, who wished to pay his court to Hipponicus, son of this Callias.—*T.*

9 *With great magnificence.*]—I presume it was cus-

liberality also to his three daughters was equally conspicuous: as soon as they were of age to marry, he assigned them a noble portion, and suffered each to choose her husband from among all the Athenians.

CXXIII. But all the Alcmæonidæ, as well as Callias, were remarkable for their enmity to tyrants; I am therefore the more astonished to hear, and unwilling to believe, the circumstance imputed to them, of holding up a shield as a signal to the Persians. While a system of tyranny prevailed in their country, they lived in voluntary exile; and it was by their contrivance that the Pisistratidæ resigned their power: for these reasons they seem to me to have more assisted the cause of freedom, than either Harmodius or Aristogiton. These latter, by destroying Hipparchus, so far from repressing the ambitious designs of the other Pisistratidæ, only inflamed them the more. The Alcmæonidæ were avowedly the deliverers of Athens, if indeed it was at their suggestion that the Pythian, as I have before described, enjoined the Lacedæmonians to restore its freedom.

CXXIV. It may be asked, whether they were induced to betray their country from any resentment against the people of Athens; but no individuals were more illustrious at Athens, or held in more general estimation. The story, therefore, of the shield, imputed to this motive, contradicts probability; that a shield was held up cannot be disputed, but by whom I can by no means farther determine.

CXXV. The Alcmæonidæ were always amongst the most distinguished characters of Athens; but Alcmæon himself, and Megacles, his immediate descendant, were more particularly illustrious. Alcmæon, son of Megacles, received with great kindness, and obliged by many services, those Lydians whom Crœsus sent from Sardis to consult the oracle at Delphi. On their return, they did not omit to acquaint Crœsus with his benevolence; he instantly sent for him to Sardis, and presented him with as much gold as he was able to carry. To improve the value of his gift, Alcmæon made use of the following artifice:—Providing himself with a large tunic, in which were many folds, and with the most capacious buskins he could procure, he followed his guide to the royal treasury; there rolling himself among the golden ingots, he first stuffed his buskins as full of gold as he possibly could, he then filled all the folds of his robes, his hair, and even his mouth, with gold dust. This done, with extreme difficulty he staggered from the place, from his swelling mouth, and projections all around him, resembling any thing rather than a man. When Crœsus saw him, he burst into laughter, and not only suffered him to carry away all that he had got, but added other presents equally valuable. The family from this circumstance became exceedingly affluent, and Alcmæon was thus enabled to procure and maintain those horses which obtained him the victory at the Olympic games.

CXXVI. In the age which next succeeded, Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, raised this family even beyond its former importance. This Clisthenes, who was the son of Aristonymus, grandson of Mynon, and great-grandson of Andros, had a daughter named Agarista: his determination was to marry her to the most distinguished man in Greece. During the celebration of the Olympic games, at which Clisthenes was victorious in the contest of the chariots drawn by four horses, he ordered this proclamation to be made by a herald—that whoever thought himself worthy of becoming the son-in-law of Clisthenes was desired to appear at Sicyon within sixty days; for in the course of a year, reckoning from that period, Clisthenes intended to give his daughter in marriage. All those therefore who were either proud of their own merit, or of their country, appeared as candidates; and Clisthenes prepared for the occasion a palæstra,[1] and other proper places of exercise.

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tomary to do this in proportion to the rank and affluence of the victor. I find in Athenæus, book i. chap. 3. several examples to this effect.—Alcibiades, in consequence of being victorious at the Olympic games, offered a sacrifice to the Olympian Jupiter, and gave an entertainment to all the assembly of Olympia. Ion of Chios, having obtained the prize for his tragedy, gave to every Athenian a flask of Chian wine.—*T.*

1 *A palæstra.*]—Not unlike to this conduct of Clisthenes, were the solemnities, described in books of ancient romance and chivalry, as preceding the nuptials of a king's daughter. The knight who was victorious at tilts and tournaments generally captivated the affections of the lady, and obtained the consent of the father. Bishop Hurd, in his Letters on Chivalry and Romance, traces the origin of jousts and tournaments no farther than the feudal constitution of the middle ages; perhaps, without great impropriety, he might have found the seeds of their existence in the public games of Greece. To these we may certainly look for the contests, whether of gladiators or beasts, exhibited in the amphitheatres of ancient Rome; from which basis, through various modifications, the spirit of Gothic chivalry might possibly be derived.—*T.*

CXXVII. From Italy came Smindyrides,[2] son of Hippocrates, a native of Sybaris, and a man eminent for his refined luxury; Sybaris was at that time an affluent and powerful city. On the same occasion Damas of Siris appeared, he was the son of Samyris, surnamed the Wise. Amphimnestus the Epidamnian, son of Epistrophus, came from the Ionian Gulf. Amongst others also was Males the Ætolian, brother of that Titormus[3] who surpassed the rest of his countrymen in bodily prowess, but who had retired from society to the remote parts of Ætolia. Leocedes, son of Phidon, prince of the Argives, came from the Peloponnese: this man first instituted the instruments of measuring[4] in the Peloponnese, and was the most insolent of all his cotemporaries. He removed the Agonothetæ[5] from Elis, which office he himself afterwards executed at Olympia. Amiantus the Arcadian, son of Lycurgus, came from Trapezus: there was also Laphenes the Azenian, of the city of Pæos, and son of that Euphorion who, as is reported in Arcadia, entertained at his house Castor and Pollux, and was afterwards remarkable for his universal hospitality. Onomastus of Elis, the son of Agæus, was also of the number. Amongst the Athenians were Megacles, son of that Alcmæon who went to Crœsus; and Hippoclides, son of Tisander, who was eminent among his countrymen, both for his affluence and his personal accomplishments. The only Eubœan was Lysanias, who came from Eretria, which was at that time in considerable repute. Of the Scopadæ of Thessaly, was present Diactorides the Cranonian, and Alcon from among the Molossians.—These were the suitors.

CXXVIII. On their appearance at the day appointed, Clisthenes first inquired of each, his country and his family. He then detained them all for the space of a year, examining their comparative strength, sensibility, learning, and manners: for this purpose he sometimes conversed with them individually, sometimes collectively. The youngest he often engaged in public exercises; but his great trial of them all was at public entertainments. As long as they were with him they were treated with the utmost magnificence and liberality; but to the Athenians he showed a particular preference. Of these Hippoclides, the son of Tisander, was the first in his regard, both on account of his own personal prowess, as well as because his ancestors were related to the Cypselidæ[6] of Corinth.

CXXIX. When the day arrived which was to decide the choice of Clisthenes, and the solemnization of the nuptials, a hundred oxen[7] were sacrificed, and the suitors, with all the Sicyonians, invited to the feast. After supper, the suitors engaged in a dispute about music, and in other general subjects. Whilst they were drinking,[8] Hippoclides, who made himself remarkably conspicuous, directed one of the musicians to play a tune called "Emmelia:"[9] his request being obeyed, he began to

2 *Smindyrides.*]—The effeminate softness of this man is twice mentioned by Ælian in his Various History. See book ix. c. 24. He complained, after sleeping upon roses, that he had got tumours in his body from the hardness of his bed. Seneca, in his Treatise de Ira, had evidently in his eye the above passage of Ælian; but he says that Smindyrides complained of the roses being doubled under him—foliis rosæ duplicatis. The words of Ælian are φλυκταινας εκ της ευνης εχειν; now φλυκταιναι certainly mean tumours occasioned from extreme exercise or fatigue.

The other passage in Ælian, is book xii. c. 24; from which we learn, that when he paid his addresses to the daughter of Clisthenes, he carried with him a thousand cooks, a thousand fowlers, and a thousand fishermen. —*T.*

3 *Titormus.*]—This man, as we learn from Athenæus, one day disputed with Milo of Crotona, which could soonest devour a whole ox. Of this last, incredible as it may seem, it is related that he carried a young bull of four years old upon his shoulders to some distance; after which he killed it, divided it into portions, and eat the whole of it by himself, in the space of a day.—*Larcher.*

4 *Instruments of measuring.*]—On this subject the following passage occurs in Pliny. Mensuras et pondera Phidon Argivus invenit, vel Palamedes ut mallult Gellius.—The first introduction of weights and measures into Greece is imputed by some to Pythagoras. See Diog. Laert. in Pythag. D'Anville is of opinion that the measures here mentioned were not those of distance. —*Larcher.*

5 *Agonothetæ.*]—These were the judges and arbiters of the public games.

6 *Cypselidæ.*]—See an account of the founder of this family, in the fifth book, chapter 92.

7 *Hundred oxen.*]—The origin of hecatombs, according to Strabo, was this: there were a hundred cities in Laconia, each of which every year sacrificed an ox. The etymology of hecatomb is from ἑκατομβη, a solemn sacrifice; or rather from ἑκατος, a hundred, and βους, an ox. By a hecatomb in general, we understand the sacrifice of a hundred beasts of the same kind, upon a hundred altars, by a hundred different priests.—*T.*

8 *Whilst they were drinking.*]—In Greece, says Larcher, they did not drink till after they had done eating. This is exemplified from a passage of Xenophon, where, when somebody at the table of Seuthes desires Aristus to drink; he replies, "that he has not yet done eating, but that he might ask Xenophon to drink, who had dined."

9 *Emmelia.*]—It has been generally understood of the dance called Emmelia, that it was of a peculiar gravity and stateliness, suited to the dignity of tragedy: but I think with Larcher, from the passage before us, that

dance with much satisfaction to himself, though, as it should seem, to the great disgust of Clisthenes, who attentively observed him. After a short pause, Hippoclides commanded a table to be brought; upon this he first of all danced according to the Lacedæmonian, and then in the Athenian manner: at length he stood upon his head, using his legs as if they had been his hands. The two former actions of Hippoclides Clisthenes observed with great command of temper; he determined not to choose him as his son-in-law, being much offended with his want of delicacy and decorum; but when he saw him dancing with his feet in the air, he could contain himself no longer, but exclaimed, "Son of Tisander, you have danced away your wife."—"Hippoclides cares not," was the abrupt reply. This afterwards became a proverb.[1]

CXXX. After this Clisthenes, demanding silence, thus addressed the assembly: "Ye, who have come hither as suitors to my daughter, are all entitled to my praise, and if it were in my power I would gratify you all, not distinguishing one in preference to the rest; but this is impossible, for as there is only one virgin, the wishes of you all cannot be satisfied: to each of you, therefore, who must depart hence disappointed of your object, in acknowledgment of your condescension in desiring to marry a daughter of mine, I present a talent of silver; but I give my daughter Agarista to Megacles the son of Alcmæon, to be his wife according to the Athenian laws." Megacles accepted the honour, and the marriage was solemnized.

there must have been different kinds of dances under this name; for it seems not at all likely that Clisthenes should quarrel with his son-in-law elect for exercising himself in a solemn and dignified dance. Of this dance also we are told that Plato approved, along with the Pyrrhic or military dances, which he certainly would not have done, if it had been of the immodest kind which is here reprobated. It may also without impropriety be observed, that the Athenians deemed those impolite who refused to exercise themselves in dancing, when the proper opportunity occurred; and what time could be more suitable than a nuptial feast? The act of dancing would naturally seem to indicate joy, but it constituted a part of the funeral ceremonies of the ancients. I have somewhere read of a tribe of Indians, amongst whom dancing was practised as a testimony of sorrow.—*T.*

1 *Became a proverb.*]—Lucian uses this as a proverbial expression, in his Apolog. pro Merced. Arduct. ου φροντι Ἱπποκλειδη, "Hippoclides cares not." We have one in this country, among the common people, nearly the same—"Who cares?" The expression ολιγον μοι μελει occurs frequently in the Vespis of Aristophanes, probably in allusion to this place of Herodotus.

CXXXI. Such was the decision made with respect to these suitors, and in this manner the Alcmæonidæ became illustrious in Greece. The first offspring of this marriage was called Clisthenes, after his maternal grandfather, the prince of Sicyon. He it was who divided the Athenians into tribes, and introduced a democracy. The name of the second son was Hippocrates, to whom afterwards was born a son named Megacles, and a daughter called Agarista, after the daughter of Clisthenes: she was married to Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron. During her pregnancy, she dreamt that she brought forth a lion, and was very soon afterwards delivered of Pericles.

CXXXII. Miltiades was always very popular at Athens; but after the signal defeat of the Persians at Marathon, his reputation still more increased. He demanded of his countrymen a fleet of seventy ships, with a supply of money and men: he did not specify to what place he intended to conduct them, he only promised that he would lead them to affluence, and to a country from whence they should bring abundance of gold. The Athenians believed and obeyed him.

CXXXIII. Receiving the reinforcement he had solicited, Miltiades sailed to Paros. His pretended object was to punish the Parians, for taking an active part in favour of the Persians, at the battle of Marathon. This however was assumed; his resentment against the Parians arose from Lysagoras, the son of Tysias, a native of Paros, who had prejudiced Hydarnes the Persian against him. On his arrival before the place, Miltiades commenced a vigorous siege, sending at the same time a herald to the Parians, to demand a hundred talents; and declaring, that if they did not grant it, he would not leave the place till he had destroyed it. The Parians never thought for a moment of complying with his demand, but attended vigilantly to the defence of their city, strengthening those parts which were weak, and rendering, under advantage of the night, their wall twice as strong as it was before.

CXXXIV. Thus far all the Greeks correspond in their account: what ensued is thus related by the Parians: Miltiades, reduced to great perplexity,[2] consulted with a female cap-

2 *Great perplexity.*]—The account given of Miltiades, and of this particular expedition, by Cornelius Nepos, is materially different.—*T.*

tive, a Parian by birth, whose name was Timo, a priestess of the infernal deities. On her appearing before him, she said, that if he wished to accomplish his designs upon Paros, he must follow her advice. In consequence of what she recommended, Miltiades advanced to an eminence before the city, and not able to open the gates of a place consecrated to Ceres Thesmophoros, he leaped over the fence: from hence he proceeded to the temple, either to remove something which it was deemed impious to touch, or with some other intention; on approaching the entrance, he was seized with a sudden horror of mind; and returning by the same way, he in leaping a second time over the wall dislocated his thigh, though, as some say, he wounded his knee.

CXXXV. After the above accident Miltiades returned home, without bringing the Athenians the wealth he promised, or rendering himself master of Paros, before which, after laying waste the island, he remained six-and-twenty days. When the Parians knew that Timo the priestess had advised Miltiades, they wished to punish her. As soon therefore as the siege was raised, they sent to Delphi to inquire whether they might put the priestess to death, as having pointed out to an enemy the means of possessing their country, and who had exposed to Miltiades those sacred ceremonies at which it was not lawful for a man to be present. The Pythian would not suffer them to hurt her, saying that Timo was not culpable, for that it was decreed that Miltiades should miserably perish, and that she was only the instrument of conducting him to his destiny.

CXXXVI. On his return from Paros, Miltiades was generally censured by his countrymen, and in particular by Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, who accused him capitally to the Athenians as a betrayer of his country. To this Miltiades could not personally reply, for his wound mortifying, he was confined to his bed; but he was very vigorously defended by his friends, who adduced in his favour the victory of Marathon, the taking of Lemnos, which after chastising the Pelasgi, he had reduced to the power of Athens. By the interference of the people, his life was saved, but he was condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents.[3] His wound growing worse, Miltiades died, but the fine was discharged by his son Cimon.

CXXXVII. Miltiades had thus obtained possession of Lemnos. The Pelasgians had been expelled Attica by the Athenians, whether justly or otherwise, I am not able to determine: Hecateus, the son of Hegesander, in his history, says unjustly. The Athenians according to him, observing their territory near Hymettus, which they had given up to the Pelasgi as a reward for building them a wall, well cultivated, whereas formerly it produced little, and was of no estimation, they expelled them from it, without any other motive than envy, and a desire of obtaining the place. The Athenian account says, that the Pelasgi were justly expelled; this people, they assert, made hostile excursions from Hymettus,[4] and frequently offered violence to the young women who went from Athens to the nine fountains, for the purpose of drawing water; for at this period the Greeks had no slaves. Not satisfied with treating these with great insolence and brutality, the Pelasgi formed the bolder design of rendering themselves masters of Athens. The Athenians think their conduct on this occasion entitled to the highest praise; for, having detected the Pelasgi of treachery, they might justly have exterminated them, instead of which they only expelled them the country. Thus circumstanced, they dispersed themselves, and some of them settled at Lemnos.—Such are the different accounts of Hecatæus and the Athenians.

CXXXVIII. Those Pelasgi who settled at Lemnos, were very solicitous to avenge themselves on the Athenians. Knowing therefore the times of their public festivals, they prepared two fifty-oared barks to surprise the Athenian females[5] who were engaged near

3 *Fifty talents.*]—This, according to Cornelius Nepos, was the sum which it cost the Athenians to fit out the armament which Miltiades led against Paros.—*T.*

4 *Hymettus.*]—This place, now called Hymetto, was anciently famous for producing fine marble, abundance of bees, and excellent honey. The hills of Hymettus were the scene of the celebrated story of Cephalus and Procris. See Ovid de Arte Amandi, iii. 687.

Est prope purpureos colles florentis Hymetti
Fons sacer, &c. *T.*

5 *Athenian females.*]—In the Greek, the *wives* of the Athenians. It is proper to observe, that the Athenians who called themselves Athenaioi, never called their women Athenaiai, because Minerva is in Homer called Athenaia, such was their superstition. They spoke of their women by a periphrasis, as here, or by the word αστια, astai, female citizens, because Athens, by way of distinction, was called Αστυ, the city.

The feast here mentioned was called Brauronia, from the place at which it was celebrated. A goat was sacrificed, and rhapsodists sung portions of the Iliad; it was celebrated every five years. Young girls sacred to

Brauron in celebrating the feast of Diana: many of these fell into their hands, and being carried to Lemnos, became their concubines. These women had a number of children whom they educated in the Athenian language and manners: those accordingly refused to associate with the other children of the Pelasgi; and if one of them was at any time beaten by them, they mutually ran to one another's assistance. They thought themselves worthy of being their masters, and ultimately became so. The Pelasgians, observing this, were much exasperated, for, said they, if these children thus unite against the offspring of our legitimate wives, and are continually aiming at superiority over them, what will they do when they arrive at manhood? They resolved therefore to put these children to death, after which they determined also to kill their mothers. This action, added to a former one, in which the women of Lemnos destroyed all their husbands, with Thoas their king,[1] induced the Grecians to call every atrocious crime Lemnian.

CXXXIX. The Pelasgi, after the above murder of their children and concubines, found their earth, their cattle, and their wives alike cursed with sterility: to obtain relief from which they sent a deputation to Delphi. The Pythian commanded them to render such satisfaction to the Athenians as they should require; they accordingly went to Athens, engaging themselves to submit to whatever should be proposed. The Athenians set in order some couches in the Prytaneum, which they adorned with the greatest magnificence, they prepared also a table covered with every delicacy; they then required the Pelasgi to surrender Lemnos in a similar state of abundance: —"Whenever," said they, in reply, "one of your vessels shall in a single day make its passage to our country with a northern wind, we will comply with what you require." This they conceived to be impracticable, as Attica lies considerably to the south of Lemnos.

CXL. After an interval of some years, when the Chersonese on the Hellespont came under the power of the Athenians, Miltiades the son of Cimon, under the favour of the Etesian winds, passed in a single day from Elæos in the Chersonese to Lemnos; he instantly commanded them to depart from Lemnos, reminding them of the declaration of the oracle,[2] the completion of which they little expected. With this the Hephæstians complied, but the Myrinæi not allowing the Chersonese to be Attica, sustained a siege, but were compelled to surrender. Thus, by means of Miltiades,[3] the Athenians became masters of Lemnos.

Diana, celebrated this feast in saffron-coloured robes; they might not be more than ten years old, nor less than five.—*Larcher.*

1 *Thoas their king.*]—Later writers have made Hypsipyle preserve the life of her father Thoas. The whole of this is beautifully described by Valerius Flaccus, in his second book. The motive which was supposed to induce the Lesbian women to this sanguinary action was this:—The Lemnian women celebrated every year a festival in honour of Venus; but having neglected this custom, the goddess punished their neglect by giving them a disagreeable odour, which made their husbands avoid them. The women, thus deeming themselves despised, slew all the men.—*T.*

2 *Oracle.*]—A speech of the kind related in the former chapter, though delivered by common persons, was considered as prophetic and oracular.

3 *Means of Miltiades.*]—Compare the account of Herodotus with that given by Cornelius Nepos.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VII.

POLYMNIA.

I. When the news of the battle of Marathon was communicated to Darius, he, who was before incensed against the Athenians, on account of their invasion of Sardis, became still more exasperated, and more inclined to invade Greece. He instantly therefore sent emissaries to the different cities under his power, to provide a still greater number of transports, horses, corn, and provisions. In the interval which this business employed, Asia experienced three years of confusion; her most able men being enrolled in the Greek expedition, and making preparation for it. In the fourth, the Egyptians, who had been reduced by Cambyses, revolted from the Persians; but this only induced Darius to accelerate his preparations against both nations.

II. At this juncture there arose a violent dispute among the sons of Darius, concerning the succession to the throne, the Persian customs forbidding the sovereign to undertake any expedition without naming his heir. Darius had three sons before he ascended the throne, by the daughter of Gobryas; he had four afterwards by Atossa, daughter of Cyrus: Artobazanes[1] was the eldest of the former, Xerxes of the latter. Not being of the same mother, a dispute arose[2] between them; Artobazanes asserted his pretensions from being the eldest of all his father's sons, a claim which mankind in general consent to acknowledge.[3] Xerxes

1 *Artobazanes.*]—Larcher is of opinion, that from this personage the celebrated Mithridates, king of Pontus, who for so many years resisted the Roman power, was descended. Diodorus Siculus, Polybius, and other authors, trace this prince to one of the seven Persians who conspired against Smerdis Magus. This Artobazanes probably enjoyed the satrapy of Pontus, and his descendants doubtless enjoyed it also, till Mithridates, surnamed Ctistes (the founder) became sovereign of the country of which he had before only been governor.

• This reasoning will hardly appear satisfactory, unless it were evident that the satrapies under the crown of Persia were hereditary, which was by no means the case.—*T.*

2 *A dispute arose.*]—The account given of this affair by Plutarch, in his Treatise of Brotherly Love, differs materially.

"When Darius died, some contended that Ariamenes should succeed him, as being eldest: others recommended Xerxes, because Atossa, daughter of Cyrus, was his mother, and he was born whilst Darius was actually king. Ariamenes accordingly went to Media, not with any hostile views, but peaceably to have the matter determined. Xerxes, who was on the spot, exercised the royal functions; but as soon as his brother arrived, he laid aside his crown and kingly ornaments, and hastened to salute him. He sent him various presents, and words to this effect: "Xerxes your brother sends you these presents, to show how much he honours you. If the Persians shall elect me king, you shall be next to myself." The reply of Ariamenes was, "I accept your presents; the crown I believe to be my right: I shall honour all my brethren, and Xerxes in particular." When the day of decision arrived, the Persians elected as judge Artabanus, brother of Darius. Xerxes, who depended on the multitude, objected to him, for which he was censured by his mother Atossa: "Why," she observed, "should you refuse to have your uncle as judge, one of the worthiest men in Persia? and why dread a contest, where if inferior you will still be next to the king?" Xerxes suffered himself to be persuaded, and after hearing the arguments of both, Artabanus adjudged the crown to Xerxes. Ariamenes on this hastily arose, made obeisance to his brother, and taking him by the hand, conducted him to the throne."

3 *Consent to acknowledge.*]—The *principle* of hereditary succession is universal, but the *order* has been variously established by convenience or caprice, by the spirit of national institutions, or by some partial example, which was originally decided by fraud or violence.—*See Gibbon*, iv. 387.

The jurisprudence of the Romans (he continues) appears to have deviated from the equality of nature, much less than the Jewish, the Athenian, or the English institutions. On the death of a citizen, all his descendants, unless they were already freed from his paternal power, were called to the inheritance of his possessions. The insolent prerogative of primogeniture was unknown: the two sexes were placed on a just level; all the sons and daughters were entitled to an equal share of the patrimonial estate.

Amongst the Patriarchs, the first-born enjoyed a mystical and spiritual primogeniture. In the land of Canaan he was entitled to a double portion of inheritance.

At Athens the sons were equal, but the poor daughters were endowed at the discretion of their brothers.

claimed the throne because he was the grandson of Cyrus, to whom the Persians were indebted for their liberties.

III. Before Darius had made any decision, and in the very midst of the contention, there arrived at Susa, Demaratus,[1] the son of Ariston, who being deprived of the crown of Sparta, had fled from Lacedæmon. This man, hearing of the controversy, went, as is reported to Xerxes, and recommended him to urge farther in support of his claim, that when he was born, Darius was in actual enjoyment of the empire of Persia, but at the birth of Artobazanes, his father was only a private individual. The pretensions of Xerxes therefore could not be set aside, without the most obvious violation of equity. To strengthen this the example of the Spartans[2] was adduced, among whom, those children born after the accession of the prince to the throne were universally preferred to those born before. Xerxes availed himself of this counsel given by Demaratus, which so effectually impressed Darius, that he declared him his successor. For my own part, I think that Xerxes would have reigned without this advice from Demaratus, as Atossa enjoyed an almost unlimited authority.[3]

IV. Darius having declared Xerxes his heir, prepared to march: but in the year which succeeded the Egyptian revolt, he died: having reigned thirty-six years, without being able to gratify his resentment against the Egyptians[4] and Athenians who had opposed his power.

V. On his death, Xerxes immediately succeeded to the throne, who from the first, seemed wholly inclined to the Egyptian rather than the Athenian war. But Mardonius, who was his cousin, being the son of Gobryas, by a sister of Darius, thus addressed him: "I should think, sir,[5] that the Athenians, who have so grievously injured the Persians, ought not to escape with impunity. I would nevertheless have you execute what you immediately propose; but when you shall have chastised the insolence of Egypt, resume the expedition against Athens. Thus will your reputation be established, and others in future be deterred from molesting your dominions." What he said was farther enforced by representing the beauties of Europe, that it was exceedingly fertile, abounding with all kinds of trees,[6] and deserved to be possessed by the king alone.

VI. Mardonius said this, being desirous of new undertakings, and ambitious of the government of Greece. Xerxes at length acceded to his counsel, to which he was also urged by

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In England the eldest son alone inherits all the land: a law, says judge Blackstone, unjust only in the opinion of younger brothers.

Upon the above I would remark, that Blackstone speaks judiciously: whilst I can consider the sentiments of Mr. Gibbon as little better than declamation. It seems evident, that property continually subdivided must be rendered useless to all; or, if this were not the case, to create a numerous class too proud to be industrious, would be to introduce a swarm of useless and inactive drones into the political hive. The wealth of the elder brothers maintains the splendour and dignity of a state: the activity of the younger branches gives it life and strength.—*T.*

1 *Demaratus.*]—Xerxes gave Demaratus the cities of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, because he attended him on his expedition to Greece. These places were enjoyed by Eurysthenes and Procles, his descendants, at the end of the first year of the 95th Olympiad. —*Larcher.*

2 *Example of the Spartans.*]—Cragius, in his useful book De Republica Lacedæmoniorum, speaks at some length on the right of succeeding to the throne of Sparta; but I do not find that he mentions the particularity which is here sanctioned by the respectable authority of Herodotus.—*T.*

3 *Atossa enjoyed an almost unlimited authority.*]—Atossa is the name which Pope applied to Sarah duchess of Marlborough. See his Moral Essays, ep. ii. 115;

But what are these to great Atossa's mind.

The Persian Atossa appears to have been an artful woman, and of a very intriguing spirit, fond of power, and using the most violent means to attain sometimes the meanest ends; the parallel, according to the testimonies of most writers, seems pertinent enough.

4 *Egyptians.*]—Aristotle on this subject is at variance with Herodotus; he says that Darius having taken possession of Egypt, passed over from thence into Greece, confounding Darius with Xerxes. The authority of Herodotus, says Larcher, who was almost a contemporary, seems preferable to that of Aristotle, who lived a long time afterwards.

5 *I should think, Sir.*]—The word Δεσποτα I have rendered "Sir:" Larcher has expressed it by the word "Seigneur," as most significant of the reverence with which a slave addressed his lord. For my own part, I am inclined to consider it as a term of general respect, and not as having any appropriate signification, to intimate the condition of the Persians with regard to their sovereigns. Thus, amongst the Jews, the word rabbi meant, as it is properly rendered in our versions, "master," that is to say, it did not imply that they to whom it is applied were the masters of those who used it; but it was a term which custom adopted, and politeness sanctioned, as respectful from an inferior to a person above him. Add to this, that it was peculiar to the lofty genius of the oriental languages to adopt phrases by no means to be interpreted or understood in their strict and literal sense.—*T.*

6 *All kinds of trees.*]—It seems a little singular, that Mardonius should say this: for I believe it has always been acknowledged that the luxuriant climates of Asia produce every thing which relates to fruit and vegetation, in far greater abundance and perfection than the less genial soil of Europe.—*T.*

other considerations. Some messengers came from Thessaly on the part of the Aleuadæ, imploring the king to invade Greece; to accomplish which they used the most earnest endeavours. These Aleuadæ were the princes of Thessaly; their solicitations were strengthened by the Pisistratidæ, who had taken refuge at Susa, and who to the arguments before adduced added others. They had among them Onomacritus, an Athenian, a famous priest, who sold the oracles of Musæus; with him they had been reconciled previous to their arrival at Susa. This man had been formerly banished from Athens by the son of Pisistratus; for Lasus[6] of Hermione had detected him in the fact of introducing a pretended oracle among the verses of Musæus, intimating that the islands contiguous to Lemnos should be overwhelmed in the ocean. Hipparchus for this expelled him, though he had been very intimate with him before. He accompanied the Pisistratidæ to Susa, who always spoke of him in terms highly honourable, upon which account, whenever he appeared in the royal presence, he recited certain oracular verses. He omitted whatever predicted any thing unfortunate to the Barbarians, selecting only what promised them auspiciously; among other things he said the Fates decreed that a Persian should throw a bridge over the Hellespont.

VII. Thus was the mind of Xerxes assailed by the predictions of the priest, and the opinions of the Pisistratidæ. In the year[7] which followed the death of Darius, he determined on an expedition against Greece, but commenced hostilities with those who had revolted from the Persians. These being subdued, and the whole of Egypt[8] more effectually reduced than it had been by Darius, the government of it he confided to Achæmenes, his own brother, son of Darius. Achæmenes was afterwards slain by Inarus, a Libyan, the son of Psammetichus.

VIII. After the subjection of Egypt, Xerxes prepared to lead an army against Athens, but first of all he called an assembly of the principal Persians, to hear their sentiments, and to deliver without reserve his own. He addressed them to the following purport: "You will remember, O Persians, that I am not about to execute any new project of my own; I only pursue the path which has been previously marked out for me. I have learned from my ancestors, that ever since we recovered this empire from the Medes, after the depression of Astyages by Cyrus, we have never been in a state of inactivity. A deity is our guide, and auspiciously conducts us to prosperity. It must be unnecessary for me to relate the exploits of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius, and the nations they added to our empire. For my own part, ever since my accession to the throne, it has been my careful endeavour not to reflect any disgrace upon my forefathers, by suffering the Persian power to diminish. My deliberations on this matter have presented me with a prospect full of glory; they have pointed out to me a region not inferior to our own in extent, and far exceeding it in fertility, which incitements are farther promoted by the expectation of honourable revenge; I have therefore assembled you to explain what I intend: I have resolved, by throwing a bridge over the Hellespont,[9] to lead my forces through Europe into Greece, and to inflict vengeance on the

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6 *Lasus* was a musician, poet, and according to some, one of the seven sages of Greece. He was the inventor of the dithyrambic verses and of the circular dances. Aristophanes, in the Aves, calls him κυκλιος διδασκαλος. He was fond of gaming: and, according to Plutarch, when Xenophanes refused once to play with him, he reproached him with cowardice: "Yes," answered Xenophanes, "in every thing which is base and dishonest, I confess myself a coward."—*T.*

7 *In the year.*]—Herodotus was born this year at Halicarnassus in Caria. See Aulus Gellius, book xv. c. 23.

"Hellanicus, Herodotus, and Thucydides, flourished in the same time, and were nearly of the same age; Hellanicus, in the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, was sixty-five years old, Herodotus fifty-three, and Thucydides forty."—*T.*

8 *Whole of Egypt.*]—Xerxes, having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of Egypt, which his father had begun. He confirmed to the Jews at Jerusalem all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of Samaria for the furnishing them with sacrifices for the carrying on of divine worship in the temple of God at that place.—*Prideaux.*

9 *Hellespont.*]—Bochart thinks it very probable, what other learned men have also conjectured, that the Hellespont was originally called Elis-pont, from Elisha, the eldest of Javan's sons; and it may be added, that one of the 120 provinces, as they stood in the rolls of the Persian empire, was named Provincia *Alysionensis*, for so Herodotus informs us; and it is placed between the provinces of Ionia and Phrygia, comprehending Æolia. From the authority above cited, upon the change of language Elisha the son of Javan was called Æolus. The Jewish rabbins explain the name Elisha, *ad insulam;* and Varro, as cited by Servius, on the 1st Æneid, gives the same title to Æolus Hippotades, styling him Dominus insularum (lord of the islands.)—*T.*

Athenians for the injuries offered to my father and Persia. You well know that this war was intended by Darius, though death deprived him of the means of vengeance. Considering what is due to him and to Persia, it is my determination not to remit my exertions, till Athens shall be taken and burned.[1] The Athenians, unprovoked, first insulted me and my father: under the conduct of Aristagoras of Miletus, our dependant and slave, they attacked Sardis, and consumed with fire our groves and temples. What they perpetrated against you, when, led by Datis and Artaphernes, you penetrated their country, you know by fatal experience. Such are my inducements to proceed against them: but I have also additional motives. If we reduce these and their neighbours who inhabit the country of Pelops the Phrygian, to our power, the Persian empire will be limited by the heavens alone; the sun will illuminate no country contiguous to ours: I shall over-run all Europe, and with your assistance possess unlimited dominion. For if I am properly informed, there exists no race of men, nor can any city or nation be found, which if these be reduced, can possibly resist our arms: we shall thus subject, as well those who have, as those who have not injured us. I call therefore for your assistance, which I shall thankfully accept and acknowledge; I trust that with cheerfulness and activity you will all assemble at the place I shall appoint. To him who shall appear with the greatest number of well-provided troops, I will present those gifts which in our country are thought to confer the highest honour. That I may not appear to dictate my own wishes in an arbitrary manner, I commit the matter to your reflection, permitting every one to deliver his sentiments with freedom."

IX. When Xerxes had finished, Mardonius made the following reply: "Sir, you are not only the most illustrious of all the Persians who have hitherto appeared, but you may securely defy the competition of posterity. Among other things which you have advanced, alike excellent and just, you are entitled to our particular admiration for not suffering the people of Ionia, contemptible as they are, to insult us with impunity. It would indeed be preposterous, if after reducing to our power the Sacæ, the Indians, the Ethiopians, and the Assyrians, with many other great and illustrious nations, not in revenge of injuries received, but solely from the honourable desire of dominion, we should not inflict vengeance on these Greeks who, without provocation, have molested us. There can be nothing to excite our alarm; no multitude of troops, no extraordinary wealth: we have tried their mode of fighting, and know their weakness. Their descendants, who under the names of Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians, reside within our dominions, we first subdued, and now govern. Their prowess I myself have known, when at the command of your father I prosecuted a war against them. I penetrated Macedonia, advanced almost to Athens, and found no enemy to encounter. Besides this, I am informed that in all their military undertakings the Greeks betray the extremest ignorance and folly. As soon as they commence hostilities among themselves, their first care is to find a large and beautiful plain,[2] where they appear and give battle: the consequence is, that even the victors suffer severe loss; of the vanquished I say nothing, for they are totally destroyed. As they use one common language, they ought in policy to terminate all disputes by the mediation of ambassadors, and above all things to avoid a war among themselves: or, if this should prove unavoidable, they should mutually endeavour to find a place of great natural strength, and then try the issue of a battle. By pursuing as absurd a conduct as I have described, the Greeks suffered me to advance as far as Macedonia without resistance. But who, Sir, shall oppose you, at the head of the forces and fleet of Asia? The Greeks, I think, never can be so audacious. If however I should be deceived, and they shall be so mad as to engage us, they will soon find

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1 *Taken and burned.*]—Mr. Glover had probably this speech of Xerxes in his mind, when he wrote the following lines, which he makes Mardonius utter on entering Athens:

> Is this the city whose presumption dared
> Invade the lord of Asia? sternly said
> Mardonius, entering,—Whither now are fled
> Th' audacious train, whose firebrands Sardis felt?
> Where'er ye lurk, Athenians, if in sight,
> Soon shall you view your citadel in flames;
> Or, if retreated to a distant land,
> No distant land of refuge shall you find
> Against avenging Xerxes.
>
> *Athenaid.*

2 *Plain.*]—The Romans in attacking an enemy, so disposed their army, as to be able to rally three different times. This has been thought by many as the great secret of the Roman discipline; because fortune must have foiled their efforts three different times before they could be possibly defeated. The Greeks drew up their forces in one extended line, and therefore depended upon the effect of the first charge.—*T.*

to their cost that in the art of war we are the first of mankind. Let us however adopt various modes of proceeding, for perfection and success can only be the result of frequent experiment."—In this manner Mardonius seconded the speech of Xerxes.

X. A total silence prevailed in the assembly, no one daring to oppose[3] what had been said; till at length Artabanus, son of Hystaspes, and uncle to Xerxes, deriving confidence from his relationship, thus delivered his sentiments: "Unless, O king, different sentiments be submitted to the judgment, no alternative of choice remains, the one introduced is of necessity adopted. The purity of gold cannot be ascertained by a single specimen; it is known and approved by comparing it with others. It was my advice to Darius, your father and my brother, that he should by no means undertake an expedition against the Scythians, a people without towns and cities. Allured by his hopes of subduing them, he disregarded my admonitions; and proceeding to execute his purpose was obliged to return, having lost numbers of his best troops. The men, O king, whom you are preparing to attack, are far superior to the Scythians, and alike formidable by land and sea. I deem it therefore my duty to forewarn you of the dangers you will have to encounter. You say that, throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, you will lead your forces through Europe into Greece: but it may possibly happen, that either on land or by sea or perhaps by both, you may sustain a defeat, for our enemies are reported to be valiant. Of this indeed we have had sufficient testimony; for if the Athenians by themselves routed the numerous armies of Datis and Artaphernes, it proves that we are not either by land or sea, perfectly invincible. If, preparing their fleet, they shall be victorious by sea, and afterwards sailing to the Hellespont, shall destroy your bridge, we may dread all that is bad. I do not argue in this respect from my own private conjecture; we can all of us remember how very narrowly we escaped destruction, when your father, throwing bridges over the Thracian Bosphorus and the Ister, passed into Scythia. The guard of this pass was intrusted to the Ionians, whom the Scythians urged to break it down, by the most earnest importunity. If at this period Histiæus of Miletus had not opposed the sentiments of the rest, there would have been an end of the Persian name. It is painful to repeat, and afflicting to remember, that the safety of our prince and his dominions depended on a single man. Listen therefore to my advice, and where no necessity demands it, do not involve yourself in danger. For the present dismiss this meeting; revolve the matter more seriously in your mind, and at a future and seasonable time make known your determination. For my own part, I have found from experience that deliberation produces the happiest effects. In such a case, if the event does not answer our wishes, we still merit the praise of discretion, and fortune is alone to be blamed. He who is rash and inconsiderate, although fortune may be kind, and anticipate his desires, is not the less to be censured for temerity. You may have observed how the thunder-bolt of Heaven chastises the insolence of the more enormous animals, whilst it passes over without injury the weak and insignificant: before these weapons of the gods you must have seen how the proudest palaces[4] and the loftiest trees fall and perish. The most conspicuous things are those which are chiefly singled out as objects of the divine displeasure. From the same principle it is that a mighty army is sometimes overthrown by one that is contemptible; for the deity in his anger sends his terrors among them, and makes them perish in a manner unworthy of their former glory. Perfect wisdom[5] is the prerogative of heaven alone, and

3 *Daring to oppose.*]—The following is from Ælian's Various History, book xii. c. 62.

"This was one of the Persian laws; if any one thought proper to give advice to the king about any thing which was forbidden, or ambiguous, he did so standing on a golden tile; if his advice appeared to be salutary, the gold tile was given him as a reward; he was nevertheless beaten for presuming to contradict the king. "But in my opinion," says Ælian, "a man of an ingenuous mind would never have submitted to the disgrace for the sake of the reward."—*T.*

4 *Proudest palaces.*]—

Auream quisquis mediocritatem
Diligit, tutus caret obsoleti
Sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
Sobrius aula.
Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus: et celsæ graviore casu
Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes. *Hor.* l. ii. 10.

5 *Perfect wisdom.*]—The English reader may perhaps thank me for taking this opportunity of relating an anecdote of the celebrated Buffon, not generally known. That perfect wisdom is the attribute of Heaven only, no human being, we should suppose, would be inclined to controvert: yet Buffon, during his life time, suffered a statue to be erected to him with this remarkable inscription, MAJESTATI NATURÆ PAR INGENIUM, which can surely be applicable to the Deity alone.—*T.*

every measure undertaken with temerity is liable to be perplexed with error, and punished by misfortune. Discreet caution on the contrary has many and peculiar advantages, which if not apparent at the moment, reveal themselves in time. Such, O king, is my advice; and little does it become you, O son of Gobryas, to speak of the Greeks in a language foolish as well as false. By calumniating Greece, you excite your sovereign to war, the great object of all your zeal: but I entreat you to forbear: calumny is a restless vice, where it is indulged there are always two who offer injury. The calumniator himself is injurious because he traduces an absent person; he is also injurious who suffers himself to be persuaded without investigating the truth. The person traduced is doubly injured, first by him who propagates, and secondly by him who receives the calumny. If this war be a measure of necessity, let it be prosecuted; but let the king remain at home[1] with his subjects. Suffer the children of us two to remain in his power, as the test of our different opinions; and do you, Mardonius, conduct the war with whatever forces you shall think expedient. If, agreeably to your representations, the designs of the king shall be successful, let me and my children perish; but if what I predict shall be accomplished, let your children die, and yourself too, in case you shall return. If you refuse these conditions, and are still resolved to lead an army into Greece, I do not hesitate to declare, that all those who shall be left behind will hear that Mardonius, after having involved the Persians in some conspicuous calamity, became a prey to dogs and ravenous birds, in the territories either of Athens or Lacedæmon, or probably during his march thither. Thus you will know, by fatal experience, what those men are against whom you endeavour to persuade the king to prosecute a war."

XI. When Artabanus had finished, Xerxes thus angrily replied; "Artabanus, you are my father's brother, which alone prevents your receiving the chastisement due to your foolish speech. This mark of ignominy shall however adhere to you—as you are so dastardly and mean, you shall not accompany me to Greece, but remain at home, the companion of our women. Without your assistance, I shall proceed in the accomplishment of my designs; for I should ill deserve to be esteemed the son of Darius,[2] who was the son of Hystaspes, and reckoned among his ancestors, Arsamis, Ariannis, Teispeus, Cyrus, Cambyses, Teispeus, and Achæmenes, if I did not gratify my revenge upon the Athenians. I am well assured, that if we on our parts were tranquil, they would not, but would invade and ravage our country. This we may reasonably conclude from their burning of Sardis, and their incursions into Asia. Neither party can therefore recede; we must advance to the attack of the Greeks, or we must prepare to sustain theirs; we must either submit to them, or they to us; in enmities like these there can be no medium. Injured as we have been, it becomes us to seek for revenge: for I am determined to know what evil is to be dreaded from those whom Pelops the Phrygian, the slave of my ancestors, so effectually subdued, that even to this day they, as well as their country, are distinguished by his name."

XII. On the approach of evening the sentiments of Artabanus gave great disquietude to Xerxes, and after more serious deliberation with himself in the night, he found himself still less inclined to the Grecian war. Having decided on the subject, he fell asleep, when, as the Persians relate, the following vision appeared to him:—He dreamed that he saw before him a man of unusual size and beauty, who thus addressed him: "Are you then determined, O Persian, contrary to your former resolutions, not to lead an army against Greece,

1 *Let the king remain at home.*]—See 2 Sam. xxi. 17. "Then the men of David sware unto him, saying, Thou shalt go no more out with us to battle, that thou quench not the light of Israel."

In our country, soon after the revolution, when William narrowly escaped destruction by the falling of his horse, it was determined by parliament, that the sovereign should never again expose his person in battle.

2 *Son of Darius.*]—The following was the genealogy of his family:

Achæmenes.
|
Teispeus.
|
Cambyses.
|
Cyrus.

Cambyses.	Teispeus.
Cyrus.	Ariannis.
Cambyses.	Arsamis.
	Hystaspes.
	Darius.

although you have ordered your subjects to prepare their forces? This change in your sentiments is absurd in itself, and will certainly be censured by the world. Resume, therefore, and persist in what you had resolved by day." Having said this, the vision disappeared.

XIII. The impression made by the vision vanished with the morning. Xerxes a second time convoked the former meeting, and again addressed them: Men of Persia," said he, "you will forgive me, if my former sentiments are changed. I am not yet arrived at the full maturity of my judgment; and they who wish me to prosecute the measures which I before seemed to approve, do not remit their importunities. When I first heard the opinion of Artabanus, I yielded to the emotions of youth, and I expressed myself more petulantly than was becoming to a man of his years. To prove that I see my indiscretion, I am resolved to follow his advice. It is not my intention to undertake an expedition against Greece; remain therefore in tranquillity." The Persians hearing these sentiments, prostrated themselves with joy, before the king.

XIV. On the following night, the same phantom appeared a second time to Xerxes in his sleep, and spake to him as follows: "Son of Darius, disregarding my admonitions as of no weight or signification, you have publicly renounced all thoughts of war. Hear what I say; unless you immediately undertake that which I recommend, the same short period of time which has seen you great and powerful, shall behold you reduced and abject."

XV. Terrified at the vision, the king leaped from his couch, and sent for Artabanus. As soon as he approached, "Artabanus," exclaimed Xerxes, "in return for your salutary counsel, I reproached and insulted you; but as soon as I became master of myself I endeavoured to prove my repentance, by adopting what you proposed. This however whatever may be my wishes, I am unable to do. As soon as my former determinations were changed, I beheld in my sleep a vision, which first endeavoured to dissuade me, and has this moment left me with threats. If what I have seen proceed from the interference of some deity, who is solicitous that I should make war on Greece, it will doubtless appear to you, and give you a similar mandate. This will I think be the case, if you will assume my habit, and after sitting on my throne retire to rest in my apartment."

XVI. Artabanus was at first unwilling to comply, alleging that he was not worthy to sit on the throne of the king.[3] But being urged, he finally acquiesced, after thus expressing his sentiments: "I am of opinion, O king, that to think well, and to follow what is well advised, is alike commendable:[4] both these qualities are yours; but the artifice of evil counsellors misleads you. Thus, the ocean is of itself most useful to mankind but the stormy winds render it injurious, by disturbing its natural surface. Your reproaches gave me less uneasiness than to see that when two opinions were submitted to public deliberation, the one aiming to restrain, the other to countenance the pride of Persia, you preferred that which was full of danger to yourself and your country, rejecting the wiser counsel, which pointed out the evil tendency of ambition. Now that you have changed your resolution with respect to Greece, a phantom has appeared, and, as you say, by some divine interposition, has forbidden your present purpose of dismissing your forces. But, my son, I dispute the divinity of this interposition, for of the fallacy of dreams I who am more experienced than yourself, can produce sufficient testimonies. Dreams in general originate from those incidents which have most occupied the thoughts during the day.[5] Two days since, you will remember, that this expedition was the object of much warm discussion: but if this

3 *Of the king.*]—To sit on the king's throne, was in Persia deemed a capital offence.

4 *Alike commendable.*]—Larcher at this passage quotes the two following sentences, from Livy and from Cicero.

Sæpe ego audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum qui ipse consulat quid in rem sit, secundum eum qui bene monenti obediat.

I have often heard, my fellow-soldiers, that he was first to be esteemed who gave advice suitable to the occasion: and that he deserved the second place who followed it.—*Liv.* xxii. 29.

Sapientissimum dicunt eum cui quod opus sit veniat in mentem, proxime accedere illum, qui alterius bene inventis obtemperet. Which passage of Cicero, pro Cluentio, may be rendered nearly the same as that from Livy. The sentiment is originally Hesiod's, and is by him beautifully expressed in his *Works and Days*, ver. 293. It has been imitated also by Sophocles, in his Antigone. The turn Cicero gives it is curious enough: "In folly," he says, "it is just the contrary, the greatest fool is he who thinks of an absurdity: the next he who adopts it." This is perfectly true.—*T.*

5 *During the day.*]—After all that has been said and written on the subject of dreams, I shall I hope be excused, when I confess that the following words of Mr. Locke are to me quite satisfactory on the subject.

"The dreams of sleeping men are all made up of the waking man's ideas, though for the most part oddly put together."—*T.*

vision be really sent from heaven, your reasoning upon it is just, and it will certainly appear to me as it has done to you, expressing itself to a similar effect; but it will not show itself to me dressed in your robes, and reclining on your couch, sooner than if I were in my own habit and my own apartment. No change of dress will induce the phantom, if it does appear, to mistake me for you. If it shall hold me in contempt, it will not appear to me, however I may be clothed. It unquestionably however merits attention; its repeated appearance I myself must acknowledge to be a proof of its divinity. If you are determined in your purpose, I am ready to go to rest in your apartment, but till I see the phantom myself I shall retain my former opinions."

XVII. Artabanus, expecting to find the king's dream of no importance, did as he was ordered. He accordingly put on the robe of Xerxes, seated himself on the royal throne, and afterwards retired to the king's apartment. The same phantom which had disturbed Xerxes appeared to him,[1] and thus addressed him: "Art thou the man who, pretending to watch over the conduct of Xerxes, art endeavouring to restrain his designs against Greece? Your perverseness shall be punished both now and in future; and as for Xerxes himself, he has been forewarned of the evils he will suffer, if disobedient to my will."

XVIII. Such were the threats which Artabanus heard from the spectre, which at the same time made an effort to burn out his eyes with a hot iron. Alarmed at his danger, Artabanus leaped from his couch, and uttering a loud cry, went instantly to Xerxes. After relating his vision, he thus spake to him: "Being a man, O king, of much experience, and having seen the undertakings of the powerful foiled by the efforts of the weak, I was unwilling that you should indulge the fervour of your age. Of the ill effects of inordinate ambition, I had seen a fatal proof, in the expedition which Cyrus undertook against the Massagetæ; I knew also what became of the army of Cambyses in their attack of Æthiopia; and lastly, I myself witnessed the misfortunes of Darius in his hostilities with the Scythians. The remembrance of these incidents induced me to believe that if you continued a peaceful reign, you would beyond all men deserve the character of happy; but as your present inclination seems directed by some supernatural influence, and as the Greeks seem marked out by heaven for destruction, I acknowledge that my sentiments are changed; do you therefore make known to the Persians the extraordinary intimations you have received, and direct your dependants to hasten the preparations you had before commanded. Be careful, in what relates to yourself, to second the intentions of the gods."—The vision indeed had so powerfully impressed the minds of both, that as soon as the morning appeared, Xerxes communicated his intentions to the Persians; which Artabanus, in opposition to his former sentiments, now openly and warmly approved.

XIX. Whilst every thing was making ready for his departure, Xerxes saw a third vision. The magi to whom it was related were of opinion that it portended to Xerxes unlimited and universal empire. The king conceived himself to be crowned with the wreath of an olive-tree, whose branches covered all the earth, but that this wreath suddenly and totally disappeared. After the above interpretation of the magi had been made known in the national assembly of the Persians, the governors departed to their several provinces, eager to execute the commands they had received, in expectation of the promised reward.

XX. Xerxes was so anxious to complete his levies, that no part of the continent was left without being ransacked for this purpose. After the reduction of Egypt, four entire years were employed in assembling the army and collecting provisions; but in the beginning of the fifth[2] he began his march, with an immense body of forces. Of all the military expeditions the fame of which has come down to us, this was far the greatest, much exceeding that which Darius undertook against Scythia, as well as the incursion made by the Scythians, who pursuing the Cimmerians, entered Media, and

1 *Appeared to him.*]—Larcher reasonably supposes that this was a plot of Mardonius to impose upon Xerxes; and that some person, dressed and disguised for the purpose, acted the part of the ghost.

2 *Beginning of the fifth.*]—Darius was three years in preparing for an expedition against Greece; in the fourth Egypt revolted, and in the following year Darius died; this therefore was the fifth year after the battle of Marathon. Xerxes employed four years in making preparations for the same purpose; in the fifth he began his march, he advanced to Sardis, and there wintered; in the beginning of the following spring he entered Greece This therefore was the eleventh year after the battle of Marathon; which account agrees with that given by Thucydides.—*T.*

made themselves entire masters of almost all the higher parts of Asia; an incursion which afforded Darius the pretence for his attack on Scythia. It surpasses also the famous expedition of the sons of Atreus against Troy, as well as that of the Mysians and Teucrians before the Trojan war. These nations, passing over the Bosphorus into Europe, reduced all the inhabitants of Thrace, advancing to the Ionian sea, and thence as far as the southern part of the river Peneus.

XXI. None of the expeditions already mentioned, nor indeed any other, may at all be compared with this of Xerxes. It would be difficult to specify any nation of Asia which did not accompany the Persian monarch against Greece, or any waters, except great rivers, which were not exhausted by his armies. Some supplied ships, some a body of infantry, others of horse; some provided transports for the cavalry and the troops; others brought long ships to serve as bridges; many also brought vessels laden with corn, all which preparations were made for three years, to guard against a repetition of the calamities which the Persian fleet had formerly sustained in their attempts to double the promontory of Mount Athos. The place of rendezvous for the triremes was at Elæos of the Chersonese, from whence detachments from the army were sent, and by force of blows compelled to dig a passage through Mount Athos,[3] with orders to relieve each other at certain regular intervals. The undertaking was assisted by those who inhabited the mountain, and the conduct of the work was confided to Bubaris, the son of Megabyzus, and Antachæus, son of Artæus, both of whom were Persians.

XXII. Athos is a large and noble mountain, projecting into the sea, and inhabited; where it terminates on the land side it has the appearance of a peninsula, and forms an isthmus of about twelve stadia in breadth: the surface of this is interspersed with several small hills, reaching from the Acanthian sea to that of Torone,[4] which is opposite. Where Mount Athos terminates, stands a Grecian city, called Sana; in the interior parts, betwixt Sana and the elevation of Athos, are situated the towns of Dion, Olophyxus, Acrothoon, Thyssum, and Cleonæ, inhabited by Greeks. It was the object of the Persians to detach these from the continent.

XXIII. They proceeded to dig in this manner: the Barbarians marked out the ground in the vicinity of Sana with a rope, assigning to each nation their particular station; then sinking a deep trench, whilst they at the bottom continued digging, the nearest to them handed the earth to others standing immediately above them upon ladders; it was thus progressively elevated, till it came to the summit, where they who stood received and carried it away. The brink of the trench giving way except in that part where the Phenicians were employed, occasioned a double labour; and this, as the trench was no wider at top than at bottom, was unavoidable. But in this, as in other instances, the Phenicians discovered their superior sagacity, for in the part allotted to them they commenced by making the breadth of the trench twice as large as was necessary; and thus proceeding in an inclined direction, they made their work at the bottom of the prescribed dimensions. In this part was a meadow which was their public place for business and for commerce, and where a vast quantity of corn was imported from Asia.

XXIV. The motive of Xerxes in this work[5] was, as far as I am able to conjecture, the vain desire of exhibiting his power, and of

3 *Through Mount Athos.*]—This incident Mr. Richardson conceives to be utterly incredible. This promontory was, as he justly remarks, no more than 200 miles from Athens; and yet Xerxes is said to have employed a number of men, three years before his crossing the Hellespont, to separate it from the continent, and make a canal for his shipping. Themistocles also, who from the time of the battle of Marathon had been incessantly alarming the Athenians with another Persian invasion, never endeavoured to support his opinion by any allusion to this canal, the very digging of which must have filled all Greece with astonishment, and been the subject of every public conversation.—See Richardson farther on this subject, Dissertation, p. 312. Pococke, who visited Mount Athos, deems also the event highly improbable, and says that he could not perceive the smallest vestige of any such undertaking.—*T.*

4 *Torone.*]—There were two places of this name, one on the coast of Epirus, the other this bay in Macedonia, where the roaring of the sea was so loud that the expression *surdior Toronæo ponto*, became proverbial.—*T.*

5 *In this work.*]—Plutarch, in his treatise de Ira cohibenda, has preserved a ridiculous letter, supposed to have been written by Xerxes to Mount Athos. It was to this effect: "O thou miserable Athos, whose top now reaches to the heavens, I give thee in charge not to throw any great stones in my way, which may impede my work! If thou shalt do this, I will cut thee in pieces and cast thee into the sea."

This threat to the mountain is however at least as sensible as the chastisement inflicted upon the Hellespont; so that if one anecdote be true, the other may also obtain credit.—*T.*

leaving a monument to posterity. When with very little trouble he might have transported his vessels over the isthmus, he chose rather to unite the two seas by a canal, of sufficient diameter to admit two triremes a-breast. Those employed in this business were also ordered to throw bridges over the river Strymon.

XXV. For these bridges Xerxes provided cordage made of the bark [1] of the biblos, and of white flax. The care of transporting provisions for the army was committed jointly to the Ægyptians and Phœnicians, that the troops, as well as the beasts of burden, in this expedition to Greece, might not suffer from famine. After examining into the nature of the country, he directed stores to be deposited in every convenient situation, which were supplied by transports and vessels of burden, from the different parts of Asia. Of these the greater number were carried to that part of Thrace which is called the "White Coast;" others to Tyrodiza of the Perinthians; the remainder were severally distributed at Doriscus, at Eion on the banks of the Strymon, and in Macedonia.

XXVI. Whilst these things were carrying on, Xerxes, at the head of all his land forces, left Critalis in Cappadocia, and marched towards Sardis: it was at Critalis that all those troops were appointed to assemble who were to attend the king by land; who the commander was, that received from the king the promised gifts, on account of the number and goodness of his troops, I am unable to decide, nor indeed can I say whether there was any competition on the subject. Passing the river Halys,[2] they came to Phrygia, and continuing to advance, arrived at Celænæ, where are the fountains of the Mæander, as well as those of another river of equal size with the Mæander, called Catarracte, which rising in the public square of Celænæ, empties itself into the Mæander. In the forum of this city is suspended the skin of Marsyas,[3] which the Phrygians say was placed there after he had been flayed by Apollo.

XXVII. In this city lived a man named Pythius, son of Atys, a native of Lydia, who entertained Xerxes and all his army with great magnificence; he farther engaged to supply the king with money for the war. Xerxes was on this induced to inquire of his Persian attendants who this Pythius was, and what were the resources which enabled him to make these offers: "It is the same," they replied, "who presented your father Darius with a plane tree and a vine of gold,[4] and who, next to yourself, is the richest of mankind."[5]

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1 *Of the bark.*]—The Indians make very strong cordage of the bark of the cocoa-tree. The English word *cordage* comes from the Greek word χορδη, chorde, a kind of gut of which cord was made.—*T.*

2 *Halys.*]—If the reader will be pleased to remember, that Herodotus makes the river Halys the boundary of the kingdoms of Cyrus and Crœsus, it may lead to some interesting and useful reflections on the progress of ambition, and the fate of empires.—*T.*

3 *Marsyas.*]—This story must be sufficiently familiar; See Ovid Metamorph. l. vi. 382.

The punishment of Marsyas, says Licetus, was only an allegory. Before the invention of the lyre, the flute was the first of all musical instruments; after the introduction of the lyre, the flute came into disrepute, and nothing was to be gained by excelling on it. Pausanias, describing one of the Pictures of Polygnotus, in his book of the Territories of Phocis, says, that in one of the temples of Delphi was a picture, which contained among other figures Marsyas sitting upon a rock, and the youth Olympus by him, who seems to be learning to play on the flute.—*T.*

4 *Vine of gold.*]—See Seneca's Epistles. Nemo gloriari nisi de suo debet.—Vitem laudamus si fructu palmites onerat, si ipsa ad terram pondere eorum quæ tulit adminicula deducit. Num quis huic illam vitem præferat cui aureæ uvæ aurea folia dependent. Upon which Jortin remarks: Illem inquit vitem quasi de aliqua vite aurea satis cognita loquens: de illa puta quam Aristobulus dederat Pompeio.

Mention is made by the ancient writers of several golden vines. According to Pliny, Cyrus, when he conquered Asia, carried one away with him. See also Athenæus, book xii. where it is said, that the vine of gold, adorned with the most valuable jewels, was deposited in the bed-chamber of the Persian monarch. See Jortin, Remarks on Latin authors.

5 *Richest of mankind.*]—Many wonderful anecdotes are related of the riches of individuals in more ancient times; among which this does not seem to be the least marvellous. The sum of which Pythius is said to have been possessed amounted to five millions and a half of our sterling money; this is according to the estimate of Prideaux: that given by Montfaucon differs essentially. "The denii," says the last writer, "weighed eight modern louis d'ors; therefore Pythius possessed thirty-two millions of louis d'ors." If so great then was the wealth of a single dependant on the sovereign of Persia, what must have been the riches of all the satraps, princes, nobility, &c. collectively?

Montfaucon, relating the history of Pythius, adds these reflections:

"A man might in those days safely be rich, provided he obtained his riches honestly; and how great must have been the circulation in commerce, if a private man could amass so prodigious a sum!" The wealth which the Roman Crassus possessed was not much inferior; when he had consecrated a tenth of his property to Hercules, and at ten thousand tables feasted all the people of Rome, beside giving as much corn to every citizen as was sufficient to last him three months, he found himself still possessed of 7100 Roman talents, equivalent to a million and a half of our money. The gold which Solomon employed in overlaying the sanctum sanctorum of the temple, which was no more than thirty feet square

XXVIII. These last words filled Xerxes with astonishment; and he could not refrain from asking Pythius himself the amount of his wealth: "Sir," he replied, "I conceal nothing from you, nor affect ignorance; but as I am able I will fairly tell you.—As soon as I heard of your approach to the Grecian sea, I was desirous of giving you money for the war; on examining into the state of my affairs, I found that I was possessed of two thousand talents of silver, and four millions, wanting only seven thousand, of gold staters of Darius; all this I give you—my slaves and my farms will be sufficient to maintain me."

XXIX. "My Lydian friend," returned Xerxes, much delighted, "since I first left Persia, you are the only person who has treated my army with hospitality, or who, appearing in my presence, has voluntarily offered me a supply for the war: you have done both; in acknowledgement for which I offer you my friendship; you shall be my host, and I will give you the seven thousand staters, which are wanting to make your sum of four millions complete.—Retain, therefore, and enjoy your property; persevere in your present mode of conduct, which will invariably operate to your happiness."

XXX. Xerxes having performed what he promised, proceeded on his march; passing by a Phrygian city, called Anaua, and a lake from which salt is made, he came to Colossæ.[6] This also is a city of Phrygia, and of considerable eminence; here the Lycus disappears, entering abruptly a chasm in the earth, but at the distance of seven stadia it again emerges, and continues its course to the Mæander. The Persian army, advancing from Colossæ, came to Cydrara, a place on the confines of Phrygia and Lydia: here a pillar had been erected by Crœsus, with an inscription defining the boundaries of the two countries.

XXXI. On entering Lydia from Phrygia they came to a place where two roads met, the one on the left leading to Caria, the other on the right to Sardis; to those who go by the latter it is necessary to cross the Mæander, and to pass Callatebus, a city where honey is made of the tamarisk and wheat. Xerxes here found a plane-tree, so very beautiful, that he adorned it with chains of gold, and assigned the guard of it[7] to one of the immortal band;[8] the next day he came to the principal city of the Lydians.

XXXII. When arrived at Sardis, his first step was to send heralds into Greece, demanding earth and water, and commanding preparations should be made to entertain him. He did not, however, send either to Athens or Lacedæmon: his motive for repeating the demand to the other cities, was, the expectation that they who had before refused earth and water to Darius, would, from their alarm at his approach, send it now; this he wished positively to know.

XXXIII. Whilst he was preparing to go to Abydos, numbers were employed in throwing a bridge over the Hellespont, from Asia to Europe; betwixt Sestos and Madytus, in the Chersonese of the Hellespont, the coast towards the sea from Abydos is rough and woody. After this period, and at no remote interval of time, Xanthippus, son of Ariphron, and commander of the Athenians, in this place took Antayctes, a Persian, and governor of Sestos, prisoner; he was crucified alive; he had formerly carried some females to the temple of Protesilaus in Elæos, and perpetrated what is detestable.

XXXIV. They on whom the office was imposed proceeded in the work of the bridge, commencing at the side next Abydos. The Phenicians used a cordage made of linen, the Egyptians the bark of the biblos: from Abydos to the opposite continent is a space of seven stadia.[9] The bridge was no sooner completed,

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and thirty feet high, amounted to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling. The gold which he had in one year from Ophir was equal to three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds: his annual tribute in gold, besides silver, was four millions seven hundred ninety-five thousand two hundred pounds. Lucullus the Roman senator, whenever he supped in his room called the Apollo, expended fifty thousand Roman denarii, nearly equal to fifteen hundred pounds. See Plutarch, Montfaucon, and Prideaux. This story is related differently in Plutarch's treatise de Virtutibus Mulierum.—*T.*

6 *Colossæ*]—or Colossis, a town of Phrygia, near Laodicea, on the confines of Caria. This place is memorable in scripture, on account of the epistle addressed by St. Paul to its inhabitants.—*T.*

7 *The guard of it.*]—This caprice of Xerxes is ridiculed by Ælian, l. ii. c. 14. but with no great point or humour. He remarks, that the beauty of a tree consists in its firm root, its spreading branches, its thick leaves, but that the bracelets of Xerxes, and gold of Barbarians, would certainly be no addition to its excellence.—*T.*

8 *Immortal band.*]—See on this subject, chapter 83.

9 *Seven stadia.*]—The Hellespont was so called by the ancients because Helle, attempting to swim over here, on the ram with the golden fleece, was drowned. The Europeans call it the Dardanelles, as well as the castles

than a great tempest arose, which tore in pieces and destroyed the whole of their labour.

XXXV. When Xerxes heard of what had happened, he was so enraged, that he ordered three hundred lashes to be inflicted[1] on the Hellespont, and a pair of fetters to be thrown into the sea. I have been informed that he even sent some executioners to brand the Hellespont with marks of ignominy; but it is certain, that he ordered those who inflicted the lashes to use these barbarous and mad expressions: "Thou ungracious water, thy master condemns thee to this punishment, for having injured him without provocation. Xerxes the king will pass over thee, whether thou consentest or not: just is it that no man honours thee with sacrifice, for thou art insidious, and of an ungrateful flavour." After thus treating the sea, the king commanded those who presided over the construction of the bridge to be beheaded.

XXXVI. These commands were executed by those on whom that unpleasing office was conferred. A bridge was then constructed by a different set of architects, who performed it in the following manner; they connected together ships of different kinds, some long vessels of fifty oars, others three-banked gallies, to the number of three hundred and sixty on the side towards the Euxine sea, and three hundred and thirteen on that of the Hellespont.[2] The former of these were placed transversely, but the latter to diminish the strain upon the cables, in the direction of the current. When these vessels were firmly connected to each other, they were secured on each side by anchors of great length; on the upper side, because of the winds which set in from the Euxine; on the lower, toward the Ægean sea, on account of the south and south-east winds.[3] They left, however, openings in three places, sufficient to afford a passage for light vessels, which might have occasion to sail into the Euxine or from it: having performed this, they extended cables from the shore,[4] stretching them upon large capstans of wood; for this purpose they did not employ a number of separate cables, but united two of white flax with four of biblos. These were alike in thickness, and apparently so in goodness, but those of flax were in proportion much the more solid, weighing not less

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about the middle of it; the Turks gave it the name of Bogas (the mouth or entrance). The entrance to the Dardanelles is now to be computed from the Asia light-house, about a league without Lamsac, and from the Europe light-house, half a league to the north of Gallipoli; the whole length is about twenty-six miles; the broadest part is not computed to be above four miles over, though at Gallipoli it was judged by the ancients to be five miles, and from Sestos to Abydos only seven stadia.—*Pococke.*

On a reconnu dans ces derniers temps que ce trajet, le plus resserve de tout le detroit, n'est que d'environ 375 toises et demi, les ponts ayant 7 stades de longueur; M. d'Anville en a conclu que ces stades n'etoient que de 51 toises.—*Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.*

1 *To be inflicted.*]—Juvenal makes a happyuse of this historical anecdote; Sat. x. 179.

> Ille tamen (Xerxes) qualis rediit Salamine relicta
> In Corum atque Eurum solitus sævire flagellis.
> Barbarus, Æolio nunquam hoc in carcere passos,
> Ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigæum
> Mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
> Credidit.

Of which lines this is Dryden's translation:

> But how did he return, this haughty brave,
> Who whipt the winds, and made the sea his slave?
> Though Neptune took unkindly to be bound,
> And Eurus never such hard usage found
> In his Æolian prison under ground.

The reader will observe that the more pointed part of the passage is totally omitted by Dryden.—Gifford is far more successful.—*T.*

2 *On that of the Hellespont.*]—It seems a matter of certainty that these numbers must be erroneous.—Vessels placed transversely must reach to a much greater extent than the same number placed side by side; yet here the greater number of ships is stated to have been on the side where they were arranged transversely, that is, across the channel, with their broadsides to the stream. What the true numbers were it is vain to conjecture, it is sufficient to have pointed out that the present must have been wrong.—*T.*

3 *The south and south-east winds.*]—At first sight it appears that the west winds were most to be dreaded on that side; but the western side of the channel is sheltered by the shore of the Chersonese, and it turns in such a manner, as to bring the south-east winds, as well as the south, to act against that side. It seems extraordinary that no mention is here made of the current as making anchors necessary on the upper side. I am tempted to think that some words expressing that circumstance have been lost from the text: we might perhaps read της ῥοης, και των ανεμων εινεκα, instead of της ἑτερης, των ανεμων: the first της ἑτερης being not necessary to the construction, though very consistent with it. I conceive each range of vessels to have been secured by anchors above and below, the transverse ships having them from each side, those placed with the current, at head and stern, so that there were in all four sets of anchors: or, perhaps, the cables extended from shore to shore secured each range of vessels on the inner side; if so, there would be only two sets of anchors, one from the upper sides of the transverse ships, the other from one end of those which lay side by side.—*T.*

4 *Extended cables from the shore.*]—That is, from shore to shore, and doubtless within each range of ships, at such a distance from each other as to be of a convenient breadth for the bridge; thus the ships served as piers to support the weight, and the cables resting on the vessels, or something projecting from them, formed the foundation for the road by which the army was to pass.

than a talent to every cubit. When the pass was thus secured, they sawed out rafters of wood, making their length equal to the space required for the bridge; these they laid in order across upon the extended cables, and then bound them fast together. They next brought unwrought wood, which they placed very regularly upon the rafters; over all they threw earth, which they raised to a proper height, and finished all by a fence on each side, that the horses and other beasts of burden might not be terrified by looking down upon the sea.

XXXVII. The bridges were at length completed, and the work at mount Athos finished: to prevent the canal at this place being choked up by the flow of the tides, deep trenches were sunk at its mouth. The army had wintered at Sardis, but on receiving intelligence of the above, they marched at the commencement of the spring for Abydos. At the moment of their departure, the sun, which before gave his full light, in a bright unclouded atmosphere, withdrew his beams, and the darkest night succeeded. Xerxes, alarmed at this incident, consulted the magi upon what it might portend. They replied, that the protection of heaven was withdrawn from the Greeks; the sun, they observed, was the tutelar divinity of Greece, as the moon was of Persia.[5] The answer was so satisfactory to Xerxes, that he proceeded with increased alacrity.

XXXVIII. During the march, Pythius the Lydian, who was much intimidated by the prodigy which had appeared, went to the king; deriving confidence from the liberality he had shown and received, he thus addressed him: "Sir," said he, "I entreat a favour no less trifling to you than important to myself." Xerxes, not imagining what he was about to ask, promised to grant it, and desired to know what he would have. Pythius on this became still more bold: "Sir," he returned, "I have five sons, who are all with you in this Grecian expedition; I would entreat you to pity my age, and dispense with the presence of the eldest. Take with you the four others, but leave this to manage my affairs; so may you return in safety, after the accomplishment of your wishes."

XXXIX. Xerxes, in great indignation,[6] made this reply: "Infamous man! you see me embark my all in this Grecian war; myself, my children, my brothers, my domestics, and my friends; how dare you then presume to mention your son, you who are my slave, and whose duty it is to accompany me on this occasion with all your family, and even your wife?[7]—Remember this, the spirit of a man resides in his ears; when he hears what is agreeable to him, the pleasure diffuses itself over all his body; but when the contrary happens he is anxious and uneasy. If your former conduct was good, and your promises yet better, you still cannot boast of having surpassed the king in liberality. Although your present behaviour is base and insolent, you shall be punished less severely than you deserve; your former hospitality preserves yourself and four of your children; the fifth, whom you most regard, shall pay the penalty of your crime." As soon as he had finished, the king commanded the proper officers to find the eldest son of Pythius, and divide his body in two: he then ordered one part of the body to be thrown on the right side of the road, the other on the left, whilst the army continued their march betwixt them.

XL. The march was conducted in the following order; first of all went those who had the care of the baggage: they were followed by a promiscuous body of strangers of all nations, without any regularity, but to the amount of more than half the army: after these was a considerable interval, for these did not join the troops where the king was: next came a thou-

5 *The moon was of Persia.*]—Several of the oriental nations worshipped the moon as a divinity. The Jews were reproved for doing this by the prophet Jeremiah; see chap. xliv. 17.

"Let us sacrifice to the queen of heaven, and pour out our drink-offerings unto her," &c.—*T.*

6 *Great indignation.*]—No two characters could well afford a more striking contrast to each other, than those of Darius and Xerxes; that of Darius was on various occasions marked by the tenderest humanity; it is unnecessary to specify any, as numerous instances occur in the course of this work. Xerxes on the contrary was insolent, imperious, and unfeeling: and viewing the whole of his conduct, we are at a loss which to reprobate most, his want of sagacity, of true courage, or real sensibility. The example before us, as we have nothing on record of the softer or more amiable kind to contrast it with, as it was not only unprovoked, but as the unsolicited liberality of Pythius demanded a very different return, we are compelled to consign it to everlasting infamy, as an act of consummate meanness and brutality. —*T.*

7 *Even your wife.*]—This expression may at first sight appear a little singular; its apparent absurdity vanishes, when we take into consideration the jealous care with which the orientals have in all ages secluded their women from the public eye.—*T.*

sand horse, the flower of the Persian army, who were followed by the same number of spearmen, in like manner selected, trailing their pikes upon the ground: behind these were ten sacred horses called Nisæan,[1] with very superb trappings (they take their name from a certain district in Media, called Nisæus, remarkable for producing horses of an extraordinary size); the sacred car of Jupiter was next in the procession, it was drawn by eight white horses, behind which, on foot, was the charioteer, with the reins in his hands, for no mortal is permitted to sit in this car; then came Xerxes himself, in a chariot[2] drawn by Nisæan horses, by his side sat his charioteer whose name was Patiramphes, son of Otanes the Persian.

XLI. Such was the order in which Xerxes departed from Sardis; but as often as occasion required he left his chariot for a common carriage.[3] A thousand of the first and noblest Persians attended his person, bearing their spears according to the custom of their country; and a thousand horse, selected like the former, immediately succeeded. A body of ten thousand chosen infantry came next: a thousand of these had at the extremity of their spears a pomegranate of gold, the remaining nine thousand, whom the former enclosed, had in the same manner pomegranates of silver. They who preceded Xerxes, and trailed their spears, had their arms decorated with gold; they who followed him had, as we have described, golden pomegranates: these ten thousand foot were followed by an equal number of Persian cavalry; at an interval of about two furlongs followed a numerous, irregular, and promiscuous multitude.

XLII. From Lydia the army continued its march along the banks of the Caicus, to Mysia, and leaving Mount Canæ on the left, proceeded through Atarnis to the city Carina. Moving hence over the plains of Thebes, and passing by Adramythium and Antandros, a Pelasgian city, they left mount Ida to the left, and entered the district of Ilium. In the very first night which they passed under Ida, a furious storm of thunder and lightning arose, which destroyed numbers of the troops. From hence they advanced to the Scamander;[4] this river first of all, after their departure from Sardis, failed in supplying them with a quantity of water sufficient for their troops and beasts of burden.

XLIII. On his arrival at this river, Xerxes ascended the citadel of Priam, desirous of examining the place. Having surveyed it attentively, and satisfied himself concerning it, he ordered a thousand oxen to be sacrificed to the Trojan Minerva,[5] at the same time the magi directed libations to be offered to the manes of the heroes; when this was done, a panic spread itself in the night through the army. At the dawn of morning they moved forward, leaving to the left the towns of Rhœtion, Ophyrneon, and Dardanus, which last is very near Abydos; the Gergithæ and Teucri were to the right.

XLIV. On their arrival at Abydos, Xerxes desired to take a survey of all his army: the inhabitants had, at his previous desire, constructed for him, on an eminence, a seat of white marble; upon this he sate, and directing his eyes to the shore, beheld at one view his land and sea forces. He next wished to see a naval combat;[6] one was accordingly exhibited

1 *Nisæan.*]—Suidas says, that these horses were also remarkable for their swiftness; see article Νισαιον.—*T.*

2 *In a chariot.*]—The curious reader will find all the different kinds of ancient chariots, and other carriages, enumerated and explained in Montfaucon's Antiquities.—*T.*

3 *Common carriage.*]—Of the Harmamaxa Larcher remarks, that it was a carriage appropriated to females. The Greek carriages were distinguished by the different names of αρμα, αμαξα, οχημα.

"The first heroes," says Lucretius, "were mounted on horses, for chariots were a more modern invention."—See book v.

> Et prius est repertum in equi conscendere costas,
> Et moderantur hunc frenis dextraque vigere
> Quam bijugo curru belli tentare pericla.
>
> Mounted on well-rein'd steeds, in ancient time,
> Before the use of chariots was brought in,
> The first brave heroes fought.

See also Potter's Antiquities of Greece, on the Grecian chariots.—*T.*

4 *Scamander.*]—See Homer:

> Ον Ξανθον καλεουσι θεοι, ανδρες δε Σκαμανδρον.
> Which the gods call Xanthus, mortals Scamander.

5 *Trojan Minerva.*]—The temple of the Trojan Minerva was in the citadel. The story of the Palladium, how essential it was deemed to the preservation of Troy, and how it was surreptitiously removed by Diomede and Ulysses, must be sufficiently known. See in particular the speech of Ulysses, in the 13th book of the Metamorphoses:

> Quam rapui Phrygiæ signum penetrale Minervæ
> Hostibus e mediis et se mihi comparat Ajax?
> Nempe capi Trojam prohibebant fata sine illo.
> * * * * * *
> Verum etiam summas arces intrare, suaque
> Eripere sede deam, &c.

Alexander the Great, when he visited Troy, did not omit offering sacrifice to the Trojan Minerva.—*T.*

6 *Naval combat.*]—The Naumachiæ constituted one of the grandest of the Roman shows, and were first exhibited at the end of the first Punic war: they were originally intended to improve the Romans in naval discipline; but

before him, in which the Phenicians of Sidon were victorious. The view of this contest, as well as the number of his forces, delighted Xerxes exceedingly.

XLV. When the king beheld all the Hellespont crowded with ships, and all the shore, with the plains of Abydos, covered with his troops, he at first congratulated himself as happy, but he afterwards burst into tears.[7]

XLVI. Artabanus, the uncle of Xerxes, who with so much freedom had at first opposed the expedition against Greece, observed the king's emotion: "How different, Sir," said he, addressing him, "is your present behaviour, from what it was a few minutes since! you then esteemed yourself happy, you now are dissolved to tears." "My reflection," answered Xerxes, "on the transitory period of human life, excited my compassion for this vast multitude, not one of whom will complete the term of one hundred years." "This," returned Artabanus," is not to be reckoned the greatest calamity to which human beings are exposed; for, short as life is, there is no one in this multitude, nor indeed in the universe, who has been so truly happy, as not repeatedly to have desired death rather than life. The oppressions of misfortune, and the pangs of disease, render the short hours of life tedious and painful; death thus becomes the most delightful refuge of the unfortunate; and perhaps the invidiousness of the deity is most apparent, by the very pleasures we are suffered to enjoy."

XLVII. "Artabanus," replied Xerxes, "human life is what you represent it; but we will omit reflecting upon what fills us with uneasiness, and enjoy the pleasures which are before us; rather tell me, has the vision which you saw impressed full conviction on your mind, or do your former sentiments incline you to dissuade me from this Grecian war?—speak without reserve." "May the vision, O king," replied Artabanus, "which we have mutually seen, succeed to both our wishes! for my own part I am still so full of apprehensions, as not at all to be master of myself: after reflecting seriously on the subject, I discern two important things, exceedingly hostile to your views."

XLVIII. "What, my good friend, can these two things possibly be?" replied Xerxes; "do you think unfavourably of our land army, as not being sufficiently numerous? Do you imagine the Greeks will be able to collect one more powerful? Can you conceive our fleet inferior to that of our enemies?—or do both these considerations together distress you? If our force does not seem to you sufficiently effective, reinforcements may soon be provided."

XLIX. "No one, sir," answered Artabanus, "in his proper senses, could object either to your army, or to the multitude of your fleet; should you increase their number, the more hostile would the two things be of which I speak; I allude to the land and the sea. In case of any sudden tempest, you will find no harbour, as I conjecture, sufficiently capacious or convenient for the protection of your fleet; no one port would answer this purpose, you must have the whole extent of the continent; your being without a resource of this kind, should induce you to remember that fortune commands men,[8] and not men fortune. This is one of the calamities which threaten you:

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in more luxurious times they were never displayed from this motive, but to indulge private ostentation, or the public curiosity.

Lampridius relates of Heliogabalus, that the artificial lake in which the vessels were to appear at a public naumachia was by his command filled with wine instead of water.—*T.*

7 *Into tears.*]—

> As down
> Th' immeasurable ranks his sight was lost,
> A momentary gloom o'ercast his mind:
> While this reflection fill'd his eyes with tears—
> That, soon as time a hundred years had told,
> Not one among those millions should survive.
> Whence, to obscure thy pride, arose that cloud;
> Was it that once humanity could touch
> A tyrant's breast? Or rather did thy soul
> Repine, O Xerxes, at the bitter thought
> That all thy pow'r was mortal? *Glover's Leonidas.*

Seneca justly points out the inconsistency of these tears. "The very man," says he, "who shed them was about to precipitate their fate, losing some by land, some by sea, some in battle, some in flight, in a word destroying within a very little space of time that multitude, whose death within a hundred years he now appeared to dread."—*De Brev. Vitæ*, c. xvii.—He also assigns as the truer cause of his regret, the idea which concludes the above citation from Glover. Rollin has expressed the thought of Seneca with some improvement: "He might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself, and considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom his cruel ambition was going to sacrifice in an unjust and unnecessary war." The younger Pliny rather justifies his tears, *Ep.* iii. 7.—*T.*

8 *Fortune commands men.*]—This sentiment is beautifully expressed in Ecclesiastes, ix. 11.

"I returned and saw under the sun, that the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, neither yet bread to the wise, nor yet riches to men of understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill; but time and chance happeneth to them all."

I will now explain the other: The land is also your enemy; your meeting with no resistance will render it more so, as you will be thus seduced imperceptibly to advance; it is the nature of man never to be satisfied with success: thus, having no enemy to encounter, every moment of time, and addition to your progress, will be gradually introductive of famine. He, therefore, who is truly wise, will as carefully deliberate about the possible event of things, as he will be bold and intrepid in action."[1]

L. Xerxes made this reply: "What you allege, Artabanus, is certainly reasonable; but you should not so much give way to fear, as to see every thing in the worst point of view; if in consulting upon any matter we were to be influenced by the consideration of every possible contingency, we should execute nothing. it is better to submit to half of the evil which may be the result of any measure, than to remain in inactivity from the fear of what may eventually occur. If you oppose such sentiments as have been delivered, without informing us what more proper conduct to pursue, you are not more deserving of praise than they are, whom you oppose. I am of opinion that no man is qualified to speak upon any subject with decision: they who are bold and enterprising are more frequently successful, than they who are slow in their measures from extreme deliberation. You are sensible to what a height the power of Persia has arrived, which would never have been the case, if my predecessors had either been biassed by such sentiments as yours, or listened to such advisers: it was their contempt of danger which promoted their country's glory, for great exploits are always attended with proportionable danger.[2] We, therefore, emulous of their reputation, have selected the best season of the year for our enterprise; and, having effectually conquered Europe, we shall return without experience of famine or any other calamity: we have with us abundance of provisions, and the nations among which we arrive will supply us with corn, for they against whom we advance are not shepherds, but husbandmen."

LI. "Since, Sir," returned Artabanus, "you will suffer no mention to be made of fear, at least listen to my advice: where a number of things are to be discussed, prolixity is unavoidable. Cyrus, son of Cambyses, made all Ionia tributary to Persia, Athens excepted; do not, therefore, I entreat you, lead these men against those from whom they are immediately descended: without the Ionians, we are more than a sufficient match for our opponents. They must either be most base, by assisting to reduce the principal city of their country; or, by contributing to its freedom, will do what is most just. If they shall prove the former, they can render us no material service; if the latter, they may bring destruction on your army. Remember, therefore, the truth of the ancient proverb, When we commence a thing we cannot always tell how it will end.[3]"

LII. "Artabanus," interrupted Xerxes, "your suspicions of the fidelity of the Ionians must be false and injurious; of their constancy we have had sufficient testimony, as you yourself must be convinced, as well as all those who served under Darius against the Scythians. It was in their power to save or destroy all the forces of Persia, but they preserved their faith, their honour, and their gratitude; add to this, they have left in our dominions their wives, their children, and their wealth, and therefore dare not meditate any thing against us. Indulge, therefore, no apprehensions, but cheerfully watch over my family, and preserve my authority: to you I commit the exercise of my power."

LIII. Xerxes after this interview dismissed Artabanus to Susa, and a second time called an assembly of the most illustrious Persians. As soon as they were met, he thus addressed

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A moralist may perhaps be excused for adding, as a comment to the above, the simple but elegant line of Pope:

Chance is direction which thou canst not see.—*T.*

1 *Intrepid in action.*]—Larcher quotes, as a parallel passage to this, these words from Sallust.—Catilin. c. i. Prius quam incipias consulto, et ubi consulueris m ature facto opus est.

2 *Proportionable danger.*]—

The steep ascent must be with toil subdued;
Watchings and cares must win the lofty prize
Proposed by heaven—true bliss, and real good.
Honour rewards the brave and bold alone,
She spurns the timorous, indolent, and base;
Danger and toil stand stern before her throne,
And guard, so Jove commands, the sacred place:
Who seeks her must the mighty cost sustain,
And pay the price of fame—labour, and care, and pain.

Choice of Hercules.

3 *Will end.*]—

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosa nocte premit deus,
Ridetque si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat, &c. *Hor.*

See also Pindar, in Olympiis:

Νυν δ' ελπομαι μεν, εν θεῳ γε παν τελο.

We may hope indeed, but the event is with God alone.—*T.*

them; "My motive, Persians, for thus convoking you, is to entreat you to behave like men, and not dishonour the many great exploits of our ancestors; let us individually and collectively exert ourselves. We are engaged in a common cause; and I the rather call upon you to display your valour, because I understand we are advancing against a warlike people, whom if we overcome, no one will in future dare oppose us. Let us, therefore, proceed, having first implored the aid of the gods of Persia."

LIV. On the same day they prepared to pass the bridge: the next morning, whilst they waited for the rising of the sun, they burned on the bridge all manner of perfumes, and strewed the way with branches of myrtle.[4] When the sun appeared, Xerxes poured into the sea a libation from a golden vessel, and then addressing the sun, he implored him to avert from the Persians every calamity, till they should totally have vanquished Europe, arriving at its extremest limits. Xerxes then threw the cup into the Hellespont, together with a golden goblet, and a Persian scymitar. I am not able to determine whether the king, by throwing these things into the Hellespont, intended to make an offering to the sun, or whether he wished thus to make compensation to the sea for having formerly chastised it.

LV. When this was done, all the infantry and the horse were made to pass over that part of the bridge which was towards the Euxine; over that to the Ægean, went the servants of the camp, and the beasts of burden. They were preceded by ten thousand Persians, having garlands on their heads; and these were followed by a promiscuous multitude of all nations;—these passed on the first day. The first who went over the next day were the knights, and they who trailed their spears; these also had garlands on their heads; next came the sacred horses, and the sacred car; afterwards Xerxes himself, who was followed by a body of spear-men, and a thousand horse. The remainder of the army closed the procession, and at the same time the fleet moved to the opposite shore; I have heard from some, that the king himself was the last who passed the bridge.

LVI. As soon as Xerxes had set foot in Europe, he saw his troops driven over the bridge by the force of blows; and seven whole days and as many nights were consumed in the passage of his army. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, an inhabitant of the country is said to have exclaimed: "Why, O Jupiter, under the appearance of a Persian, and for the name of Jupiter taking that of Xerxes, art thou come to distract and persecute Greece? or why bring so vast a multitude, when able to accomplish thy purpose without them?"

LVII. When all were gone over, and were proceeding on their march, a wonderful prodigy appeared, which, though disregarded by Xerxes, had an obvious meaning—a mare brought forth a hare:[5] from this it might have been inferred, that Xerxes, who led an army into Greece with much ostentation and insolence, should be involved in personal danger, and compelled to return with dishonour. Whilst yet at Sardis, he had seen another prodigy—a mule produced a young one which had the marks of both sexes, those of the male being beneath.

LVIII. Neither of these incidents made any impression on his mind, and he continued to advance with his army by land, whilst his fleet passing beyond the Hellespont, coasted along the shore in an opposite direction. The latter sailed towards the west to the promontory of Sarpedon, where they were commanded to remain: the former proceeded eastward through the Chersonese, having on their right the tomb of Helle, the daughter of Athamas, on the left

4 *Branches of myrtle.*]—The myrtle was with the ancients a very favourite plant, and always expressive of triumph and joy: the hero wore it as a mark of victory: the bridegroom on his bridal-day: and friends presented each other with myrtle garlands in the conviviality of the banquet. Venus is said to have been adorned with it when Paris decided in her favour the prize of beauty, and that for this reason it was deemed odious to Juno and Minerva. It was probably from this reason, that when all other flowers and shrubs might be used in the festival of the Bona Dea at Rome, myrtle alone was excluded.—See Rosinus. Harmodius and Aristogiton before mentioned, when they slew the Athenian tyrant had their swords concealed beneath wreaths of myrtle; of which incident, as recorded in a fragment of Alcæus, Sir William Jones has made a happy use in his Poem to Liberty; I have already quoted the passage.

5 *Brought forth a hare.*]—In Julius Obsequens de Prodigiis, chap. xxxiii. p. 20, we have an account no less remarkable, L. Posthumio Albino, Sempronio Graccho Cos. mare arsit, ad Sinuessam *bos equuleum peperit.*

See also the same book, on the subject of a mule's producing young.

Mula pariens, discordiam civium, bonorum interitum, mutationem legum, turpes matronarum partus significavit.—This was always deemed an unfortunate omen. See Pliny, book viii. c. 44. That mules never do produce young I have before observed.—*T.*

the city of Cardia. Moving onward, through the midst of a city called Agera, they turned aside to the gulph of Melana, and a river of the same name, the waters of which were not sufficient for the troops. Having passed this river, which gives its name to the above-mentioned gulf, they directed their march westward, and passing Ænos, a city of Æolia, and the lake Stertoris, they came to Doriscus.

LIX. Doriscus is on the coast, and is a spacious plain of Thrace, through which the great river Hebrus flows. Here was a royal fort called Doriscus, in which Darius, in his expedition against Scythia, had placed a Persian garrison. This appearing a proper place for the purpose, Xerxes gave orders to have his army here marshalled and numbered. The fleet being all arrived off the shore near Doriscus, their officers ranged them in order near where Sala, a Samothracian town,[1] and Zena are situated. At the extremity of this shore is the celebrated promontory of Serrium, which formerly belonged to the Ciconians.—The crews having brought their vessels to shore,[2] enjoyed an interval of repose, whilst Xerxes was drawing up his troops on the plain of Doriscus.

LX. I am not able to specify what number of men each nation supplied, as no one has recorded it. The whole amount of the land forces was seventeen hundred thousand.[3] Their mode of ascertaining the number was this. they drew up in one place a body of ten thousand men; making these stand together

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1 *Samothracian town.*]—See Bellanger's remarks on this passage, in his Essais de Critique, where with great humour he compliments our countryman Littlebury, for kindly making his readers a present of two cities which never existed. Littlebury has rendered the passage thus.

"Xerxes commanded the sea captains to bring all their ships to the shore that lay nearest to Doriscus, where the cities of Sala, Samothracia, and Zena, are situate, with another called Serrium, built upon a famous promontory formerly belonging to the Ciconians."

Voila, ce me semble (says Bellanger) deux villes a pur gain, Samothracia avec une autre appellee Serrium. C'est de quoi enrichir les grands dictionnaires geographiques.

I have studiously avoided pointing out any errors I may have discovered in Littlebury, from the fear of being thought invidious: I should not have done it in this instance, but that I wished to direct the reader to an excellent piece of criticism, which will at the same time reward his attention, and justify me.

2 *Vessels to shore.*]—As the vessels were not in those times so considerable as ours, they drew them on shore whenever they wanted to remain any time in one place.

This custom, which we learn from Homer was in use in the time of the Trojan war, was also practised in the better ages of Greece. It is frequently mentioned by Xenophon, Thucydides, and other historians.—*Larcher.*

3 *Seventeen hundred thousand.*]—I remain still in doubt, says Richardson, whether any such expedition was ever undertaken by the *paramount sovereign of Persia.* Disguised in name by some Greek corruption, Xerxes may possibly have been a feudatory prince or viceroy of the western districts: and that an invasion of Greece may have possibly taken place under this prince, I shall readily believe, but upon a scale I must also believe infinitely narrower than the least exaggerated description of the Greek historians.

In Herodotus the reputed followers of Xerxes amount to 5,283,220. Isocrates, in his Panathenaicos, estimates the land army in round numbers at 5,000,000. And with them Plutarch in general agrees: but such myriads appeared to Diodorus, Pliny, Ælian, and other later writers, so much stretched beyond all belief, that they at once cut off four-fifths, to bring them within the line of possibility. Yet what is this, but a singular and very unauthorized liberty in one of the most consequential points of the expedition? What circumstance in the whole narration is more explicit in Herodotus, or by its frequent repetition, not in figures, but in words at length, seems less liable to the mistakes of copiers? &c.—See *Richardson.*

Upon this subject, Larcher, who probably had never seen Richardson's book, writes as follows;

This immense army astonishes the imagination, but still is not incredible. All the people dependent upon Persia were slaves; they were compelled to march, without distinction of birth or profession. Extreme youth or advanced age were probably the only reasons which excused them from bearing arms. The only reasonable objection to be made to this recital of Herodotus is that which Voltaiar has omitted to make—where were provisions to be had for so numerous an army? But Herodotus has anticipated this objection: "We have with us," says Xerxes, "abundance of provisions, and all the nations among which we shall come, not being shepherds but husbandmen, we shall find corn in their country, which we shall appropriate to our own use."

Subsequent writers have, it is true, differed from Herodotus, and diminished the number of the army of Xerxes; but Herodotus, who was in some measure a contemporary, and who recited his history to Greeks assembled at Olympia, where were many who fought at Salamis and Platea, is more deserving of credit than later historians.

The truth perhaps may lie betwixt the two different opinions of Richardson and Larcher. It is not likely, as there were many exiles from Greece at the court of Persia, that Xerxes should be ignorant of the numbers and resources of Greece. To lead there so many millions seems at first sight not only unnecessary but preposterous. Admitting that so vast an army had marched against Greece, no one of common sense would have thought of making an attack by the way of Thermopylæ, where the passage must have been so tedious, and any resistance, as so few in proportion could possibly be brought to act, might be made almost on equal terms; whilst on the contrary, to make a descent, they had the whole range of coast before them. With respect to provisions, the difficulty appears still greater, and almost insurmountable. I recur therefore to what I have before intimated; and believe, in contradiction to Richardson, that the expedition actually took place; but I cannot think, with Larcher, that the numbers recorded by Herodotus are consistent with probability.—*T.*

as compactly as possible, they drew a circle round them. Dismissing these, they enclosed the circle with a wall breast high; into this they introduced another and another ten thousand, till they thus obtained the precise number of the whole. They afterwards ranged each nation apart.

LXI. The nations who composed the army were these. I speak of the Persians first, who wore small helmets on their heads, which they call tiaræ: their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves, and adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes; their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield called gerra, beneath which was a quiver.[4] They had short spears,[5] large bows, and arrows made of reeds; and on their right side, a dagger suspended from a belt. They were led by Otanes, father of Amestris, one of the wives of Xerxes. The Persians were once called Cephenes by the Greeks; by themselves and their neighbours Artæi. But when Perseus, the son of Danae and Jupiter, went to reside with Cepheus son of Belus, he married his daughter Andromeda, and had by her a son named Perses, who was left with his grandfather. Cepheus had no male offspring, and the Persians took their name from his grandson Perses.

LXII. The Medes had the same military dress; indeed, properly speaking, it is Median and not Persian. Their leader was Tigranes, of the family of Achæmenides. In ancient times the Medes were universally called Arii: but when Medea of Colchis went over to these Arii from Athens, they changed their name; this is what they say of themselves. The armour of the Cissians generally resembled that of the Persians, except that instead óf tiaræ they wore mitres; they were commanded by Anaphes, son of Otanes. The Hyrcani were also dressed like the Persians, and had for their leader Megapanus, who was afterwards governor of Babylon.

LXIII. The Assyrian forces had brazen helmets of a barbarous form, and difficult to describe. Their shields, spears, and daggers, were like those of the Egyptians; they had also large clubs pointed with iron, and linen cuirasses. These people the Greeks call Syrians, the Barbarians Assyrians; mixed with these were the Chaldeans: the whole were under the conduct of Otaspes, son of Artachæus.

LXIV. The Bactrians, in what they wore on their heads, most resembled the Medes, but after the custom of their country, they used bows made of reeds, and short spears. The Sacæ, who are a Scythian nation, had helmets terminating in a point, and wore breeches. They were also armed in their country manner, with bows, daggers, and a hatchet called sagaris. This people, though really the Amyrgii of Scythia, were called Sacæ, the name given by the Persians indiscriminately to all Scythians. Hystaspes, son of Darius by Atossa the daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Bactrians and the Sacæ.

LXV. The dress of the Indians was cotton: their bows were made of reeds, as were also their arrows, which were pointed with iron; their leader was Pharnazathres, son of Artabates. The Arii had bows like the Medes, but were in other respects equipped like the Bactrians, and were under the command ot Sisamnes son of Hydarnes.

LXVI. The Parthians,[6] Chorasmians, Sogdians, Gandarians, and the Dadicæ, had the same armour as the Bactrians. The Parthians and Chorasmians were led by Artabanus, son of Pharnaces; Azanes, son of Artæus, commanded the Sogdians; as did Artyphius, son of Artabanus, the Gandarians and Dadicæ.

LXVII. The Caspians wore a vest made of skins; they had the armour of their country, bows made of reeds, and scymitars. Ariomardus the brother of Artyphius conducted them. The Sarangæ had beautiful habits of different and splendid colours: they had buskins reaching to their knees, bows and javelins like the Medes, and Pherendates the son of Megabyzus commanded them. The Pactyes also had vests made of skins, bows and daggers after the manner of their country, and Artyntes son of Ithamatres was their leader.

LXVIII. The Utii, Mycii, and Paricanii, were armed like the Pactyes. The Utii and

4 *A quiver.*]—It is probable from this account, says Larcher, that on their march the Persians did not carry their shields in their hands, but suspended behind from their shoulders.

5 *Short spears.*]—The reader will find an excellent description of these military habits in Montfaucon, and by no means an inelegant or incorrect one in the Leonidas of our countryman Glover.—*T.*

6 *Parthians, &c.*]—Various and numerous as these confederates of Xerxes are here described, Lucan, in a poetical hyperbole, affirms, that the allies of Pompey were still more so.—See *L.* iii. 285.—*T*

Mycii had for their commander Arsamenes, son of Darius: Sirometris the son of Œobazus conducted the Paricanii.

LXIX. The Arabians wore large folding vests, which they call ziræ: their bows were long, flexible, and crooked. The Ethiopians were clad in skins of panthers and lions: their bows were of palm, and not less than four cubits long. Their arrows were short, and made of reeds, instead of iron they were pointed with a stone which they use to cut their seals. They had also spears armed with the horns of goats, shaped like the iron of a lance; and besides these, knotty clubs. It is the custom of this people, when they advance to combat, to daub one half of their body with gypsum, the other with vermilion. Arsanes son of Darius by Artystone a daughter of Cyrus, commanded the Arabians and the Ethiopians who came from beyond Egypt. Of all his wives, Darius loved Artystone the most, and he constructed a golden statue in her honour.

LXX. Those Ethiopians who came from the more eastern parts of their country (for there were two distinct bodies in this expedition) served with the Indians. These differed from the former in nothing but their language and their hair. The Oriental Ethiopians have their hair straight, those of Africa have their hair more crisp and curling than any other men. The armour of the Asiatic Ethiopians resembled that of the Indians, but on their heads they wore the skins of horses' heads,[1] on which the manes and ears were left. The manes served as the plumes, and the ears remained stiff and erect. Instead of shields they held out before them the skins of cranes.

LXXI. The Libyans were dressed in skins, and had the points of their spears hardened in the fire. They were conducted by Messages, son of Oarizus.

LXXII. The Paphlagonians wore helmets made of network; they had small spears and bucklers, besides javelins and daggers. Agreeably to the fashion of their country, they had buskins which reached to the middle of the leg. The Ligyes, Matieni, Maryandeni, and Syrians, were habited like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are by the Persians called Cappadocians. The general of the Paphlagonians and Matieni was Dotus, son of Megasidras. The Maryandeni, Ligyes, and Syrians, were led by Bryas, son of Darius and Artystone.

LXXIII. The armour of the Phrygians differed very little from that of the Paphlagonians. According to the Macedonians, the Phrygians, as long as they were their neighbours, and lived in Europe, were called Bryges; on passing over into Asia they took the name of Phrygians.[2] The Armenians are a colony of the Phrygians, and were armed like them. Artochmes, who had married a daughter of Darius, commanded both nations.

LXXIV. The Lydians were equipped very like the Greeks. They were once called Meonians;[3] but they changed their ancient name, and took that of Lydus, the son of Atys. The Nysians wore the helmets of their country, had small shields, and javelins hardened in the fire. They are a colony of the Lydians, and named Olympians, from mount Olympus. These two nations were conducted by Artaphernes, son of that Artaphernes who in conjunction with Datis had invaded Marathon.

LXXV. The Thracians wore on their heads skins of foxes; the other part of their dress consisted of a tunic, below which was a large and folding robe of various colours: they had also buskins made of the skin of fawns, and were armed with javelins, small bucklers, and daggers. They were, as themselves relate, formerly called Strymonians, from inhabiting the banks of the Strymon; but passing over into Asia, were named Bithynians. They say they were expelled their country by the Teucrians and the Mysians.

LXXVI. Bassaces son of Artabanus commanded the Thracians of Asia; these used short bucklers made of hides, and each of them carried two Lycian spears: they had also helmets of brass, on the summit of which were the ears and horns of an ox, made also of brass,

1 *Horses' heads.*]—These helmets were, according to the description of Cæsar, in his Commentaries, very common among the ancient Germans.—*T.*

2 *Phrygians.*]—Arrian tells us that the Phrygians were *reported* to be the oldest of mankind, λεγονται Φρυγες παλαιοτατοι ανθρωπων. Cited by Eust. in Com. in Dion. p. 809. The reader will remember that this was disputed with them by the Egyptians, but given up after the expedient used by Psammetichus.—*T.*

3 *Meonians.*]—Bochart deduces this name from the Greek Μαιουσθαι, and their after-name Lydi from the Hebrew. But it does not seem probable that the oldest name should be taken from the Greek, and the latter from the Hebrew language. What is yet farther removed from consistency, he places a descendant of Shem in the lot of Japhet, and supposes the Lydians to be the children of Ludim. From him I presume they would have been called Lydimi, not Lydi.—See the invention of games imputed to this people, book i. c. 94.—*T.*

together with a crest. On their legs they had purple buskins. This people have among them an oracle of Mars.[4]

LXXVII. The Cabalian Meonians,[5] who are also called Lasonians, were habited like the Cilicians, whom I shall describe in their proper order. The Milyæ carried short spears, their vests confined with clasps; some of them had Lycian bows, and they wore helmets of leather. Of all these, Badres, son of Hystanes, was commander. The Moschi had helmets of wood, small bucklers, and short spears with long iron points.

LXXVIII. The Tibareni, Macrones, and Mosynœci, were in all respects habited like the Moschi. Ariomardus son of Darius, and of Parmys, daughter of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, commanded the Moschi and the Tibareni. Artayctes son of Chorasmes, who was governor of Sestos on the Hellespont, conducted the Macrones and Mosynœci.

LXXIX. The Mares, after the fashion of their country, had net-work casques, small leathern bucklers, and spears. The Colchians had helmets of wood, small bucklers made of the hard hides of oxen, short spears, and swords. Pharandates, son of Teaspes, commanded the Mares and the Colchians. The Allarodii and Saspines were dressed like the Colchians, and led by Masistius son of Siromitras.

LXXX. The people who came from the islands of the Red Sea, to which those who labour under the king's displeasure are exiled, were habited and armed like the Medes: they were led by Mardontes, son of Bagæus, who two years afterwards was slain at the battle of Mycale, where he commanded.

LXXXI. These were the nations who proceeded over the continent, and composed the infantry of the army. Their leaders who marshalled and numbered them, I have already specified: they also appointed the captains of thousands and ten thousands, who again chose the centurions and leaders of ten. The different forces and nations had also other officers, but those whom I have named were the principal commanders.

LXXXII. The generals in chief of all the infantry were Mardonius, son of Gobryas; Trintatæchmes, son of Artabanus, who had given his opinion against the Grecian war; and Smerdones, son of Otanes, which last two were sons of two brothers of Darius, the uncles of Xerxes. To the above may be added Masistes, son of Darius, by Atossa, Gergis son of Arinus, and Megabyzus, son of Zopyrus.[6]

LXXXIII. These were the commanders of all the infantry, except of the ten thousand chosen Persians, who were led by Hydarnes, son of Hydarnes. These were called the immortal band, and for this reason, if any of them died in battle, or by any disease, his place was immediately supplied. They were thus never more nor less than ten thousand. The Persians surpassed all the rest of the army, not only in magnificence but valour. Their armour I have before described; they were also remarkable for the quantity of gold which adorned them; they had with them carriages for their women, and a vast number of attendants splendidly provided. They had also camels and beasts of burden to carry their provisions, besides those for the common occasions of the army.

LXXXIV. All the above nations are capable of serving on horseback; but on this expedition those only constituted the cavalry, which I shall enumerate. The Persian horse, except a small number, whose casques were ornamented with brass and iron, were habited like the infantry.

LXXXV. There appeared of the Sagartii a body of eight thousand horse. These people lead a pastoral life, were originally of Persian descent, and use the Persian language: their dress is something betwixt the Persian and the Pactyan; they have no offensive weapons, either of iron or brass, except their daggers: their principal dependance in action is upon cords made of twisted leather, which they use in this manner: when they engage an enemy, they throw out these cords, having a noose at the

4 *Oracle of Mars.*]—It is thought by some, that here is something wanting: for the description which by the context seems here to be given of the Thracians, with truth will apply neither to the Thracians of Asia, nor of Europe. Wesseling presumes that they may be the Chalybians, amongst whom was an oracle of Mars, and who were neighbours to the nations here described by Herodotus. Larcher also is of this opinion.

5 *Cabalian Meonians.*]—These were probably the same people who are mentioned book iii. c. 90. the change of the *a* for *e* being agreeably to the Ionic dialect.

6 *Zopyrus.*]—This was the famous Zopyrus through whose means Darius became master of Babylon.—See book iii. c. 160.

extremity; if they entangle[1] in them either horse or man, they without difficulty put them to death.—These forces were embodied with the Persians.

LXXXVI. The cavalry of the Medes, and also of the Cissians, are accoutred like their infantry. The Indian horse likewise were armed like their foot; but besides led horses, they had chariots of war, drawn by horses and wild asses.[2] The armour of the Bactrian and Caspian horse and foot were alike. This was also the case with the Africans, only it is to be observed that these last all fought from chariots. The Paricanian horse were also equipped like their foot, as were the Arabians, all of whom had camels, by no means inferior to the horse in swiftness.

LXXXVII. These were the cavalry, who formed a body of eighty thousand, exclusive of camels or chariots. They were drawn up in regular order, and the Arabians were disposed in the rear, that the horses might not be terrified, as a horse cannot endure a camel.[3]

LXXXVIII. Harmamithres and Tithæus, the sons of Datis, commanded the cavalry; they had shared this command with Pharnuches, but he had been left at Sardis indisposed. As the troops were marching from Sardis he met with an unfortunate accident: a dog ran under the foot of his horse, which being terrified reared up and threw his rider. Pharnuches was in consequence seized with a vomiting of blood, which finally terminated in a consumption. His servants, in compliance with the orders of their master, led the horse to the place where the accident happened, and there cut off his legs[4] at the knees. Thus was Pharnuches deprived of his command.

LXXXIX. The number of the triremes was twelve hundred and seven:[5] of these the Phenicians in conjunction with the Syrians of Palestine, furnished three hundred. They who served on board them had on their heads helmets nearly resembling those of the Greeks; they had breast-plates made of linen, bucklers

1 *If they entangle.*]—A similar mode of fighting was practised by those of the Roman gladiators who were called the Retiarii: beneath their bucklers they carried a kind of net, which, when the opportunity presented itself, they threw over the head of their adversaries the Secutores, and, thus entangled, put them to death with a kind of trident which constituted their offensive weapon.—*T.*

2 *Wild asses.*]—M. Larcher renders ονοι αγριοι, zebras, but I do not see that this necessarily follows. The zebra is certainly a species of wild ass; but I conceive that every wild ass is not a zebra. Buffon makes mention of wild asses very distinct from the zebras. The French translator supports his opinion from the description of the ονος αγριος in Oppian, L. iii. v. 183; but this is by no means convincing to me.—*T.*

3 *Cannot endure a camel.*]—See note on ch. 80 of book Clio.

4 *Cut off his legs.*]—See Seneca de Ira.—At qui ut his irasci dementis est, quæ anima carent, sic mutis animalibus, quia nulla est injuria nisi a consilio profecta.

Jortin, in Remarks, at this passage of Seneca, quotes the incident before us from Herodotus: after which he adds—

Canis vero caput horum et causa malorum, an impune isthuc habuerit, nescimus—certe *equo* judice crucifragium merebatur.

Whether the dog, the first cause and occasion of these evils, escaped with impunity, we are not told. Certainly, if the horse were judge, he deserved to have his legs broken.

I have my doubts, whether Jortin in this remark did not, under the word *equo*, design to convey a pun.

Some of my readers may probably thank me for treating them with an excellent Greek pun, which I find in the notes to Wesseling's Diodorus Siculus, vol. ii. p. 595.

Dioscurus, an Egyptian bishop, before he began the service, had the common custom of saying, ειρηνη πασιν (irene pasin) peace be to all. It was notorious, that the pious churchman had at home a favourite mistress, whose name was Irene, which incident produced the following smart epigram:

Ειρηνη πασιν επισκοπος ειπεν επελθων·
Πως δυναται πασιν, ην μονος ενδον εχει.

The good bishop wishes peace (Irene) to all; but how can he give that to all, which he keeps to himself at home.

5 *Twelve hundred and seven.*]—I give the account of the Persian fleet as stated by Herodotus, that the reader may compare it with that which follows of Diodorus Siculus:

The Phenician vessels were	300
Egyptians	200
Cyprians	150
Cicilians	100
Pamphylians	30
Lycians	50
Dorians	30
Carians	70
Ionians	100
Islanders	17
Æolians	60
People of the Hellespont	100
	1,207

According to Diodorus Siculus.

The Greeks had	320
The Dorians	40
Æolians	40
Ionians	100
Hellespontians	80
Islanders	50
Egyptians	200
Phenicians	300
Cicilians	80
Carians	80
Pamphylians	40
Lycians	40
Cyprians	150
	1,200

without bosses, and javelins. This people, by their own account, once inhabited the coasts of the Red Sea,[6] but migrated from thence to the maritime parts of Syria; all which district, as far as Egypt, is denominated Palestine. The Egyptians furnished two hundred vessels: they wore on their heads casques made of net-work; their shields were of a convex form, having large bosses; their spears were calculated for sea-service, and they had huge battle-axes. Their forces, in general had breast-plates, and large swords.

XC. The people of Cyprus supplied fifty vessels: as to their armour, their princes wore mitres on their heads; the troops wore tunics, but were in other respects habited like the Greeks. The Cyprians, according to their own account, are variously composed of the people of Salamis and Athens; some also came from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, others from Phenicia, and others from Ethiopia.

XCI. From Cilicia came one hundred ships. This people had a kind of helmet peculiar to their country, and a small buckler made of an untanned hide of an ox; they had also tunics of wool: each of them had two spears, and a sword not unlike those of Egypt. Formerly they were called Hypachæans: they were named Cilicians from Cilex the Phenician, the son of Agenor. The Pamphylians brought thirty ships, and were accoutred like the Greeks: they are descended from those who after the destruction of Troy were dispersed under Amphilochus and Calchas.[7]

XCII. Fifty ships were furnished by the Lycians, who were defended with breast-plates and a kind of buskin; besides their spears they had bows made of cornel wood; their arrows were of reeds, but not feathered. From their shoulders the skin of a goat was suspended, and on their heads they wore a cap with a plume of feathers: they had also axes and daggers. They are descended from the Cretans, and were once called Termilæ; afterwards they took the name of Lycians, from Lycus, an Athenian, the son of Pandion.

XCIII. The Dorians of Asia came in thirty vessels: these being originally from the Peloponnese, were provided with Grecian arms. The Carians had seventy ships, and were equipped in every respect like the Greeks, with the addition of axes and daggers. We have in a former place made mention of the name, by which they were originally known.

XCIV. The Ionians, armed like the Greeks, appeared with a fleet of one hundred ships, According to the Grecian account, this people, when they inhabited that part of the Peloponnese called Achaia, before the arrival of Danaus and Xanthus, were called the Pelasgian Ægialians. They were afterwards named Ionians, from Ion, son of Xuthus.

XCV. The Islanders,[8] in Grecian armour, were in seventeen vessels. These, once Pelasgian, were ultimately termed Ionian, for the same reason as the twelve Ionian cities founded by the Athenians. The Æolians brought sixty ships, and were armed in the Grecian manner; these also, according to the Greeks, were once Pelasgi. The inhabitants of the Hellespont, those of Abydos excepted, in conjunction with the people of Pontus, furnished one hundred vessels: those of Abydos, by the command of the king, remained to defend the bridges. The Hellespontians, being a mixed

6 *Coasts of the Red Sea.*]—There were Phenicians of different countries: they were to be found upon the Sinus Persicus, upon the Sinus Arabicus, in Egypt, in Crete, in Africa, in Epirus, and even in Attica.—See *Hesychius.* Φοινικες γενος τι Αθηνησι. There is a race of Phenicians among the Athenians. In short, it was a title introduced at Sidon and the coast adjoining, by people from Egypt; and who the people were that brought it, may be known from several passages in ancient history, but particularly from an extract in Eusebius.—See *Bryant*, vol. i. 324, 325.

7 *Calchas.*]—With the name of Calchas every one is acquainted; but few perhaps know the end he met with. Mopsus, son of Marto and Apollo, had at the death of his mother, by right of inheritance, the oracle of Apollo, at Claros. About this period Calchas, who after the taking of Troy led a wandering life, arrived at Colophon. The two seers maintained a long and obstinate dispute, till at length Amphimachus king of Lycia terminated their difference. Mopsus dissuaded him from going to war, foretelling that he would be defeated; Calchas, on the contrary, advised him to go, assuring him he would prove victorious. Amphimachus having been overcome, Mopsus received greater honours than ever, and Calchas put himself to death.—*Larcher.*

8 *The Islanders.*]—These Ionian islanders could not be either those of Chios or of Samos. These assembled at the Panionium, and were a part of the twelve cities, which these islanders were not. Diodorus Siculus adds also the inhabitants of Chios and of Samos to the Ionians, and makes, like Herodotus, a distinction betwixt them and the islanders. But who then were they? Diodorus Siculus informs us. The king, says he, was joined by all those islands betwixt the Cyaneæ and the promontories of Triopium and Sunium. Thus it appears that they were the isles of Ceos, or Cea, as the Latins have it, Naxos, Sephros, Seriphos, Andros, and Tenos, which were Tienian, and founded by the Athenians, as appears from Herodotus, book viii. chap. 46, 48; and from Thucydides, book vii. c. 57, where it should be read Τηνιοι and not Τηιοι.—*Valcnaer.*

colony of Ionians and Dorians, were armed like the Greeks.

XCVI. In each of these vessels were detachments of Medes, Persians, and Sacæ. The best mariners were the Phenicians, and of the people of Phenicia, the Sidonians. The sea and land forces of all these nations were under the immediate command of their own officers. The mention of their particular names, as it is not essential to my purpose, we shall omit. It would indeed prove an uninteresting labour, as every city had its own commander, who without any great distinction or authority merely helped to swell the mass of the army. Those who had the principal conduct of the war, I have already enumerated, as well as the Persian officers to whom the command of each nation was assigned.

XCVII. The commanders in chief of the sea forces were, Ariabignes, son of Darius, Prexaspes, son of Aspathines, and Megabyzus, son of Megabates, together with Achæmenes, another son of Darius: of these Ariabignes, son of Darius, by a daughter of Gobryas, had the conduct of the Ionian and Carian fleets. The Egyptians were commanded by Achæmenes, brother of Xerxes, both on the father and mother's side. The two other generals conducted the rest of the fleet to the amount of three thousand vessels, which were composed of vessels of thirty and fifty oars, of Cercuri,[1] and of long transports for the cavalry.

XCVIII. After the generals, the more distinguished officers of the fleet were the Sidonian Tetramnestus, son of Anysus; Martes of Tyre, son of Siromus; Nerbalus the Arabian, son of Agbalus: the Cilician Syennesis, son of Oromedon; and Cyberniscus the son of Sicas. To these may be added Gortes, son of Chersis and Timonax, son of Timagoras, both of them Cyprians, with the three Carian leaders, Histiæus, son of Timnis, Pigres, son of Seldomus, and Damasithymus, son of Candaules.

XCIX. The other leaders I forbear to specify, it not appearing necessary; but it is impossible not to speak, and with admiration, of Artemisia,[2] who, though a female, served in this Grecian expedition. On the death of her husband she enjoyed the supreme authority, for her son was not yet grown up, and her great spirit and vigour of mind alone induced her to exert herself on this occasion. She was the daughter of Lygdamis, by her father's side of Halicarnassus, by her mother of Cretan descent. She had the conduct of those of Halicarnassus, Cos, Nisyros, and Calydne. She furnished five ships, which, next to those of the Sidonians, were the best in the fleet. She was also distinguished among all the allies for the salutary counsels which she gave the king.—The people I have recited as subject to Artemisia, were I believe all of them Dorians. The Halicarnassians were originally of Trœzene, the rest of Epidaurus. Such were the maritime forces.

C. Xerxes having ranged and numbered his armament, was desirous to take a survey of them all. Mounted in his car, he examined each nation in their turn. To all of them he proposed certain questions, the replies to which were noted down by his secretaries. In this manner he proceeded from first to last through all the ranks,[3] both of horse and foot. When

1 *Cercuri.*]—These, according to Pliny, were a particular kind of vessel, invented by the Cyprians.

2 *Artemisia.*]—There were two of this name, both natives, and queens of Caria, from which circumstance they have by different writers been frequently confounded. Pliny, Hardouin, and Scaliger have been guilty of this error, and have ascribed to the first what is true only of the last.—See *Bayle*, article Artemisia. Nothing can however be more clear and satisfactory, than that the Artemisia who accompanied Xerxes was the daughter of Lygdamis. The Artemisia whose mausoleum in honour of her husband's memory has rendered her so illustrious, was the daughter of Hecatemnes, and lived at a much later period. The daughter of Lygdamis, of whom it is our business to speak, was certainly a great and illustrious character. Her wisdom is very conspicuous, from the excellent advice which she gave Xerxes; and her valour was eminently distinguished, above that of all the men, in the battle of Salamis. See in a subsequent paragraph the speech of Xerxes concerning her, which has been imitated by Justin: "Artemisia queen of Halicarnassus, who joined her forces with Xerxes, appeared amongst the forwardest commanders in the hottest engagements; and as on the man's side there was an effeminate cowardice, on the woman's was observed a masculine courage."

She is honourably mentioned by a variety of writers, but at length fell a victim to the tender passion. She was violently in love with a native of Abydos, named Dardanus; to rid herself of which she took the celebrated lover's leap from the promontory of Lucas, and perished.—*T.*

3 *Through all the ranks.*]—The procession of Xerxes in his car through the ranks of his army is well described by Glover in his Leonidas, and seems to afford a fine subject for an historical painting.

The monarch will'd, and suddenly he heard
His trampling horses—High on silver wheels
The iv'ry car with azure sapphires shone,
Cærulean beryls, and the jasper green,
The emerald, the ruby's glowing blush,
The flaming topaz, with its golden beam,
The pearl, th' empurpl'd amethyst, and all

this was done, the fleet also was pushed off from land, whilst the monarch, exchanging his chariot for a Sidonian vessel, on the deck of which he sat, beneath a golden canopy, passed slowly the heads of the ships, proposing in like manner questions to each, and noting down the answers. The commanders had severally moored their vessels at about four plethra from shore, in one uniform line, with their sterns out to sea, and their crews under arms, as if prepared for battle. Xerxes viewed them, passing betwixt their prows and the shore.

CI. When he had finished his survey, he went on shore; and sending for Demaratus, the son of Ariston, who accompanied him in this expedition against Greece, he thus addressed him: "From you, Demaratus, who are a Greek, and as I understand from yourself and others, of no mean or contemptible city, I am desirous of obtaining information; do you think that the Greeks will presume to make any resistance against me? For my own part not to mention their want of unanimity, I cannot think that all the Greeks, joined to all the inhabitants of the west, would be able to withstand my power: what is your opinion on this subject?" "Sir," said Demaratus, in reply, "shall I say what is true, or only what is agreeable?"[4] Xerxes commanded him to speak the truth, assuring him that he would be as agreeable to him as ever.

CII. "Since," answered Demaratus, "you command me to speak the truth, it shall be my care to deliver myself in such a manner that no one hereafter, speaking as I do, shall be convicted of falsehood. Greece has ever been the child of poverty; for its virtues it is indebted to the severe wisdom and discipline,[5] by which it has tempered its poverty, and repelled its oppressors. To this praise all the Dorian Greeks are entitled; But I shall now speak of the Lacedæmonians only. You may depend upon it that your propositions, which threaten Greece with servitude, will be rejected, and if all the other Greeks side with you against them, the Lacedæmonians will engage you in battle. Make no inquiries as to their number, for if they shall have but a thousand men, or even fewer, they will fight you."[6]

CIII. "What, Demaratus," answered Xerxes, smiling, "think you that a thousand men will engage so vast a host? Tell me, you who, as you say, have been their prince? would you now willingly engage with ten opponents? If your countrymen be what you describe them, according to your own principles you, who are their prince, should be equal to two of them, If, therefore, one of them be able to contend with ten of my soldiers, you may be reasonably expected to contend with twenty: such ought to

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The various gems which India's mines afford,
To deck the pomp of kings. In burnished gold
A sculptured eagle from behind display'd
His stately neck, and o'er the royal head
Outstretch'd his dazzling wings. Eight generous steeds,
Which on the fam'd Nisæan plain were nursed
In wintry Media, drew the radiant car.
— — — At the signal bound
Th' attentive steeds, the chariot flies; behind
Ten thousand horse in thunder sweep the field—
He now draws nigh. Th' innumerable host
Roll back by nations and admit their lord
With all his satraps. As from crystal domes,
Built underneath an arch of pendent seas,
When that stern power whose trident rules the floods,
With each cærulean deity, ascends
Thron'd in his pearly chariot—all the deep
Divides its bosom to th' emerging god,
So Xerxes rode between the Asian world,
On either side receding. *Leonidas.*

4 *Or only what is agreeable.*]—This naturally brings to mind the old proverb in the Andria of Terence:

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Which expression Cicero, in his Treatise de Amicitia, reprobates with proper dignity.

See also some lines, quoted in Athenæus, from Agatho, the English of which is, If I speak the truth, I shall not please you: If I please you I shall not speak the truth.

If, as appears from Xenophon in particular, and from various other writers, that to speak the truth constituted an indispensable part of Persian education, these words of Demaratus must have appeared an insult to Xerxes, not to be justified by any affected humility, or any real difference of rank. What Homer thought on this subject may be gathered from the two noble lines which he puts into the mouth of Achilles:

Who dare think one thing and another tell,
My soul detests him as the gates of hell.—*T.*

5 *Wisdom and discipline.*]—The character which Demaratus here gives of the Greeks, corresponds with that assigned to the Romans in the Cato of Addison:

A Roman soul is bent on higher views;
To civilise the rude unpolish'd world,
And lay it under the restraint of laws;
To make man mild and sociable to man;
To cultivate the wild licentious savage
With wisdom, discipline, and liberal arts,
Th' embellishments of life. Virtues like these
Make human nature shine, reform the soul,
And break our fierce barbarians into men.

6 *Will fight you.*]—In close imitation of the passage before us, the author of Leonidas makes Xerxes thus address Demaratus:

Now declare
If yonder Grecians will oppose their march.
To him the exile: Deem not, mighty lord,
I will deceive thy goodness by a tale,
To give them glory who degraded mine;
Nor be the king offended while I use
The voice of truth—the Spartans never fly
Contemptuous smiled the monarch and resumed,
Wilt thou, in Lacedæmon once supreme,
Encounter twenty Persians?

be the test of your assertions. But if your countrymen really resemble in form and size you, and such other Greeks as appear in my presence, it should seem that what you say is dictated by pride and insolence; for how can it be shown that a thousand, or ten thousand, or even fifty thousand men, all equally free, and not subject to the will of an individual, could oppose so great an army? Granting them to have five thousand men, we have still a majority of a thousand to one; they who like us are under the command of one person, from the fear of their leader, and under the immediate impression of the lash, are animated with a spirit contrary to their nature, and are made to attack a number greater than their own; but they who are urged by no constraint will not do this. If these Greeks were even equal to us in number, I cannot think they would dare to encounter Persians. The virtue to which you allude is to be found among ourselves, though the examples are certainly not numerous: there are among my Persian guards men who will singly contend with three Greeks.[1] The preposterous language which you use can only, therefore, proceed from your ignorance."

CIV. "I knew, my lord, from the first," returned Demaratus," that by speaking truth I should offend you. I was induced to give you this representation of the Spartans, from your urging me to speak without reserve. You may judge, sir, what my attachment must be to those who, not content with depriving me of my paternal dignities, drove me ignominiously into exile. Your father received, protected and supported me;[2] no prudent man will treat with ingratitude the kindness of his benefactor. I will never presume to engage in fight with ten men, nor even with two, nor indeed willingly with one; but if necessity demanded, or danger provoked me, I would not hesitate to fight with any one of those who they say is a match for three Greeks. The Lacedæmonians, when they engage in single combat, are certainly not inferior to other men, but in a body they are not to be equalled. Although free, they are not so without some reserve; the law is their superior,[3] of which they stand in greater awe than your subjects do of you: they are obedient to what it commands,[4] and it commands them always not to fly from the field of battle, whatever may be the number of their adversaries. It is their duty to preserve their ranks, to conquer, or to die.[5] If what I say seem to you absurd, I am willing in future to be silent, I have spoken what I think, because the king commanded me, to whom may all he desires be accomplished."

CV. Xerxes smiled at these words of Demaratus, whom he dismissed without anger

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1 *With three Greeks.*]—This vain boast of Xerxes was in the end punished by Polydamas. Darius, natural son of Artaxerxes, and who by the favour of the Persians succeeded to the throne, had heard of his remarkable exploits; having by promises allured him to Susa, Polydamas challenged three of those whom the Persians call the immortal, encountered them all at once, and slew them.—*Larcher.*

3 *Protected and supported me.*]—That prince gave him the towns of Pergamus, Teuthrania, and Halisarnia, which Eurysthenes and Procles, descendants of Demaratus, enjoyed in the 95th Olympiad, who joined themselves to Thimbron the Lacedæmonian general, when he passed into Asia Minor to make war on Persia.—*Larcher.*

3 *The law is their superior.*]—Thomson, in his poem to Liberty, gives this just and animated description of Sparta;

——Spread on Eurota's bank,
Amid a circle of soft-rising hills,
The patient Sparta stood, the sober, hard,
And man-subduing city, which no shape
Of pain could conquer, nor of pleasure charm.
Lycurgus there built, on the solid base
Of equal life, so well a temper'd state,
Where mix'd each government in each just poise;
Each power so checking and supporting each,
That firm for ages and unmoved it stood,
The fort of Greece, without one giddy hour,
One shock of faction or of party rage:
For, drain'd the springs of wealth, corruption there
Lay wither'd at the root. Thrice happy land,
Had not neglected art with weedy vice
Confounded sunk: but if Athenian arts
Loved not the soil, yet then the calm abode
Of wisdom, virtue, philosophic ease,
Of manly sense, and wit in frugal phrase,
Confined and press'd into laconic force;
There too, by rooting thence still treach'rous self,
The public and the private grew the same;
The children of the nursing public all,
And at its tables fed: for that they toil'd,
For that they lived entire, and even for that
The tender mother urged her son to die.

Liberty, part ii. 108, &c.

Dr. Johnson says truly of this poem, that none of Thomson's works have been so little regarded; I may, nevertheless, venture to promise whoever has not perused it, that it will very well repay his attention.—*T.*

4 *What it commands.*]—"With the Lacedæmonians," says Plato, "the law is the king and master: and men are not the tyrants of the laws." "The Deity," says he, in another place, "is the law of wise and moderate men; pleasure that of men who are foolish and intemperate."—*Larcher.*

5 *Conquer or to die.*]—

O conceive not, prince,
That Spartans want an object where to fix
Their eyes in reverence, in obedient dread.
To them more awful than the name of king
To Asia's trembling millions, is the law,
Whose sacred voice enjoins them to confront
Unnumber'd foes, to vanquish or to die.—*Leonidas.*

civilly from his presence. After the above conference, he removed from Doriscus the governor who had been placed there by Darius, and promoted in his room Mascamis, son of Megasdostis. He then passed through Thrace with his army, towards Greece.

CVI. To this Mascamis, as to the bravest of all the governors appointed either by himself or by Darius, Xerxes sent presents every year, and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes, continued to do the same to his descendants. Before this expedition against Greece, there had constantly been governors both in Thrace and the Hellespont, all of whom, except Mascamis, the Greeks afterwards expelled; he alone retained Doriscus in his subjection, in defiance of the many and repeated exertions made to remove him. It was in remembrance of these services, that he and all his descendants received presents from the kings of Persia.

CVII. The only one of all those expelled by the Greeks, who enjoyed the good opinion of Xerxes, was Boges,[6] the governor of Eion; this man he always mentioned in terms of esteem, and all his descendants were honourably regarded in Persia. Boges was not undeserving his great reputation: when he was besieged by the Athenians under the conduct of Cimon, son of Miltiades, he might, if he had thought proper, have retired into Asia; this he refused, and defended himself to the last extremity, from apprehensions that the king might ascribe his conduct to fear. When no provisions were left, he caused a large pile to be raised; he then slew his children, his wife, his concubines, and all his family, and threw them into the fire; he next cast all the gold and silver of the place from the walls into the Strymon: lastly, he leaped himself into the flames. This man is, therefore, very deservedly extolled by the Persians.

CVIII. Xerxes, in his progress from Doriscus to Greece, compelled all the people among whom he came to join his army. All this tract of country, as far as Thessaly, as I have before remarked, had been made tributary to the king, first by Megabyzus, and conclusively by Mardonius. Leaving Doriscus, he first passed beyond the Samothracian forts, the last of which, towards the west, is called Mesambria; contiguous to this is Stryme, a Thasian town. The river Lissus waters both these towns, the streams of which, on the present occasion, were insufficient for the army. This district was once called Galaice, now Briantica, and properly belonged to the Ciconians.

CIX. Xerxes having passed the exhausted bed of the Lissus, continued his march beyond the Grecian cities of Maronea, Dicæa, and Abdera;[7] he passed also the following lakes in the vicinity of these towns: the Ismaris, betwixt Maronea and Stryme, the Bistonis in the neighbourhood of Dicæa, which is filled by the two streams of the Trauus and Compsatus. Near Abdera is no lake of importance; but the king passed near the Nestus, which empties itself into the ocean. He proceeded onwards through the more midland cities, in one of which is a lake almost of thirty stadia in circumference, full of fish, but remarkably salt; the waters of this proved only sufficient for the beasts of burden. The name of the city is Pistirus. These Grecian and maritime cities were to the left of Xerxes as he passed them.

CX. The nations of Thrace, through which he marched, are these: the Pæti, Ciconians, Bistones, Sapæi, Dersæi, Edonians, and the Satræ. The inhabitants of the maritime towns followed by sea; those inland, which I have already specified, were, except the Satræ, compelled to accompany[8] the army by land.

CXI. The Satræ, as far as I know, never were subdued; they alone, of all the Thracians, have continued to my memory, an independent nation. They are remarkable for their valour. They inhabit lofty mountains covered

6 *Boges.*]—This proper name is by Pausanias written Boes. The expedition of Cimon is mentioned by Thucydides, Æschines, and others.—This Cimon was the grandson of the Cimon spoken of in Livy, book vi. chap. 34. 39.

7 *Abdera.*]—See note to chapter 168 of book the first; I there observed that Abdera produced many illustrious characters, yet it is thus stigmatised by Juvenal in his tenth Satire. Speaking of Democritus, he says, he was one

——cujus prodentia monstrat
Summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
Vervecum in patria, crassoque sub aere nasci.

Which lines are thus translated by Dryden, rather too diffusely.

Learn from so great a wit, a land of bogs
With ditches fenced, a heaven fat with fogs,
May form a spirit fit to sway the state,
And make the neighb'ring monarchs fear their fate.—*T.*

8 *Compelled to accompany.*]—Thus we find were these nations compelled to serve under Cyrus, who were betwixt him and Crœsus, not as associates, but as prisoners of war. Many of them were reduced from being horsemen to serve on foot, and in a way, says Xenophon, which Cyrus accounted as in the highest degree servile, as slingers.—*T.*

with snow, but abounding in all kinds of trees: upon the summit of one of their highest hills, they have an oracle of Bacchus. The interpreters of these divine oracles are the Bessi;[1] a priestess makes the responses, as at Delphi, and with the same ambiguity.

CXII. Xerxes continued to advance, and passed by two Pierian cities, one called Phagra, the other Pergamos; to his right he left the mountain Pangæus, which is of great extent and height, and has mines both of gold and silver; these are worked by the Pierians and Odomanti, and particularly by the Satræ.

CXIII. Beyond Pangæus, to the north, are the Pæonians, the Doberes, and the Pæoples. Xerxes passed all these, keeping a westward direction, till he came to the river Strymon, and the city of Eion: Boges, the governor of this last place, whom we have before mentioned, was then living. The country round Pangæus, is called Phillis; it extends to the west as far as the Angitis, which empties itself into the Strymon; to the south it continues till it meets the Strymon. To this river the magi offered a sacrifice of white horses.[2]

CXIV. After performing these and many other religious rites to the Strymon, they proceeded through the Edonian district of the Nine Ways, to where they found bridges thrown over the Strymon: when they heard that this place was named the Nine Ways, they buried there alive nine youths and as many virgins, natives of the country. This custom of burying alive is common in Persia; and I have been informed that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, when she was of an advanced age, commanded fourteen Persian children of illustrious birth to be interred alive in honour of that deity, who, as they suppose, exists under the earth.

CXV. Marching still forwards, they left on the shore, to the west, a Grecian city called Argilus; this, as well as the country beyond it, is called Bisaltia: leaving then to the left the gulph, which is near the temple of Neptune, they crossed the plain called Sileum, and passing the Greek city of Stagirus, came to Acanthos. The people of all these places, of mount Pangæus, together with those whom we have enumerated, they carried along with them: they who dwelt on the coast went by sea; they who lived distant from the sea went by land. The line of country through which Xerxes led his army, is to the present day held in such extreme veneration by the Thracians, that they never disturb or cultivate it.

CXVI. On his arrival at Acanthos, the Persian monarch interchanged the rites of hospitality with the people, and presented each with a Median vest:[3] he was prompted to this conduct by the particular zeal which they discovered towards the war, and from their having completed the work of the canal.

CXVII. Whilst Xerxes still continued at Acanthos, Artachæses, who had superintended the works of the canals, died: he was of the race of the Achæmenidæ, in great favour with the king, and the tallest of all the Persians: he wanted but four fingers of five royal cubits,[4] and was also remarkable for his great strength of voice. The king was much afflicted at his loss, and buried him with great magnificence, the whole army being employed in erecting a monument to his memory. The Acanthians, in compliance with an oracle, invoke him by name, and pay him the honours of a hero. Xerxes always considered the death of Artachæes as a great calamity.

CXVIII. Those Greeks who entertained the Persian army, and provided a banquet for

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1 *Bessi.*]—Ovid makes mention of these Bessi in no very flattering terms:

Vivere quam miserum est inter Bessosque Getasque.—*T.*

2 *Sacrifice of white horses.*]—The particular manner in which they performed these sacrifices, Strabo thus describes:

When the Persians come to a lake, a river, or a fountain, they sink a pit, and kill the victim, taking particular care that the pure water in the vicinity is not stained with blood, which would contaminate it. They then place the flesh of the victim upon branches of myrtle or laurel, and burn it with small sticks: during this they chaunt hymns, and offer libations of oil mixed with milk and honey, which they pour not into the fire, but upon the ground.—Their hymns are very long, and whilst they are singing them they hold in their hands a bundle of short pieces of briar.

To which may be added the following particulars:

When the Persians sacrificed they wore garlands, which we learn from the first book of Herodotus, and the third book of the Cyropædia of Xenophon. They sometimes burnt all, and sometimes only part of the victim, feasting on the remainder. In the 16th chapter of Leviticus, the English reader may find a general similitude to the Persian mode of sacrifice, and indeed to that of all the Oriental nations. See also on this subject the second Dissertation of Hutchinson, prefixed to his Cyropædia, and 2 Sam. 13, et seq.—*T.*

3 *Median vest.*]—This was invented by Semiramis, the wife of Ninus; it was so very graceful, that the Medes adopted it, after they had conquered Asia; the Persians followed their example.—*Larcher.*

4 *Five royal cubits.*]—Supposing our author to mean here the Babylonian measure, this, according to the computation of d'Anville, would be seven feet eight inches high.—*Larcher.*

the king, were reduced to extreme misery, and compelled to abandon their country. On account of their cities distributed along the continent, the Thasians also feasted Xerxes and his forces; Antipater, the son of Orgis, a man of great reputation, was selected by his countrymen to preside on the occasion; by his account it appeared that four hundred talents of silver were expended for this purpose.

CXIX. No less expense devolved upon the other cities, as appeared by the accounts delivered in by the different magistrates. As a long previous notice was given, preparations were made with suitable industry and magnificence. As soon as the royal will was made known by the heralds, the inhabitants of the several cities divided the corn which they possessed, and employed many months in reducing it to meal and flour. Some there were, who purchased at a great price the finest cattle they could procure, for the purpose of fattening them; others, with the same view of entertaining the army, provided birds both of the land and the water, which they preserved in cages and in ponds. Many employed themselves in making cups and goblets of gold and silver, with other utensils of the table; these last-mentioned articles were intended only for the king himself, and his more immediate attendants; with respect to the army in general, it was thought sufficient to furnish them with provision. On the approach of the main body, a pavilion was erected, and properly prepared for the residence of the monarch, the rest of the troops remained in the open air. From the commencement of the feast to its conclusion, the fatigue of those who provided it is hardly to be expressed. The guests, after satisfying their appetites, passed the night on the place; the next morning, after tearing up the pavilion, and plundering its contents, they departed, without leaving any thing behind them.

CXX. Upon this occasion the witty remark of Megacreon of Abdera, has been handed down to posterity. He advised the Abderites of both sexes to go in procession to their temples, and there in the attitude of supplicants, entreat the gods to continue in future to avert from them the half of their calamities. With respect to the past, he thought their gratitude was due to heaven, because Xerxes did not take two repasts in a day. If the Abderites, he observed, had been required to furnish a dinner as well as a supper, they must either have prevented the visit of the king by flight, or have been the most miserable of human beings.

CXXI. These people, severe as was the burden, fulfilled what had been enjoined them. From Acanthos, Xerxes dismissed the commanders of his fleet, requiring them to wait his orders at Therma. Therma is situated near the Therman Gulf, to which it gives its name. He had been taught to suppose this the most convenient road; by the command of Xerxes, the army had marched from Doriscus to Acanthos in three separate bodies: one went by the sea-coast, moving with the fleet, and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes; a second proceeded through the midst of the continent, under the conduct of Tritantæchmes and Gergis; betwixt these went the third detachment with whom was Xerxes himself, and who were led by Smerdomenes and Megabyzus.

CXXII. As soon as the royal mandate was issued, the navy entered the canal which had been sunk at mount Athos, and which was continued to the gulf, contiguous to which are the cities of Assa, Pidorus, Singus, and Sarga. Taking on board a supply of troops from these places, the fleet advanced towards the Thermæan gulf, and doubling the Toronean promontory of Ampelos passed by the following Grecian towns, from which also they took reinforcements of vessels and of men—Torona, Galepsus, Sermyla, Mecyberna, and Olynthus. All the above district is now named Sithonia.

CXXIII. From the promontory of Ampelos, they proceeded by a short cut to the Canastrean cape, the point, which, of all the district of Pallene, projects farthest into the sea; here they took with them other supplies of men and ships, from Potidæa, Aphytus, Neapolis, Ægа, Therambus, Scione, Menda, and Sana. These cities are situated in the region now called Pallene; known formerly by the name Phlegra. Coasting onwards to the station appointed, they supplied themselves with troops from the cities in the vicinity of Pallene, and the Thermæan gulf. The names of these, situate in what is now called the Cnossean region, are Lipaxus, Combrea, Lissæ, Gigonus, Campsa, Smila, and Ænea. From this last place, beyond which I shall forbear to specify the names of cities, the fleet went in a straight direction to the Thermæan gulf, and the coast of Mygdonia; it ultimately arrived at Therma, the place appointed, as also at Sin-

dus and Chalestra, on the river Axius, which separates Mydgonia from Bottiæis. In a narrow neck of this region, leading to the sea, are found the cities of Ichnæ and Pella.

CXXIV. The naval forces stationed themselves near the river Axius, the town of Therma, and the other neighbouring cities, where they waited for the king. Directing his march this way, Xerxes, with all his forces, left Acanthos, and proceeded over the continent through Pæonia and Crestonia, near the river Chidorus, which, taking its rise in Crestonia, flows through Mygdonia, and empties itself into a marsh which is above the river Axius.

CXXV. In the course of this march the camels, which carried the provisions, were attacked by lions: in the darkness of the night they left their accustomed abode, and without molesting man or beast, fell upon the camels only.[1] That the lions should attack the camels alone, animals they had never before devoured, or even seen, is a fact which I relate with surprise, and am totally unable to explain.

CXXVI. These places abound with lions and wild bulls, the large horns of which are carried to Greece. On the one side the Nestus, which flows through Abdera, and on the other the Achelous, passing through Acarnania, are the limits beyond which no lions are found.[2] In the intermediate region betwixt these two places lions are produced; but no one has ever seen them in Europe, beyond the Nestus to the east, or beyond the Achelous to the west.

CXXVII. On his arrival at Therma, Xerxes halted with his army, which occupied the whole of the coast from Therma and Mygdonia, as far as the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, which forming the limits of Bottiæis and Macedonia, meet at last in the same channel. Here the Barbarians encamped: of all the rivers I have enumerated, the Chidorus, which flows from Crestonia, was the only one which did not afford sufficient water for the troops.

CXXVIII. Xerxes, viewing from Therma, Olympus and Ossa, Thessalian mountains of an extraordinary height, betwixt which was a narrow passage where the Peneus poured its stream, and where was an entrance to Thessaly, he was desirous of sailing to the mouth of this river. For the way he had determined to march as the safest was through the high country of Macedonia, by the Perrhæbi, and the town of Gonnus. He instantly however set about the accomplishment of his wish. He accordingly went on board a Sidonian vessel, for on such occasions he always preferred the ships of that country; leaving here his land forces, he gave the signal for all the fleet to prepare to set sail. Arriving at the mouth of the Peneus, he observed it with particular admiration, and desired to know of his guides if it would not be possible to turn the stream, and make it empty itself into the sea in some other place.

CXXIX. Thessaly is said to have been formerly a marsh, on all sides surrounded by lofty mountains; to the east by Pelion and

1 *The camels only.*]—"Herodotus," says Bellanger in a note upon this passage, "was no great naturalist. The Arabians, and all those who inhabit the countries where are lions and camels, very well know that the lion loves the flesh of the camel."—*See Ælian, History of animals*, book xvii. chap. 36.

Herodotus, it must be confessed, was not remarkably well versed in natural history; but if he had, it must always have appeared surprising to him, that lions, who had never before seen camels, or tasted their flesh, should attack them in preference to other beasts of burden. That in Arabia lions should prefer a camel to a horse, may seem natural enough; they know by experience the flesh of these two animals, and that of the camels is doubtless more to their taste; but what could have given them this knowledge in Macedonia? I confess that this would have appeared no less marvellous to me than to Herodotus.—*Larcher.*

With respect to the lion, many preposterous errors anciently prevailed, which modern improvements and researches in natural history, have corrected and improved; nevertheless the fact recorded here by Herodotus must ever appear marvellous. It seems in the first place, that the region of Europe in which he has fixed these lions is too cold for producing those animals, and according to every testimony it was then colder than at present.

It is now well known that the lion, however urged by hunger, does not attack its prey boldly and in an open manner, but insidiously: as the camels were therefore certainly on this occasion accompanied by a multitude, it is not easy to conceive how they could well be exposed to the attacks of the lions. In the next place it is not likely that the lions should be allured to the camels by their smell, for it is now very well ascertained that the lion has by no means an acute sense of smelling. With respect to the taste of the lion, it is said that having once tasted human blood it prefers it to all other food. Of the tiger, which is only a different species of the same genus with the lion, both being feles, it is said, but I know not from what accuracy of experiment or observation, that it prefers the flesh of an African to that of an European, the European to the American; but the assertion may be reasonably disputed.—*T.*

2 *Lions are found.*]—Lions are not at all found in America, and fewer in Asia than Africa. The natural history of the lion may be perused in Buffon with much information and entertainment, but more real knowledge concerning this noble animal may perhaps be obtained from Sparman's Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, than from any other writer on this subject.—*T.*

Ossa, whose bases meet each other; to the north by Olympus, to the west by Pindus, to the south by Othrys. The space betwixt these is Thessaly, into which depressed region many rivers pour their waters, but more particularly these five, the Peneus, the Epidanus, the Onochonus, the Enipeus, and the Pamisus: all these, flowing from the mountains which surround Thessaly into the plain, are till then distinguished by specific names. They afterwards unite in one narrow channel, and are poured into the sea. After their union they take the name of the Peneus only. It is said, that formerly, before this aperture to the sea existed, all these rivers, and also the lake Bœbeis, had not as now any specific name, but that their body of water was as large as at present, and the whole of Thessaly a sea. The Thessalians affirm, and not improbably, that the valley through which the Peneus flows was formed by Neptune. Whoever supposes that Neptune causes earthquakes, and that the consequent chasms are the work of that deity, may on viewing this spot easily ascribe it to his power: to me, the separation of these mountains appears to have been the effect of an earthquake.[3]

CXXX. Xerxes inquiring of his guides whether the Peneus might be conducted to the sea by any other channel, received from them, who were well acquainted with the situation of the country, this reply: "As Thessaly, O king, is on every side encircled by mountains, the Peneus can have no other communication with the sea." "The Thessalians," Xerxes is said to have answered, "are a sagacious people. They have been careful to decline a contest for many reasons, and particularly as they must have discerned that their country would afford an easy conquest to an invader. All that would be necessary to deluge the whole of Thessaly, except the mountainous parts, would be to stop up the mouth of the river, and thus throw back its waters upon the country." This observation referred to the sons of Aleuas, who were Thessalians, and the first Greeks who submitted to the king. He presumed that their conduct declared the general sentiments of the nation in his favour. After surveying the place he returned to Therma.

CXXXI. He remained a few days in the neighbourhood of Pieria, during which interval a detachment of the third of his army was employed in clearing the Macedonian mountains, to facilitate the passage of the troops into the country of the Perrhæbi. At the same time the messengers who had been sent to require earth and water of the Greeks returned, some with and some without it.

CXXXII. Among those who sent it, were the Thessalians, the Dolopians, the Enians, the Perrhæbi, the Locri, the Magnetes, the Melians, the Achæans of Phthiotis, the Thebans, and the rest of the people of Bœotia, except the Thespians and Plateans. Against all these nations those Greeks who determined to resist the Barbarians entered into a solemn vow[4] to the following effect—that whatever Greeks submitted to the Persian, without the plea of unavoidable necessity, should on any favourable change of their affairs forfeit to the divinity of Delphi a tenth part of their property.

CXXXIII. Xerxes sent no messengers either to Athens or to Sparta, for when Darius had before sent to those places, the Athenians threw his people into their pit of punishment,[5]

3 *An earthquake.*]—The reader may see in Philostratus, the description of a picture in which Neptune is represented as in the act of separating the mountains.—See also Strabo. The tradition that Ossa and Olympus were anciently different parts of the same mountain, existed from a very remote period in Greece; and according to Mr. Wood, in his Essay on Homer, is not now obliterated. The valley through which the Peneus flows is the celebrated vale of Tempe, the fruitful theme of so many poetical effusions in ancient periods, as well as at the present. The river Peneus is no where better described than in the following lines of Ovid:

> Est nemus Hæmoniæ prærupta quod undique claudit
> Silva, vocant Tempe per quæ Peneus ab imo
> Effusus Pindo spumosis volvitur undis
> Dejectuque gravis tenues agitantia fumos
> Nubila conducit, summasque aspergine sylvas
> Impluit et sonitu plusquam vicina fatigat.
>
> *Metamorph.* i. 568.

Very few readers will require to be told that Ovid made the banks of the Peneus the scene of his fable of Daphne and Apollo.—*T.*

4 *Solemn vow.*]—The Greek is εταμον ορκιον, literally, *they cut an oath*, because no alliance or agreement was ever made without sacrificing a victim. Similar to this, and to be explained in like manner, was the ferire fœdus of the Romans.

5 *Pit of punishment.*]—Learned men have disputed whether the βαραθρον was the place of punishment at Athens or at Sparta. See the Essais de Critique of Bellanger, page 63, and the note of Larcher on this passage. It was a deep pit, into which criminals were precipitated. See, in the Stratagemata of Polyænus, an entertaining account of the ingenious and successful contrivance of one Aristomenes to escape from this horrid place. *Polyæn.* book ii. c. 2. Similar to this was the punishment of precipitation from the Tarpeian rock inflicted on state

the Lacedæmonians into wells, telling them to get the earth and water thence, and carry it to their king. The city and country of the Athenians was afterwards laid waste; but that they suffered thus in consequence of their treatment of the ambassadors, is more than I will assert, indeed I can by no means ascribe it to that cause.

CXXXIV. But the vengeance of Talthybius,[1] who had been the herald of Agamemnon, fell upon the Lacedæmonians. There is at Sparta a temple of Talthybius, his posterity are called Talthybiadæ, and are employed, as a mark of honour, on all foreign embassies. A long time after the incident we have related, the entrails of the victims continued at Sparta to bear an unfavourable appearance, till the people, reduced to despondency, called a general assembly, in which they inquired by the heralds, if any Lacedæmonian would die for his country.[2] Upon this Sperthies,[3] son of Aneristus, and Bulis, son of Nicolaus, Spartans of great accomplishments and distinction, offered themselves to undergo whatever punishment Xerxes, the son of Darius, should think proper to inflict on account of the murder of his ambassadors. These men therefore the Spartans sent to the Medes as to certain death.

CXXXV. The magnanimity of these two men as well as the words which they used, deserve admiration. On their way to Susa they came to Hydarnes, a native of Persia, and governor of the vanquished places in Asia near the sea: he entertained them with much liberality and kindness, and addressed them as follows: "Why, O Lacedæmonians, will you reject the friendship of the king? From me, and from my condition, you may learn how well he knows to reward merit. He already thinks highly of your virtue, and if you will but enter into his service, he will doubtless assign to each of you, some government in Greece." "Hydarnes," they replied, "your advice with respect to us is inconsistent: you speak from the experience of your own, but with an entire ignorance of our situation. To you servitude is familiar; but how sweet a thing liberty is, you have never known, if you had, you yourself would have advised us to make all possible exertions to preserve it."[4]

CXXXVI. When introduced, on their arrival at Susa, to the royal presence, they were first ordered by the guards to fall prostrate, and adore the king,[5] and some force was used to

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prisoners among the Romans. Perhaps it is not unreasonable to presume that a like kind of punishment prevailed among the Jews, who, we are told in the gospels, hurried our Saviour to the brow of the hill on which the city was built, intending to throw him headlong down. —*T.*

1 *Vengeance of Talthybius.*]—The indignation of Talthybius fell generally upon the republic of Lacedæmon, but at Athens upon a particular house, namely, on the family of Miltiades, son of Cimon, because he had advised the Athenians to put to death the heralds who came to Attica.—*Pausanias*, book iii. chapter 12.

I can no where find on what account these honours were paid to Talthybius and his posterity. The persons of heralds the laws of all nations consented to hold sacred, but this veneration was paid not to the individual, but to the office. The name of Talthybius occurs very seldom in Homer, and is never introduced with any peculiar marks of honour or distinction.—*T.*

2 *Die for his country.*]—A superstitious idea prevailed among the ancients, that the safety of a whole nation might be secured, or the life of an individual be preserved, by the voluntary devotion of one or more persons to death.—Thus, among the Greeks in the instance before us, and in the example of Leonidas, who devoted himself at Thermopylæ. The Romans were distinguished by the same absurd error; the chasm of the forum was supposed to close because a Roman knight voluntarily leaped into it; and a splendid victory over their adversaries was believed to be the consequence of the self-devotion of Decius. In succeeding times it became customary for individuals to devote and consecrate themselves, their fortunes, and their lives, to the service of the emperors. The folly began with Augustus, to whom one Pacuvius thus devoted himself. That better devotion, the result not of superstition but of genuine patriotism, is thus well described by Thomson:

> But, ah! too little known to modern times,
> Be not the noblest passion past unsung,
> That ray peculiar from unbounded love
> Effused, which kindles the heroic soul—
> Devotion to the public. Glorious flame,!
> Celestial ardour, in what unknown worlds,
> Profusely scattered through the blue immense,
> Hast thou been blessing myriads, since in Rome,
> Old virtuous Rome, so many deathless names
> From thee their lustre drew? Since, taught by thee,
> Their poverty put splendour to the blush,
> Pain grew luxurious, and death delight? *T.*

3 *Sperthies.*]—The name of this Spartan is very variously written: he is called Spertis, Sporchis, and Sperches, but it is of no great importance. Suidas by an unpardonable negligence, changes these two Spartans into Athenians. They sung, in honour of these two exalted characters, a melancholy dirge called Sperches, though I doubt not that Bulis was also celebrated in it, as was Aristogiton in that of Harmodius. See *Theocritus Idyl.* xv. 96. 98.—*Larcher.*

The above mistake in Suidas, which Larcher has pointed out, Toup, in his Emendations of that author, has omitted to notice.—*T.*

4 *To preserve it.*]—The literal meaning of the Greek is as follows: You would advise us to fight for it not only with spears but with hatchets: which in a manner explains itself; for to fight with a spear implies fighting at a greater distance, and consequently with less danger, than was possible with an axe, the wounds of which must be more severe, and less easily avoided.—*T.*

5 *Adore the king.*]—This was the compliment always paid to the kings of Persia, when admitted to their presence; but this the Greeks, with the exception of The-

compel them. But this they refused to do, even if they should dash their heads against the ground. They were not, they said, accustomed to adore a man, nor was it for this purpose that they came. After persevering in such conduct, they addressed Xerxes himself in these and similar expressions: "King of the Medes, we are sent by our countrymen to make atonement for those ambassadors who perished at Sparta." Xerxes with great magnanimity said he would not imitate the example of the Lacedæmonians. They in killing his ambassadors had violated the laws of nations; he would not be guilty of that with which he reproached them, nor, by destroying their messengers, indirectly justify their crime.

CXXXVII. In consequence of this conduct of the Spartans, the indignation of Talthybius subsided for the present, notwithstanding the return of Sperthies and Bulis to their country. But according to the Lacedæmonian account, this displeasure was after a long interval again conspicuous in the war betwixt the people of the Peloponnese and the Athenians. For my own part, I see no divine interposition [6] in this business; that the anger of Talthybius should without ceasing continue to operate till the devoted individuals were sent from their country, seems just and reasonable; but that it should ultimately fall on the children of these men, does not to me look like divine vengeance. Nicolaus, the son of Bulis, and Aneristus, the son of Sperthies, had taken a fishing vessel belonging to the Tirynthians,[7] full of men: being afterward sent on some public business into Asia by the Lacedæmonians, they were betrayed by Sitalces, son of Tereus, king of Thrace, and by Nymphodorus, son of Pythus, a man of Abdera. They were accordingly captured near Bisanthis on the Hellespont, and being carried to Attica, were put to death by the Athenians, as was also Aristeas, son of Adimantus, a Corinthian.—These events happened many years after the expedition of Xerxes.[8]

CXXXVIII. This expedition, to return to my proper subject, was nominally said to be directed against Athens; but its real object was the entire conquest of Greece. The Greeks were long prepared for this invasion, but they did not all think of it alike. They who had made their submission to the Persian, did not conceive they had any thing to apprehend from the Barbarian's presence, whilst they who had resisted his proposals were overwhelmed with terror and alarm. The united naval armament of Greece was far from able to contend with his power; and a great number of them discovered more inclination to go over to the Medes, than to concur in the general defence.

CXXXIX. I feel myself impelled in this place to deliver an opinion, which though it may appear invidious to most men, as it seems to me the fact, I shall not suppress. If the Athenians, through terror of the impending danger, had forsaken their country, or if they had staid merely to have surrendered themselves to erxes, he would certainly have met with no resistance by sea; if he had remained, without contest, master of the sea, the following must have been the event of things on the continent: Although they of the Peloponnese had fortified the isthmus by a number of walls, the Lacedæmonians must inevitably have been deserted by their allies, not so much from inclination as from their being compelled to see their cities regularly taken and pillaged by the Barbarian fleet. Thus left alone, after many efforts of valour, they would have encountered

mistocles and one or two more, uniformly refused to do. We learn from Valerius Maximus, that one Timagoras an Athenian, having done this, was, by his countrymen, condemned to die; thinking the dignity of their city injured and degraded by this act of meanness.

Prideaux remarks, that this compliment of prostration before him must have been paid the king of Persia by the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah, or they could not have had access to him.—*T.*

6 *Divine interposition.*]—To impute that to divine interposition which human sagacity is unable to account for or explain, seems the necessary result of ignorance combined with superstition. That in a case so remarkable as this before us, Herodotus should disdain to do this, does the highest credit to his candour and his wisdom. The passage however has greatly perplexed the most learned commentators, some thinking that the negative particle ought to be rejected, others the contrary. I would refer the curious reader to Valcnaer's note on the passage, which to me seems very satisfactory, and which I have of course adopted.—*T.*

7 *To the Tirynthians.*]—Thucydides relates the particulars of this affair, book ii. chapter 67. From his account no divine interposition seems necessary to explain what happened to Nicolaus and Aneristus: they were two of several who fell into the hands of the Athenians, who were then at variance with Sparta. In the beginning of the war, the Lacedæmonians had put to death such as they captured by sea, and the Athenians thought themselves at liberty to retaliate. Thucydides says, that Aristeas, one of the captives, was in a particular manner odious to the Athenians, as they imputed to him many calamities they had recently experienced; but he says no such thing either of Nicolaus or Aneristus.—*T.*

8 *After the expedition of Xerxes.*]—The events here alluded to happened in the third year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad, as appears from Thucydides.

an honourable death. Either this must have been their lot, or, seeing the other Greeks forming alliances with the Medes, they themselves would have done the same: thus would Greece either way have been reduced under the Persian yoke. Of what advantage the walls along the Isthmus could possibly have been, whilst the king remained master of the sea, I am unable to discover. Whoever therefore shall consider the Athenians as deliverers of Greece, will not be far from the truth. The scale to which they inclined would necessarily preponderate. In their anxiety for preserving the liberties of their country, they animated the ardour of all that part of Greece which was before inclined to resist the Medes. They, next to the gods, repelled the invader; nor did the Delphic oracles, alarming and terrific as they were, induce them to abandon Greece; but they waited to receive the invader.

CXL. The Athenians, desirous to know the will of the oracle, sent messengers to Delphi; who, after the customary ceremonies, entering the temple, were thus addressed in a prophetic spirit by the priestess, whose name was Aristonice:

"Unhappy men, to earth's last limits go;
Forsake your homes, and city's lofty brow,
For neither head nor bodies firm remain,
Nor hands assist you, nor can feet sustain:
All, all is lost, the fires spread wide around,
Mars in his Syrian car and arms is found:
Not ye alone his furious wrath may fear;
Their towers from many shall his vengeance tear.
And now from hallowed shrines the flames ascend,
Black blood and sweat their fearful torrents blend.
Horror prevails! Ye victims of despair,
Depart, and for unheard-of ills prepare."

CXLI. This reply filled the Athenian messengers with the deepest affliction: whilst they were reflecting on its melancholy import, Timon, son of Androbulis, one of the most illustrious citizens of Delphi, recommended them to assume the dress of supplicants, and a second time to consult the oracle. They followed his advice, and expressed their sentiments to the oracle in these terms: "O king, return us an answer more auspicious to our country; let our supplicatory dress and attitude incline you to compassion; otherwise we will not leave your sanctuary, but here remain till we die." The second answer[1] of the priestess was to this effect:

"Of Jove, who rules Olympian heights above,
Not Pallas' self the solemn will can move.
My awful words attend then once again,
And firm they shall as adamant remain.
When all is lost within Cecropian bounds,
And where Cithæron's sacred bosom sounds,
Jove to his loved Tritonian maid shall give
A wall of wood, where you and yours shall live.
Your numerous foes' approach forbear to stay,
But fly from horse, and foot, and arms away.
Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
The rising source of many a mother's joy:
Thou shalt—though Ceres scattered o'er the plain,
Or keep within disposed, her golden grain."

CXLII. The messengers, as reasonably they might, deeming this reply less severe than the former, wrote it down, and returning to Athens recited it to the people. Many different, and indeed entirely opposite opinions, were delivered concerning the meaning of the oracle; some of the oldest men thought it intended to declare that the citadel, which formerly was surrounded by a palisade, should not be taken, to which palisade they referred the oracular expression of the wooden wall.—Others thought that the deity, by a wooden wall, meant ships, which therefore, omitting every thing else, it became them to provide. But they who inclined to this opinion were perplexed by the concluding words of the oracle:

"Thou shalt, immortal Salamis, destroy
The rising source of many a mother's joy:
Thou shalt—though Ceres scatter o'er the plain,
Or keep within disposed, her golden grain;"

for the interpreters of the oracle presumed, that a defeat would be the consequence of a sea engagement near Salamis.

CXLIII. There was at Athens a man lately arrived at the first dignities of the state, whose name was Themistocles, the son of Neocles; he would not allow the interpreters of the oracles to be entirely right. "If," said he,[2] that prediction had referred to the Athenians, the deity would not have used terms so gentle. The expression would surely have

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1 *The second answer.*]—This has generally been imputed to the interposition of Themistocles, who, as Plutarch informs us, despairing to influence his fellow citizens by any human arguments, brought to his aid divine revelations, prodigies, and oracles, which he employed like machines in a theatre.

2 *If, said he.*]—The last mentioned oracle is thus given by Glover in his Athenaid, book i. 334.

"Ah, still my tongue like adamant is hard;
Minerva's towers must perish: Jove severe
So wills, yet granting, at his daughter's suit,
Her people refuge under walls of wood;
But shun the myriads of terrific horse,
Which on your fields an eastern Mars shall bring."—
She ceased, th' Athenian notes her answer down;
To one the most intrusted of his train
He gave the tablet: "Back to Athens fly,"
He said, "the son of Neocles alone,
By his unbounded faculties, can pierce
The hidden sense of these mysterious strains."

been, 'O wretched Salamis,' and not 'O immortal Salamis,' if the inhabitants had been doomed to perish in the vicinity of that island." Every more sagacious person, he thought, must allow that the oracle threatened not the Athenians but the enemy; he recommended them, therefore, to prepare for an engagement by sea, the only proper interpretation of the walls of wood. This opinion of Themistocles appeared to the Athenians more judicious then that of the interpreters, who were averse to a naval engagement; and who advised their countrymen to attempt no resistance, but to abandon Attica, and seek another residence.

CXLIV. Themistocles had on a former occasion given proofs of his superior sagacity: a considerable sum of money had been collected in the public treasury, the produce of the mines of Laurium. A proposal had been made, and approved, that this should be equally divided among the citizens of mature age, at the rate of ten drachmæ a-head; Themistocles dissuaded[3] the Athenians from this measure, and prevailed on them to furnish out with it a fleet of two hundred vessels, for the war with Ægina. It was this war, therefore, which operated to the safety of Greece, by obliging the Athenians to become sailors. This fleet was not applied to the purpose for which it was originally intended, but it opportunely served for the general benefit of Greece. The above ships being already prepared, the Athenians had only to increase their number; it was therefore determined, in a general council, held after the declaration of the oracle, that they could not better testify their obedience to the divinity, than by meeting at sea the Barbarian invader of their country, in conjunction with those Greeks who chose to join their arms. —Such were the oracles delivered to the Athenians.

CXLV. At this council all the other Greeks assisted who were animated with an ingenuous ardour with respect to their country. After a conference, in which they pledged themselves to be faithful to the common interest, it was first of all determined, that their private resentments and hostilities should cease. At this period great disturbances existed, but more particularly betwixt the people of Athens and Ægina. As soon as they heard that Xerxes was at Sardis, at the head of his forces, the Athenians resolved to send some emissaries into Asia, to watch the motions of the king. It was also determined, to send some persons to Argos to form with that nation a confederacy against the Persian war: others were sent to Sicily, to Gelon, the son of Dinomenis; some to Coryra and Crete, to solicit assistance for Greece. It was their view, if possible, to collect Greece into one united body, to counteract a calamity which menaced their common safety. The power of Gelon was then deemed of so much importance, as to be surpassed by no individual state of Greece.

CXLVI. When all these measures were agreed upon, and their private animosities had ceased, their first step was to send three spies[4] to Asia. These men, on their arrival at Sardis, were seized in the act of examining the royal army, and being tortured by the command of the generals of the land-forces, were about to be put to death. When Xerxes heard of this, he expressed himself displeased with the proceedings of his officers, and sending some of his guards, he commanded them to bring the spies to his presence, if they were not already dead: the guards arrived in time to preserve them, and they were conducted to the royal presence. Xerxes after inquiring their business, directed his guards to lead the men round his army,[5] and show them all his forces, both horse and foot; when they had fully satisfied their curiosity, he suffered them to depart without molestation, wherever they thought proper. Xerxes was prompted to this conduct, by the idea that if the spies were put to death, the Greeks would be able to form no conception of his power, exceeding even the voice of fame; he imagined also, that the loss of three individuals could prove of no serious detriment to the enemy. But he concluded, that by the

3 *Themistocles dissuaded.*]—Plutarch, in his life of Themistocles, relates the same fact. It was doubtless a bold though sagacious measure, and one of those which, as it happens to meet the temporary emotion of the people, occasions a man either to be torn in pieces as the betrayer, or venerated as the saviour of his country.—*T.*

4 *Three spies.*]—The treatment of spies is one of those things about which nations the most polished and the most barbarous have always thought and acted alike. To hang a spy the moment he is discovered, without any forms of judicial process, is warranted by universal consent, and seems justifiable on the common maxims of policy.

The refinement of modern times annexes a considerable degree of infamy to the employment and character of a spy, but the enterprise of Diomede and Ulysses, as recorded by Homer, seems to prove that this was not always the case.—*T.*

5 *Round his army.*]—A similar conduct was pursued by Caius Fabricius, with regard to the spies of Pyrrhus.

return of these men to Greece, the Greeks, hearing of the preparations made against them, would not wait his arrival to make their submissions; and that consequently he should be spared the trouble of marching against them.

CXLVII. Upon another occasion Xerxes appeared to reason in the same manner: when he was at Abydos he saw some vessels sailing over the Hellespont, which carried corn from the Pontus to Ægina and the Peloponnese. When his attendants discovered them to be enemies, they prepared to pursue them, and looked earnestly on the king, as expecting his orders to do so. Xerxes inquired where these vessels were going; on being told to the enemy, and that they were laden with corn, "Well," he replied, "and are we not going to the same place, carrying with us corn amongst other necessaries? How, therefore, can these injure us, who are carrying provisions for our use." The spies, after surveying all that they desired, returned to Europe.

CXLVIII. After their return, those Greeks who had associated to resist the Persian, sent messengers a second time to Argos. The Argives give this account of their own conduct;—They were acquainted, they say, at a very early period, with the Barbarian's views upon Greece; and being aware, and indeed assured, that they would be called upon by the Greeks for their assistance to oppose him, they sent to inquire of the oracle at Delphi, what line of conduct they might most advantageously pursue. They had recently lost six thousand of their countrymen, who were slain by the Lacedæmonians, under the conduct of Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandrides. The Pythian made them this reply.

"You, whom your neighbours hate, whilst gods above,
Immortal gods, with truest kindness love,
Keep close within, and well your head defend,
Which to the limbs shall sure protection lend."

This was the answer given them by the Pythian, before the arrival of the Grecian envoys. When these had delivered their commission to the senate of Argos, the Argives expressed themselves disposed to enter into a pacific treaty with the Lacedæmonians, for a term of thirty years, upon condition of having the command of half[1] of the troops; they thought that in justice they might claim the whole, but agreed to be satisfied with half.

CXLIX. This, according to their own account, was the answer of the Argive senate, in contradiction to the advice of the oracle, not to join the Grecian confederacy. Their awe of the divinity did not prevent their urging with eagerness a treaty for thirty years, in which period their children, they presumed, would arrive at manhood; and they feared, if they refused to make a treaty, and their former misfortunes should be aggravated by any new calamity in the Persian war, they might be ultimately reduced under the Lacedæmonian yoke. To these proposals of the Argive senate the Spartan envoys replied, that with respect to the treaty, they would relate their determination to their countrymen; but as to the military command, they were authorised to make this decisive answer: That as they had two kings, and the Argives but one,[2] the Spartans could not deprive either of their two[3] sovereigns of his privileges; but there was no reason why the Argive prince should not be vested with a joint and equal authority. Thus the Argives relate that they found themselves unable to submit to the Lacedæmonian insolence, choosing rather to be subject to the Barbarians, than to the tyranny of Sparta.[4] They therefore informed the ambassadors, that if they did not quit their territories before sunset, they should be regarded as enemies.

CL. The above is the Argive account; another report, however, is prevalent in Greece: —Xerxes, it is said, before he commenced hostilities with Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who was instructed thus to address the people: "Men of Argos, attend to the words of Xerxes: we are of opinion that Perses, whom we acknowledge to be our ancestor, was the

1 *The command of half.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that the Argives sent deputies to the general assembly, who, on asking for a share of the command, received an answer to this effect: that if they thought it harder to submit to the command of a Grecian than to have a Barbarian master, they might as well stay, as they were in quiet: if they were ambitious to have the command of Greece, they must deserve it by their noble actions.

2 *The Argives but one.*]—Larcher remarks on this passage, that it is the only one he has been able to discover, which mentions there being a king of Argos.

3 *Either of their two.*]—In book v. chap. 75, we are told expressly that the Spartans passed a law, forbidding both their kings to be at the same time present with the army; with which assertion the passage before us evidently militates.

4 *Tyranny of Sparta.*]—The Lacedæmonians, says Valcnaer, and Cleomenes in particular, had on various occasions treated the Argives ill; these, therefore, with the Achæans, were the only people of the Peloponnese who refused to assist them in the Peloponnesian war.

son of Perseus, whose mother was Danae, and of Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus; thus it appears that we derive our origin from you.[5] It would, therefore, be unnatural either for us to carry on war with those from whom we are descended, or for you to make us your adversaries, by giving your assistance to others. Remain, therefore, in tranquillity at home; if what I meditate prove successful, no nation shall receive from me greater honours than yours." This proposition appeared to the Argives of such serious importance, that they of themselves made no appplication to the Greeks; and when they were called upon for their assistance, they claimed an equal command, merely with the view of remaining quiet, for they knew the Lacedæmonians would refuse it.[6]

CLI. The above receives confirmation from a circumstance represented in Greece to have happened many years afterwards. The Athenians, upon some occasion or other, sent ambassadors to Susa, the city of Memnon,[7] amongst whom was Callias, the son of Hipponicus; at the same place and time, some Argives were present, to inquire of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, whether the friendship they had formed with his father Xerxes continued still in force, or whether he regarded them as enemies. Artaxerxes replied, that it certainly did continue, and that no city had a greater share of his regard than Argos.

CLII. In relating the above, I neither speak from my own knowledge, nor give any opinion, having no other authority but that of the Argives themselves, for saying that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos, or that the Argive ambassadors at Susa interrogated Artaxerxes concerning his friendship for their country. This, however, I know, that if all men were to produce in one place[8] their faults, in order to exchange them for those of their neighbours, the result would be that, after due examination, each would willingly return with what he brought.—The conduct of the Argives, according to this representation, was not the basest possible. But it is incumbent upon me to record the different opinions of men, though I am not obliged indiscriminately to credit them; and let this my opinion be applied to the whole of my history. It is then also asserted, that the Argives first invited the Persian to invade Greece, imagining, after the losses

5 *Our origin from you.*]—If the fables of Greece may be credited, the royal families of Persia and Argos came from the same source. From Danae, the daughter of Acrisius and Jupiter, came Perseus, king of Argos; Perseus had by Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, Perses, who gave his name to the Persians, before called Cephenes.—*Larcher.*

It is truly said by Plato (in Alcibiad. vol. ii. p. 120,) that the Heraclidæ in Greece, and the Achæmenidæ among the Persians, were of the same stock. On this account Herodotus makes Xerxes claim kindred with the Argives of Greece, as being equally of the posterity of Perses, the same as Perseus, the sun, under which character the Persians described the patriarch from whom they were descended. Perseus was the same as Mithras, whose sacred cavern was styled Perseum.

> Phœbe parens—seu te roseum Titana vocari
> Gentis Achæmeniæ ritu, seu præ tu Osirin
> Frugiferum: seu Persei sub rupibus antri
> Indignata sequi torquentem cornua Mithram.
>
> *Statius Theb.* i. 717.

The above is from Bryant, vol. ii. 67, 68.—See also, of the same work, vol. i. 466, and vol. iii. 388.

6 *Would refuse it.*]—Plutarch in his Essay on the malignity of Herodotus, which I have frequently had occasion to mention, says, that this passage is a remarkable instance of our author's malice. "Every body knows," says Plutarch, "that the Argives were not unwilling to enter into the Grecian confederacy, although they did not choose to submit to the tyranny of the Lacedæmonians."—*T.*

7 *City of Memnon.*]—Built by Tithonus, the father of Memnon, and called both by Herodotus and Strabo the Memnonian city.

8 *Produce in one place.*]—This passage is obscure. The meaning of Herodotus seems to be, that if we take the representation of the Argives, their guilt was not considerable, according to the favourite eye with which all men view their own faults. "I know," says he, "that all men would rather keep their own faults, than take those of others."

A similar sentiment to this is well expressed by lord Chesterfield, in a paper of the World.

"If, sometimes, our common parent has been a little partial, and not kept the scales quite even, if one preponderates too much, we throw into the lighter a due counterpoise of vanity, which never fails to set all right. Hence it happens, that hardly any man would without reserve, and in every particular, change with any one."

Solon, according to Valerius Maximus, book vii. c. 2. asserted the same thing concerning human miseries. "Solon aiebat si in unum locum cuncti mala sua contulissent, futurum ut propria deportare domum quam ex communi miseriarum acervo portionem suam ferre mallent." This topic is treated with great humour in the Spectator, No. 557 and 558. Should there be any doubt about the meaning of κακα in this passage, it may be observed that Plutarch substitutes εγκληματα.

Plutarch, after reprobating the manner in which Herodotus speaks of the Argives, adds this comment:

"What he therefore reports the Ethiopian to have exclaimed, concerning the ointment and the purple, 'Deceitful are the beauties, deceitful the garments of the Persians,' may be applied to himself: for deceitful are the phrases, deceitful the figures, which Herodotus employs, being perplexed, fallacious, and unsound. For as painters set off and render more conspicuous the luminous parts of their pictures by the aid of shades, so he by his denials extends his calumnies, and by his ambiguous speeches makes his suspicions take the deeper impression."—*T.*

they had sustained from the Lacedæmonians, that they could experience no change for the worse.

CLIII. With the view of forming a treaty with Gelon, there arrived in Sicily different ambassadors from the several allies, and Syagrus on the part of the Lacedæmonians. An ancestor of this Gelon was a citizen of Gela,[1] of the island of Telso, opposite Triopium; when the Lindians of Rhodes,[2] and Antiphemus, built Gela, he accompanied them. His posterity, in process of time, became the ministers of the infernal deities,[3] which honour Telines, one of their ancestors, thus obtained; some men of Gela, who in a public tumult had been worsted, took refuge at Mactorium, a city beyond Gela. Telines brought back these to their allegiance, without any other aid than the things sacred to the above deities, but where or in what manner he obtained them I am unable to explain. It was by their aid that he effected the return of the citizens of Gela, having previously stipulated that his descendants should be the ministers of the above-mentioned deities. That Telines should undertake and accomplish so difficult an enterprise, seems to me particularly surprising: it was certainly beyond the abilities of any ordinary individual, and could only have been executed by a man of very superior qualities. He is, nevertheless, reported by the people of Sicily to have been a person of different character: that is to say, of a delicate and effeminate nature.—Thus, however, he attained his dignities.

CLIV. Cleander, the son of Pantareus, after possessing for seven years the sovereignty of Gela, was assassinated by Sabyllus, a citizen of the place, and succeeded in his authority by his brother Hippocrates. During his reign, Gelon,[4] one of the posterity of Telines, of whom indeed there were many others, and particularly Ænesidemus, son of Pataicus, of the body guard of Hippocrates, was soon, on account of his military virtue, promoted to the rank of general of the cavalry. He had eminently distinguished himself in the several different wars which Hippocrates had prosecuted against the Callipolitæ, the Naxians, the people of Zancle and Leontium, not to mention those of Syracuse, and many barbarous nations. Of all these cities, which I have enumerated, that of Syracuse alone escaped the yoke of

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1 *Gela.*]—The curious reader will find every thing relating to Gela amply discussed by the learned d'Orville, in his Sicula, page 111 to page 131. It seems probable that it was built 713 years before Christ. According to Diodorus Siculus, Phintias, tyrant of Agrigentum, destroyed Gela about the 124th Olympiad, and 572 years after its first foundation: the inhabitants he removed to the town of Phintias, which he built. A medal has been found in Sicily, on one side of which is a minotaur, the well known type of the people of Gela; on the reverse, a wild boar, which is always found on the medals of Phintias. See Larcher's Table Geographique, vol. vii. p. 157.—*T.*

2 *Rhodes.*]—The Rhodians succeeded the Cretans in the dominion of the sea; they styled themselves sons of the sea. So Simias, their own historian, says of them, as cited by Clemens Alexand. and explained by Bochart, υἱοι θαλασσης."—See Diodorus Sic. l. v. Florus calls them Nauticus populus. See Meursius, where we find that Rhodes was styled Mari enata, because it merged by the decrease of the sea. They applied themselves with great success to maritime affairs, and became famous for building ships; they took so much care to keep the art to themselves, that it was criminal not only to enter, but even to look at their docks.—See in Eustathius in Dion, the expression τα λινδα πλοια. The high esteem and credit which Rhodes obtained, is apparent from the succours which the neighbouring states sent her, when almost destroyed by an earthquake. See Polybius. In Polybius the reader may find an account of the wisdom of her politics: one part I cannot omit, namely the just value they set on their poor, and their importance to the state, and of the care they took of them. They established many rules for their maintenance, and made ample provision for them all, wisely concluding, that the better they were used, the more obedient and peaceable they would be, and always ready to attend the summons of the public, in recruiting and manning their fleets. With the terror of these they long maintained the sovereignty of the seas, extending their dominion even to Pharos, near Egypt, till Cleopatra, by subtlety, shook off their yoke. The inhabitants of Pharos complaining of the heavy tribute they annually paid, as many other islands did, to the Rhodians, she ordered a mole to be thrown up to join Pharos to the continent, which was surprisingly executed within seven days, and thence called Heptastadium. Soon after this the Rhodian officers being arrived at Pharos for the payment of the tribute, the queen, riding on horseback over the new causeway to Pharos, told the Rhodians they did not know their own business; that the tribute was not to be paid by the people of the continent, and Pharos was no longer an island. Let me add, that the inhabitants of Rhodes long maintained their credit in maritime affairs, gave their assistance to the unfortunate, curbed and restrained the oppressor, and by the institution of the knights of Jerusalem, in 1308, enlisted themselves in defence of Christianity against the encroachments of the infidels, and gallantly defended their island against the Ottoman forces for the space of 200 years.—*T.*

3 *Infernal deities.*]—Ceres and Proserpine.

4 *Gelon.*]—He was not, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus asserts, the brother of Hippocrates. From belonging to the body guard of Hippocrates, he elevated himself to the government of Gela, and from thence to that of Syracuse: this last he rendered a flourishing town, and so attached it to him by his liberality, that when they broke in pieces the statues of the tyrants, to coin them into money, when Timoleon restored its liberty to Syracuse, those of Gelon alone were exempted.—*Larcher.*

Hippocrates. The Syracusans, indeed, had sustained a signal defeat near the river Elorus, but the Corinthians and Corcyræans had supported and delivered them, on the express condition that they should give up to Hippocrates the city of Camarine, which they possessed from the remotest antiquity.

CLV. Hippocrates, after reigning the same period as his brother Cleander, lost his life before the town of Hybla,[5] in a war against the Sicilians. Gelon, after having conquered his fellow-citizens in a fixed battle, under pretence of defending the rights of Euclid and Cleander, sons of Hippocrates, whose accession to their father's dignity was resisted, obtained the supreme authority of Gela, to the exclusion of the lawful heirs. He afterwards obtained possession of Syracuse, taking the opportunity of restoring to their country, from Casmene, those of the Syracusans called Gamori,[6] who had been expelled by the common people, in conjunction with their own slaves the Cillyrians.[7] The Syracusans, on his approach, made their submission, and delivered up their city.

CLVI. When Gelon became master of Syracuse he made light of Gela, his former possession, and consigned it to the care of his brother Hiero. Syracuse, which now was every thing to him, became soon a great and powerful city. Gelon removed all its inhabitants from Camarine, whom he made citizens of Syracuse, after overturning their city. He did the same with respect to more than half of the people of Gela. He besieged also the people of Sicilian Megara; on their surrender, the most wealthy among them, who on account of their activity against him, expected no mercy, were removed to Syracuse, and permitted to enjoy the privileges of citizens. The common people of Megara, who not having been instruments of the war, thought they had nothing to apprehend, after being conducted to Syracuse, were sold as slaves, to be carried out of Sicily. The people of Eubœa in Sicily were in like manner separated, and experienced the same treatment. His motive, in both these instances, was his fear and dislike of the common people: thus he rendered himself a most powerful prince.

CLVII. When the Grecian ambassadors arrived at Syracuse, and obtained an audience of the king, they addressed him to this effect: "The Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and their common allies, have deputed us to solicit your assistance against the Barbarian. You must have heard of his intended invasion of our country, that he has thrown bridges over the Hellespont, and bringing with him all the powers of Asia, is about to burst upon Greece. He pretends, that his hostilities are directed against Athens alone; but his real object is the entire subjection of Greece. We call on you, therefore, whose power is so great, and whose Sicilian dominions constitute so material a portion of Greece, to assist us in the vindication of our common liberty. Greece united will form a power formidable enough to resist our invaders; but if some of our countrymen betray us, and others withhold their assistance, the defenders of Greece will be reduced to an insignificant number, and our universal ruin may be expected to ensue. Do not imagine that the Persian, after vanquishing us, will not come to you; it becomes you, therefore, to take every necessary precaution; by assisting us you render your own situation secure.—An enterprise concerted with wisdom seldom fails of success."

CLVIII. The reply of Gelon was thus vehement: "Your address to me, O men of Greece," said he, "is insolent in the extreme. How can you presume to solicit my aid against the Barbarian, who, when I formerly asked you for assistance against the Carthaginians, and to revenge on the people of Ægesta the death of Dorieus, the son of Anaxandrides, offering in return to make those commercial places free, from whence great advantages would have been derived to you, on both occasions refused to succour me? That all this region, therefore, is not in subjection to the Barbarians has not depended

5 *Hybla.*]—There were in Sicily three cities of this name, the greater, the middle, and the little Hybla. The first of these is now called Paterno, and is at the foot of Ætna; the second is the modern Ragusa: the third is Megara. It was before the second Hybla that Hippocrates died. Hybla was also the name of a mountain in Sicily, which abounded in thyme, and was celebrated for its bees; it has been sufficiently notorious in poetic description.

I am conscious that, with respect to geographical descriptions, I have on all occasions been concise, and some of my readers may, perhaps, think to a fault. In answer to this I can only observe, that the geography of Herodotus might be reasonably expected to employ a separate volume.—*T.*

6 *Gamori.*]—The Gamori or Geomori, were properly those who, being sent away as a colony, divided the lands among them.

7 *Cillyrians.*]—This name is written differently. Larcher calls them Cillicyrians.

upon you; the event, however, has been fortunate to me. But on the approach of war, and your own immediate danger, you have recourse to Gelon. I shall not imitate your contemptuous conduct; I am ready to send to your aid two hundred triremes, twenty thousand heavy-armed troops, two thousand horse, and as many archers, two thousand slingers, and an equal number of light-armed cavalry. It shall be my care also to provide corn [1] for all the forces of Greece during the continuance of the war. But I make these offers on the condition of being appointed to the supreme command, otherwise I will neither come myself, nor furnish supplies."

CLIX. Syagrus, unable to contain himself, exclaimed aloud: how would Agamemnon, the descendant of Pelops,[2] lament, if he could know that the Spartans suffered themselves to be commanded by Gelon, and the people of Syracuse! Upon this subject I will hear you no farther; if you have any intention of assisting Greece, you must submit to be subordinate to the Lacedæmonians; if you refuse this, we decline your aid.

CLX. When Gelon perceived the particular aversion of Syagrus to his proposals, he delivered himself a second time as follows: "Stranger of Sparta, when injuries are offered to an exalted character, they seldom fail of exciting his resentment: yet your conduct, insulting as it is, shall not induce me to transgress against decency. If you are tenacious of the supreme authority, I may be reasonably more so, who am master of more forces, and a greater number of ships: but as you find a difficulty in acceding to my terms, I will remit somewhat of my claims. If you command the land forces, I will have the conduct of the fleet: or, if you will direct the latter, I will command the former. You must be satisfied with the one of these conditions, or be content to depart without my powerful assistance."[3]—Such were the propositions of Gelon.

CLXI. The Athenian envoy, anticipating the Lacedæmonian, answered him thus: "king of Syracuse, Greece has sent us to you, not wanting a leader, but a supply of forces. Such is your ambition, that unless you are suffered to command, you will not assist us. When you first intimated your wish to have the supreme command of our united forces, we Athenians listened in silence, well knowing that our Lacedæmonian ally would return you an answer applicable to us both. As soon as you gave up this claim, and were satisfied with requiring the command of the fleet alone, I then thought it became me to answer you.—Know, then, that if the Spartan ambassador would grant you this, we could not: if the Lacedæmonians refuse the conduct of the fleet, it devolves of course to us; we would not dispute it with them, but we would yield it to nobody else. It would little avail us to possess the greater part of the maritime forces of Greece, if we could suffer the Syracusans to command them. The Athenians are the most ancient people of Greece,[4] and we alone have

1 *Provide corn.*]—The fertility of Sicily, with respect to its corn, has from the most remote times been memorable. In the most flourishing times of Rome it was called the granary of the republic. See Cicero in Verrem, ii.—"Ille M. Cato sapiens cellam panariam reipublicæ, nutricem plebis Romanæ Siciliam nominavit." Modern travellers agree in representing Sicily as eminently abundant in its crops of corn.

There is a fragment of Antiphanes preserved in Athenæus, which may thus be translated.

"A cook from Elis, a caldron from Argos, wine of Phlius, tapestry of Corinth, fish from Sicyon, pipers (αυλητριδες) from Ægium, *cheese from Sicily*, the perfumes of Athens, and eels of Bœotia."

So that cheese also was amongst the numerous delicacies which Sicily supplied.—*T.*

2 *Agamemnon, the descendant of Pelops.*]—See Hesychius at the word Πελοπιδαι. The descendants of Agamemnon were therefore termed Πελοπιδαι. Πελοπιδαι Αγαμεμνονος γενος.

3 *My powerful assistance.*]—Ælian in his Various History, book ix. chap. 5. relates this anecdote of Hiero and Themistocles:

When Hiero appeared at the Olympic games, and would have engaged with his horses in the race. Themistocles prevented him, saying, that he who would not engage in the common danger ought not to have a share in the common festival.

The chronology of this fact is adduced by Bentley, as a convincing argument against the genuineness of the epistles imputed to Themistocles. See Bentley on Phalaris, p. 395.—*T.*

4 *The most ancient people of Greece.*]—The Athenians, in support of their antiquity assumed many romantic appellations, calling themselves the sons of the earth, χθονιοι, αυτοχθοντες, γηγενεις, πηλογονοι, children of clay. See Hesychius at the word γηγενεις. Opposing also these appellations to the fiction of the Egyptians, concerning the generation of man from the slime and mud of the river Nile, they afterwards, as an emblem of their own fortuitous generation, wore the *cicadæ*, or harvest flies, commonly translated grasshoppers, in their hair. Their comic poet, who on no occasion spared his countrymen, makes of this their emblem a happy but sarcastic use, telling them that the cicada, which they pretended to be a symbol of themselves, did really exhibit their faithful picture, with this only difference, that whereas the Cicada only sung upon the boughs for a month or two, they sung away their whole lives in hearing causes, (See Athenæus, p. 540.) sauntering through the streets to pick up the loose grain which fell from the industrious farmer, to find out a place where they had nothing to

never changed our country: from us was descended that hero, who, according to Homer, of all who marched against Troy, was the most expert in the arrangement and discipline of an army:[5] we relate these things with a becoming sense of our own importance."

CLXII. "Man of Athens," answered Gelon, "it does not appear that you want commanders, but troops. Since, therefore, you would obtain every thing, and concede nothing, hasten your departure, and inform Greece that their year will be without its spring." The meaning of this expression was, that as the spring was the most desirable season of the year, so were his forces with respect to those of Greece; Greece, therefore, destitute of his alliance, would be as a year without its spring.

CLXIII. The Grecian ambassadors after receiving this answer from Gelon, sailed back again. Gelon afterwards, apprehending that the Greeks must fall before the Barbarian power, and still disdaining, as monarch of Sicily, to be subordinate to the Spartans in the Peloponnese, adopted the following measure:—As soon as he heard that the Persian had passed the Hellespont, he sent three fifty-oared vessels to Delphi, under the conduct of Cadmus, the son of Scythes, of the isle of Cos; he had with him a large sum of money, and a commission of a pacific tendency.[6] They were to observe the issue of the contest: if the Barbarian proved victorious, they were to give him earth and water, in token of the submission of those places of which Gelon was prince; if victory fell to the Greeks, they were to return home.

CLXIV. This Cadmus had received from his father the sovereignty of Cos; and though his situation was free from every species of disquietude, he resigned his authority from the mere love of justice, and retired to Sicily.—Here, in conjunction with the Samians, he inhabited Zancle, the name of which place was afterwards changed to Messana.[7] This man Gelon selected, being convinced from his previous conduct of his inviolable attachment to justice. Amongst the other instances of rectitude which he exhibited, the following is not the least worthy of admiration: If he had thought proper he might have converted to his own use the wealth with which Gelon entrusted him; but after the victory of the Greeks, and the consequent departure of Xerxes, he carried all these riches back again to Sicily.

CLXV. The Sicilians affirm, that Gelon would still have assisted the Greeks, and submitted to serve under the Lacedæmonians, if Terillus, the son of Crinippus, who had been expelled from Himera, where he had exercised the sovereignty, by Theron, son of Ænesidemus, had not at this time brought an army against him. This army was composed of Phenicians, Africans, Iberians, Ligurians, Helisycians, Sardinians, and Cyrnians, under the command of Amilcar, son of Anno, king of Carthage,[8] to the amount of three hundred thousand men. This person Terillus had con-

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do. This claim, however, of the Athenians to antiquity was opposed by the Arcadians, who boasted that they existed before the moon, and to keep up this pretence they wore *lunulas* or moons in their shoes, as the Athenians wore the cicada in their hair, they therefore called themselves προσεληνοι: and Strabo, in his eighth book, owns their plea, asserting that the Arcadians were the oldest of all the Grecians.—I cannot help thinking that the Arcadians were called Silen, before they disputed with the Athenians on the subject of antiquity. A principal part of their possessions in Asia were called Salonum, and the cheese there made caseus Salonites, words not unlike to Silenus and Selenitæ. The name also is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan, the Arcadian deity. Silenus, as the Greek language prevailed, might afterwards be changed into *Selenus* or *Selenita*, from the word *Selene*, then better understood, or on purpose to maintain the contest of antiquity, and to account for calling themselves *Proseleni*.—*T.*

5 *Discipline of an army.*]—See book 2d. Homer Il. Pope's version:

> Full fifty more from Athens stem the main,
> Led by Menestheus through the liquid plain.
> No chief like thee, Menestheus, Greece could yield,
> To marshal armies in the dusty field,
> Th' extended wings of battle to display,
> Or close the embodied host in firm array.
> Nestor alone, improved by length of days,
> For martial conduct bore an equal praise.

Pope's version is here open to censure. Instead of "Greece could yield," the original is, "No mortal man was equal to him;"

> Τῳ δ'ουπως τις ὁμοιος επιχθονιων γενετ' ανηρ
> Κοσμησαι ἱππους τε και ανερας ασπιδιωτας.

The line "close the embodied, &c." the reader will perceive is entirely redundant.

6 *Pacific tendency.*]—φιλιους λογους, literally "friendly words."

7 *Messana.*]—It is by no means certain when this happened: the authorities of Herodotus and Thucydides are contradicted by that of Pausanias. The reader who may wish minutely to investigate this fact, I refer to Larcher's long note to Bentley on Phalaris, page 104, who avails himself of it to detect the forgery of the epistles ascribed to Phalaris; and lastly to d'Orville's Sicula.—*T.*

8 *King of Carthage.*]—Larcher remarks, from Polyænus and Cornelius Nepos, that the title of King was frequently given to the Carthaginian generals.

ciliated, partly from the rites of private hospitality, but principally by the interposition of Anaxilaus, son of Cretineus, king of Rhegium, who had given his children as hostages to Amilcar, to induce him to come to Sicily,[1] and revenge the cause of his father-in-law. Anaxilaus had married a daughter of Terillus, whose name was Cydippe: Gelon, from these circumstances being unable to assist the Greeks, sent, as we have described, a sum of money to Delphi.

CLXVI. It is related on the same authority, that Gelon and Theron conquered the Carthaginian Amilcar, in Sicily, on the same day,[2] which was remarkable for the victory of the Greeks at Salamis. The father of Amilcar, they assert, was a Carthaginian, his mother a native of Syracuse; he had been elevated to the throne of Carthage for his personal virtues. After being vanquished, as we have described, he disappeared, and was never seen afterwards, dead or alive, though Gelon[3] with the most diligent care endeavoured to discover him.

CLXVII. The Carthaginians assert, and with some probability, that during the contest of the Greeks and Barbarians in Sicily, which, as is reported, continued from morning till the approach of night, Amilcar remained in his camp; here he offered sacrifice to the gods, consuming upon one large pile, the entire bodies of numerous victims.[4] As soon as he perceived the retreat of his party, whilst he was in the act of pouring a libation, he threw himself into the flames, and forever disappeared. Whether, according to the Phenicians, he vanished in this, or, as the Carthagenians allege, in some other manner, this last people, in all their colonies, and particularly in Carthage, erected monuments in his honour, and sacrifice to him as a divinity.—Enough perhaps has been said on the affairs of Sicily.

CLXVIII. The conduct of the Corcyreans did not correspond with their professions. The same emissaries who visited Sicily, went also to Corcyra, the people of which place they addressed in the terms they had used to Gelon. To these they received a promise of immediate and powerful assistance: they added that they could by no means be indifferent spectators of the ruin of Greece, and they felt themselves impelled to give their aid, from the conviction, that the next step to the conquest of Greece would be their servitude; they would therefore assist to the utmost.—Such was the flattering answer they returned. But when they ought to have fulfilled their engagements, having very different views, they fitted out a fleet of sixty vessels; these were put to sea, though not without difficulty, and sailing towards the Peloponnese, they stationed themselves near Pylos, and Tænaros, off the coast of Sparta. Here they waited the issue of the contest, never imagining that the Greeks would prove victorious, but taking it for granted that the vast power of the Persian would reduce the whole of Greece. They acted in this manner to justify themselves, in addressing the Persian monarch to this effect: "The Greeks, O king, have solicited our assistance, who, after the Athenians, are second to none in the number as well as the strength of our ships; but we did not wish to oppose your designs, or to do any thing hostile to your wishes." By this language they hoped to obtain more favourable conditions; in which they do not to me appear to have been at all unreasonable; they had previously concerted their excuse to the Greeks. When the Greeks reproached them for withholding the promised succour, they replied that they had absolutely fitted out a fleet of sixty triremes: but that the northeast winds would not suffer them to pass the promontory of Malea; and that it was this accident alone, not any want of zeal, which prevented their arrival at Salamis till after the battle. It was thus they attempted to delude the Greeks.

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1 *Come to Sicily.*]—Diodorus Siculus relates, that Xerxes had made a treaty with the Carthaginians, and that it was in consequence of this that the war here mentioned took place in Sicily.

2 *On the same day.*]—Diodorus Siculus says the same thing, of course these two authors are agreed about the year of the battle of Thermopylæ, and differ only in a few months. Herodotus makes it to have happened in the beginning of the first year of the 75th Olympiad; Diodorus Siculus some months afterwards.

The victory of Gelon did him great honour; but what in my opinion did him more, was, that when he granted peace to the Carthaginians, he stipulated that they should never again sacrifice children to Saturn. Nevertheless, Diodorus Siculus, who mentions this treaty, says nothing of this condition: and it appears from this author, that the barbarous custom above mentioned still prevailed in the time of Agathocles, that is to say, in the 117th Olympiad.—*Larcher.*

3 *Though Gelon.*]—If Polyænus may be believed, Gelon very well knew the fate of Amilcar; see lib. I. c. 27. Not daring to face him openly in the field, he destroyed him by a paltry stratagem, when in the act of offering sacrifice.—*T.*

4 *Numerous victims.*]—We find Crœsus, in a preceding book, offering up three thousand chosen victims; see book i. chap. 50.—*T.*

CLXIX. The Cretans being in like manner solicited by the Grecian envoys to assist the common cause, determined to consult the oracle at Delphi about the expediency of such a measure: "Inconsiderate as you are," replied the priestess, "has not Minos given you sufficient cause to regret the part you took with respect to Menelaus? The Greeks refused to revenge the murder of Minos,[4] at Camicus, though you assisted them to punish the rape of a Spartan woman by a barbarian." This answer induced the Cretans to refuse their assistance.

CLXX. It is said that Minos coming to Sicania, now called Sicily, in search of Dædalus,[5] perished by a violent death.[6] Not long afterwards, actuated as it were by some divine impulse, all the Cretans in a body, except the Polichnites and the Præsians, passed over with a great fleet to Sicania, and for five years laid close siege to Camicus, inhabited even to my time by the Agrigentines. Unable either to take the place or continue the siege, they were compelled by famine to retire; a furious tempest attacked them off the coast of Iapygia, and drove them ashore. As their vessels were destroyed, and they were unable to return to Crete, they remained there, and built the town of Hyria. Instead of Cretans they took the name of Messapian Iapyges,[7] and from being islanders they became inhabitants of the con-

4 *Minos.*]—The Cretans had sent some forces to the Trojan war, under the conduct of Idomeneus and Merion. Idomeneus was a descendant of Minos, and at his death the government of the family of Minos ceased. Minos expelled from Crete the Rhadamanes; see the Dionysiaca of Nonnus, cited by Meursius, p. 120. Those who settled with Minos at Crete, are the first whom the Grecian history records for their power and dominion at sea; he extended his jurisdiction to the coasts of Caria on the one hand, and to the cities of Greece on the other; using his power with moderation and justice, and employing it against those lawless rovers and pirates who infested the neighbouring islands, and in the protection and support of the injured and distressed. If he be represented in worse colours by some authors, the painting is the hand of one who copied from those, whose rapine and oppression had provoked and felt his resentment. Minos was no less renowned for his arms abroad, than for his policy and good government at home, he is said to have framed a body of laws, under the direction of Jupiter, for his subjects of Crete, and, though this may have the air of a romance, invented, as such reports were, to give the better sanction to his laws, yet it is confessed, says Strabo, that Crete in ancient times was so well governed, that the best states of Greece, especially the Spartan, did not disdain to transcribe many of its laws, and to form the plan of their government according to this model. Lycurgus retired into Crete, and transcribed its laws.—*Meursius*, p. 162; they related principally to military points. A. Gellius records one instance of this agreement of the military sort, in giving the onset to battle, l. i. c. 11. there are many others in Meursius. Besides Plato and Ephorus, mentioned by Strabo, we may add Xenophon and Polybius, bearing their witness to what I have above said of the ancient Cretans' character. As it was gained by, so it fell with, the descendants of Minos; for when the Carians had expelled the former, and were become masters of the Island, as Diodorus Siculus supposes that they did soon after the Trojan war (book v. at the end,) Crete became a den of tyrants, and a nest of pirates, as infamous for their thefts and injustice as the Eteocretans had been famous for their opposite virtues.—*T.*

5 *Dædalus.*]—Diodorus Siculus gives the following account of Dædalus, book iv. c. 76.

Dædalus was an Athenian, of the family of Erechtheus; he was eminently skilful as an architect, as a statuary and engraver. He had arrived at so great excellence, that his posterity boasted of his figures, that they appeared to see and to move like human beings. He was the first who formed eyes to his figures, and represented the limbs and arms correctly and distinctly. Before his time artists made the eyes of their figures closed, the hands suspended close to the sides. His nephew Talos was his pupil, whose ingenuity so excited his envy and jealousy that he killed him: for this he was condemned to death by the Areopagus, but flying to Crete, his talents procured him great reputation, and the friendship of Minos. This he forfeited from using his art to gratify the preposterous passion of Pasiphae, the wife of Minos; whence the story of the birth of the Minotaur. He consequently fled from hence with his son Icarus, who gave his name to the sea where he perished. Dædalus went to Sicily, where he was received and entertained by Cocalus; Minos pursued him with a numerous fleet, he landed in the territory of Agrigentum, and sent to Cocalus to demand Dædalus. Cocalus invited him to a conference, promised to give Dædalus up, and offered him the rites of hospitality; after which he suffocated Minos in a hot bath.

It has been disputed, whether with the assistance of Dædalus, Minos was not the inventor of the labyrinth. The credit of the invention is by Pliny assigned to the Egyptian; Ovid very prettily compares the winding of the Cretan labyrinth to the course of the Meander, l. viii. 160.

Non secus liquidus Phrygiis Mæandros in arvis
Ludit, et ambiguo lapsu refluitque fluitque,
Occurrensque sibi venturas aspicit undas;
Et nunc ad fontes, nunc in mare versus apertum
Incertas exercet aquas. Ita Dædalus implet
Innumeras errore vias, &c. *T.*

6 *Violent death.*]—Zenobius affirms, that whilst he was at the bath, the daughters of Cocalus killed him, by pouring boiling pitch upon him. Diodorus Siculus says, that Cocalus having permitted him to do what he wished, and offering him the rites of hospitality, suffocated him in a bath, of which the water was too hot. Pausanias says nothing of the kind of death which Minos died; he satisfied himself with saying, that the daughters of Cocalus were so pleased with Dædalus on account of his ingenuity, that to oblige him, they resolved to destroy Minos. The violent death of this prince caused Sophocles to write a tragedy, called Minos, as appears from Clemens Alexandrinus or Camicoi, as we find in Athenæus.—*Larcher.*

7 *Iapyges.*]—So called from Iapyx, the name of the son of Dædalus. Iapyx was also the name of the western wind. See Horace:

Obstrictis aliis præter Iapyga
Ventis.

tinent. From Hyria they sent out several colonies; with these, the Tarentines being afterwards engaged in the most destructive hostilities, received the severest defeat we ever remember to have heard related. The Tarentines were not on this occasion the only sufferers; the people of Rhegium, who had been instigated by Mycithus, son of Chœrus, to assist the Tarentines, sustained a loss of three thousand men; the particular loss of the Tarentines has not been recorded. Mycithus had been one of the domestics of Anaxilaus, and had been left to take care of Rhegium: being driven thence, he resided afterwards at Tegéa in Arcadia, and consecrated a great number of statues[1] in Olympia.

CLXXI. My remarks concerning the people of Rhegium and Tarentum, have interrupted the thread of my narration. Crete being thus left without inhabitants, the Præsians say, that various emigrants resorted there, of whom the greater number were Greeks. In the third age after the death of Minos, happened the Trojan war, in which the Cretans were no contemptible allies to Menelaus. On their return from Troy, and as some have asserted as a punishment for the part they had taken, a severe pestilence and famine destroyed them and their cattle; they who survived, were joined by others who migrated to them, and thus was Crete a third time peopled. By recalling these incidents to their remembrance, the Pythian checked their inclination to assist the Greeks.

CLXXII. The Thessalians were from the beginning compelled to take the part of the Medes, taking care to show their dislike of the conduct of the Aleuadæ. As soon as they heard that the Persian had passed over into Europe, they sent deputies to the isthmus, where were assembled the public counsellors of Greece, deputed from those states which were most zealous to defend their country. On their arrival the Thessalian deputies thus spake: "Men of Greece, it will be necessary to defend the Olympic straits, for the common security of Thessaly, and of all Greece. We on our parts are ready to assist in this, but you must also send a considerable body of forces, which if you omit to do, we shall undoubtedly make our terms with the Persians. It cannot be just that we, who from our situation are more immediately exposed to danger, should perish alone on your account. If you refuse to assist us, you cannot expect us to exert ourselves for you. Our inability to resist will justify our conduct, and we shall endeavour to provide for our own security."

CLXXIII. The Greeks in consequence determined to send a body of infantry by sea to defend these straits. As soon as their forces were ready they passed the Euripus. Arriving at Alus, in Achaia,[2] they disembarked, and proceeded towards Thessaly. They advanced to Tempe, to the passage which connects the lower parts of Macedonia with Thessaly, near the river Peneus, betwixt Olympus and Ossa; here they encamped, to the number of ten thousand heavy-armed troops, and they were joined by the Thessalian horse. The Lacedæmonians were led by Euænetus, son of Carenus, one of the Polemarchs,[3] though not of the blood-royal. Themistocles, son of Neocles, commanded the Athenians. Here they remained but a few days; for Alexander, son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, sent to them, recommending their retreat, from their total inability to make any stand against the land and sea forces of the enemy, whose numbers he explained. The Greeks thinking the advice reasonable, and the Macedonian amicable towards them, regulated their conduct by it. I am rather inclined to impute the part they acted to their fears, being informed that there was another passage into Thessaly, through the country of Perrhæbi, in the higher region of

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Again,

Ego quid sit ater
Adriæ novi sinus, et quid albus
Peccet Iapyx.

The particulars of the battle, mentioned in the subsequent part of the chapter, may be found at length in Diodorus Siculus, book ii. chap. 52.

1 *Great number of statues.*]—These are specified in Pausanias; they consisted of the statues of Amphitrite, Neptune, and Vesta, by the hand of Glaucus, an Argive: there were also Proserpine, Venus, Ganymede, Diana, Homer and Hesiod; next these were Æsculapius and Hygeia, with Agon. These with many others were given by Mycithus, in consequence of a vow made on account of his son, who was afflicted with a dangerous disease.—*T.*

2 *In Achaia.*]—Achaia means here Phthiotis, in Thessaly.—See *Strabo*, b. ix.

3 *One of the Polemarchs.*]—The Polemarch seems to have had separate and distinct duties in peace and in war; in peace, as I have elsewhere observed, it was his business to superintend the strangers resident in Sparta, as well as to see to the maintenance of the children of those who died in the public service.

In war he seems to have been a kind of aid-de-camp to the king, and to have communicated his orders to the troops. We may presume, from what Herodotus says in the conclusion of the paragraph, that the Polemarchs were generally of the blood-royal.—*T.*

Macedonia, near the city Gonnos, and through this the army of Xerxes did actually pass. The Greeks retired to their ships, and returned to the isthmus.

CLXXIV. This expedition to Thessaly was undertaken when the king was preparing to pass into Europe, and was already at Abydos. The Thessalians, forsaken by their allies, lost no time in treating with the Medes; they entered warmly into the king's affairs, and proved themselves remarkably useful.

CLXXV. The Greeks, after their return to the isthmus, in consequence of the advice of Alexander, called a council to deliberate how and where they should commence hostilities. It was ultimately determined to defend the straits of Thermopylæ, as being not only narrower than those of Thessaly, but also within a less distance. Of that other avenue by which the Greeks at Thermopylæ were surprised, they had not the smallest knowledge, till, having arrived there, they were shown it by the Trachinians. To prevent the approach of the Barbarians to Greece, they undertook to guard this passage; their fleet they resolved to send to Artemisium on the coast of Histiæotis. These places are so contiguous, that a communication betwixt the two armaments was extremely easy.

CLXXVI. The above places may be thus described:—Artemisium,[4] beginning from the Thracian sea, gradually contracts itself into a narrow strait betwixt the island of Sciathus and the continent of Magnesia. At the straits of Eubœa Artemisium meets the coast, upon which is a temple of Diana. The entrance into Greece by the way of Trachis is in its narrowest part half a plethrum; compared with the rest of the country, the part most contracted lies before and behind Thermopylæ;[5] behind, near the Alpeni, there is room only for a single carriage; before, near the river Phœnix, by the town of Anthela, the dimensions of the passage are the same. To the west of Thermopylæ is a steep and inaccessible mountain, which extends as far as Œta; to the east, it is bounded by the shoals and by the sea. In these straits there are warm baths which the natives call Chytri, near which is an altar sacred to Hercules. The place was formerly defended by a wall and by gates: the wall was built by the Phoceans, through fear of the Thessalians, who came from Thesprotia, to establish themselves in Æolia, where they now reside. The Thessalians endeavouring to expel them, the Phoceans erected the wall to protect them; and to make the place marshy and impassable, they suffered the abovementioned warm springs to empty themselves, using every expedient to prevent the incursions of the Thessalians. The wall had in a great measure mouldered away from length of time: it was repaired, because it was here determined to repel the Barbarian from Greece. In the vicinity is a place called Alpeni, which the Greeks made a repository for their provisions.

CLXXVII. The Greeks from every consideration deemed this place the most eligible. After much cautious inspection and deliberation, they concluded that the Barbarians could not here avail themselves either of their numbers or their cavalry; here therefore they determined to receive the disturber of their country. As soon as they were informed of his arrival in Pieria, they left the isthmus; the land forces proceeding to Thermopylæ, the fleet to Artemisium.

CLXXVIII. Whilst the Greeks, according to the resolutions of their council, resorted to their several stations, the Delphians, anxious for themselves and for Greece, consulted the oracle. They were directed, in reply, to address themselves to the winds, for they would prove the best allies of Greece. The Delphians lost no time in communicating this answer to those Greeks who were zealous for their liberty, and who greatly dreading the Barbarian, thought it deserved their everlasting

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4 *Artemisium.*]—According to this description, Artemisium is the name of the whole sea, from Sepias to the Cenæan promontory.

5 *Thermopylæ.*]—An excellent plan of the straits of Thermopylæ, as they at present appear, may be seen in the charts of the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. The description which Livy gives of them has been greatly admired.—See liber xxxvi. c. 15.

"Extremos ad orientem montes Œtam vocant; quorum quod altissimum est, Callidromon appellatur, in cujus valle ad Maliacum sinum vergente iter est non latius quam LX passus. Hæc una militaris via est, qua traduci exercitus, si non prohibeantur, possint. Ideo Pylæ, et ab aliis, quia calidæ aquæ in ipsis faucibus sunt, Thermopylæ locus appellatur, nobilis Lacedæmoniorum adversus Persas morte magis memorabili quam pugna."

The gates of public buildings were called by the Greeks θυραι, the gates of cities πυλαι.—See Suidas at the word πυλαι. See also Perizonius's note to Ælian, book iii. c. 25.

"The narrow entrance of Greece," says Mr. Gibbon, describing the march of Alaric into Greece, "was probably enlarged by each successive ravisher."—*T.*

gratitude. An altar was immediately erected, and sacrifice offered to the winds in Thyia, where is a temple in honour of Thyia, daughter of Cephissus,[1] from whom the place has its name. In consequence of the above oracle, the Delphians to this day supplicate the winds.

CLXXIX. The fleet of Xerxes moving from Therma, despatched ten of their swiftest sailing vessels to Sciathus, where were three guardships of the Greeks, of Trœzene, Ægina, and Athens. These on sight of the Barbarian vessels, immediately fled.

CLXXX. The Barbarians, after a pursuit, took the Trœzenian vessel commanded by Praxinus. The most valiant of the crew they sacrificed on the prow of their ship, thinking it a favourable omen that their first Greek capture was of no mean distinction. The name of the man they slew was Leon, and to his name perhaps he owed his fate.

CLXXXI. The vessel of Ægina occasioned the enemy more trouble; it was commanded by Asonides, and among its warriors was Pythes,[2] son of Ischenous, who on that day greatly distinguished himself. When his ship was taken he persevered in his resistance, till he was cut in pieces: at length he fell, but, as he discovered some signs of life, the Persians, in admiration of his valour, made every possible effort to preserve him, bathing his wounds with myrrh, and applying to them bandages of cotton.[3] On their return to their camp, they exhibited him to the whole army[4] as a man deserving universal esteem; whilst they treated the rest of the crew as vile slaves.

CLXXXII. Two of the vessels being thus taken, the third, commanded by Phormus, an Athenian, in its endeavour to escape, went ashore at the mouth of the Peneus. The Barbarians took the ship but not its crew. The Athenians got on shore, and proceeding through Thessaly, arrived safe at Athens. The Greeks stationed at Artemisium were made acquainted with the above event by signals of fire from Sciathus. They instantly retired in alarm to Chalcis, with the view of guarding the Euripus. They did not however omit to place daily centinels on the heights of Eubœa.

CLXXXIII. Three of ten Barbarian vessels sailed to the rock called Myrmex, betwixt Sciathus and Magnesia. Here they erected a column, with stones which they brought with them for that purpose. They spent eleven days on this cruise, after the king's departure from Therma, being conducted safe with respect to this rock by Pammon the Scyrian. Sailing from the above place, they in one day passed along the coast of Magnesia to Sepias, on the shore which lies betwixt the town of Casthanæa and the coast of Siepas.

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1 *Thyia, daughter of Cephissus.*]—Larcher quotes from Pausanias the following passage.

"Others say that Castalius, a native of the country, had a daughter named Thyia; she was priestess of Bacchus, and was the first who celebrated orgies in honour of that god. From this time, all those were called Thyiades, who became frantic in honour of this god. They say also that Delphus was the son of that Thyia by Apollo; others again say, that the mother of Delphus was Melæna, the daughter of Cephissus."

Strabo and Plutarch discerned a great affinity and likeness between the frantic rites of Cybele, the orgia of Bacchus, and the mysteries of Pan.—*T.*

2 *Pythes.*]—Bellanger in a long note endeavours to prove that it should be Pytheas, and not Pythes. To all his arguments I am satisfied to oppose the learned authority of Longinus, who writes the nominative case Pythes.—*Larcher.*

3 *Bandages of cotton.*]—I have proved in another place that Byssus was cotton. A very learned man has objected to me, that as the tree which produces cotton was not cultivated in Egypt, in the time of Prosper Alpinus, except in gardens, it must necessarily in the time of Herodotus, have been still more uncommon; which induces him to believe, with father Hardouin, that it is a species of fine linen. This does not to me seem conclusive. It may be reasonably supposed that the floods may in a great degree have destroyed that plant, and particularly since Egypt is become barbarous (devenue barbare.) This may be one cause of its scarcity in the time of Prosper Alpinus, and does not prove to me that it was scarce in the time of Herodotus, or even before his time. According to my interpretation, the Persians bound the wounds of Pythes with cotton; we in similar cases use lint: but the Egyptians at this day use lint of cotton for wounds and sores.—*Larcher.*

I do not know whether what I have to offer, in contradiction to M. Larcher's opinion on this subject, may be thought satisfactory, but I think that they merit the attention of the English reader. I have before observed, that the finest linen of Egypt was of a very coarse nature, of whatever it was composed; and I find in Ezekiel, xxvii. 7. the following verse:

ΒΥΣΣΟΣ μετα ποικιλιας ΕΞ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ εγενετο σοι στρωμνη, του περιθειναι σοι δοξαν, και περιβαλειν σε υακινθον και πορφυραν εκ των νησων Ελεισαι, και εγενετο περιβολαιον σου. Which our translators have thus rendered:

Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt, was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elisha was that which covered thee.

That Βυσσος is properly expressed by the word linen, I believe; but why it should be rendered fine linen, I am at a loss to imagine. We are expressly told that it was used for sail-cloth, and was probably of a substance equally coarse with that mentioned by Virgil:

Usum in castrorum aut miseris velamina nautis. *T.*

4 *They exhibited him to the whole army.*]—See Seneca de Ira:

"At mehercules vir magnus et justus, fortissimum quemque ex hostibus suis, et pro libertate ac salute patriæ pertinacissimum, suspicit."

CLXXXIV. Thus far, and to Thermopylæ, the army of Xerxes met with no misfortune. The number of the vessels which left Asia amounted, if my conjectures have not deceived me, to twelve hundred and seven. The complement of the crews by which they were originally[5] manned, was two hundred and forty-one thousand four hundred, composed of the different auxiliaries, and allowing two hundred men to each vessel: to these, independent of their own proper crews, are to be added thirty of either Persians, Medes, or Sacæ. The whole number of these last was thirty-six thousand two hundred and ten; to the above are also to be added those who were on board the vessels of fifty oars, to which we may allow at the rate of eighty men to each. The whole number therefore of these will be found to have been three thousand, and of the men two hundred and forty thousand. Thus the fleet which left Asia was composed of five hundred seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. The infantry consisted of seventeen hundred thousand men; the number of the cavalry was eighty thousand. The Arabians with their camels, and the Africans in their chariots, were twenty thousand more. The above was the armament which left Asia; to make no mention of the menial attendants, the transports which carried the provisions, and their crews.

CLXXXV. To these are still to be added all those troops which were brought from Europe; of the precise number of which we can only speak from opinion. The Greeks of Thrace, and of the islands contiguous, furnished one hundred and twenty vessels, the crews of which amounted to twenty-four thousand men; a body of land forces was also provided by the Thracians, Pæonians, the Eordi, Bottiæans,[6] Chalcidians, Brygians, Pierians, Macedonians, Perrhæbians, Enienes, Dolopes, Magnesians, Achæans, and the other people who inhabit the maritime parts of Thrace. The amount of all these was I believe three hundred thousand men. These collectively, added to the Asiatic forces, make two millions, six hundred forty-one thousand six hundred and ten fighting men.

CLXXXVI. Great as the number of these forces was, the number of the menial attendants, of the crews on board the transports carrying the provisions, and of the other vessels following the fleet, was I believe still greater. I will however suppose them equal. Thus it will appear, that Xerxes, son of Darius, conducted to Sepias and to Thermopylæ an army consisting of five millions two hundred and eighty-three thousand two hundred and twenty men.

CLXXXVII. The above was the aggregate of the troops of Xerxes; as to the women who prepared the bread, the concubines and eunuchs, no one has ever attempted to ascertain their number. The baggage-waggons also, the beasts of burden, and the Indian dogs, which accompanied the army, defied all computation. We can hardly be surprised that the waters of some rivers were exhausted: but we may reasonably wonder how provision could be supplied to so vast a multitude. According to a calculation made by myself, if each of the above number had only a chœnix of corn a day, there would every day be consumed[7] ten thousand three hundred and forty medimni.[8] Neither does this computation comprehend the quantity allowed to the women, eunuchs, cattle, and dogs. Amongst all these myriads of men, with respect to grace and dignity of person,[9] no one

5 *Originally.*]—That is, I suppose, without the troops which the king added to his armament in progress from Asia to Europe.

6 *Bottiæans.*]—The Bottiæans were of Athenian origin, and according to Aristotle, from those children whom the Athenians sent to Minos in Crete by way of tribute. These children grew old in that island, gaining their livelihood by the labour of their hands. The Cretans, in compliance with some vow, sent to Delphi the first-fruits of their citizens, to whom they added these descendants of the Athenians. As they could not subsist there, they went to Italy, and established themselves in Iapygia; from hence they went to Thrace, where they took the name of Bottiæans.—*Larcher.*

7 *Every day be consumed.*]—Maitland, who I believe is generally allowed to be a faithful and accurate historian, furnishes us with a table of the quantity of cattle consumed annually in London, above thirty years ago, when that city was far less populous than it is at present;

Beeves	98,244
Calves	194,760
Hogs	186,932
Pigs	52,000
Sheep and lambs	711,123

The most inquisitive calculators seem now agreed in allowing, upon an average, to the metropolis a million of inhabitants.—*T.*

8 *Medimni.*]—There were forty-eight chœnices in one medimnus; according therefore to the calculation of Herodotus, there ought to have been 5,296,320 men. There is of course a mistake either in the number of medimni or of the troops.

9 *Grace and dignity of person.*]—

Through all the nations which adored his pride
Or fear'd his power, the monarch now was pass'd:
Nor yet among these millions could be found

better deserved the supreme command than Xerxes himself.

CLXXXVIII. The vessels of the fleet, after their arrival on the coast of Magnesia, betwixt the town of Casthanæa and the shores of Sepias, there stationed themselves, the foremost drawing close to land, the others lying on their anchors behind. As the shore was of no great extent, the fleet was ranged in eight regular divisions, with their heads towards the main sea, in which situation they passed the night. On the approach of day, the sky and the sea, which had before been serene, were violently disturbed: a furious storm arose, attended with a violent squall of wind from the east,[1] which the inhabitants of these parts call an Hellespontian wind. They who foresaw that the tempest would still increase, and whose situation was favourable, prevented the effects of the storm, by drawing their vessels ashore, and with them preserved their own persons: of those whom the hurricane surprised farther out at sea, some were driven to the straits of Pelion, termed the Ipnoi, others went on shore: some were dashed against the promontory of Sepias, others carried to Melibœa and Casthanæa, so severe was the tempest.

CLXXXIX. It is asserted that the Athenians being advised by some oracle to solicit the assistance of their son-in-law, invoked in a solemn manner the aid of Boreas.[2] Boreas, according to the tradition of the Greeks, married Orithya,[3] an Athenian female, daughter of Erectheus: from this, if fame may be believed, the Athenians were induced to consider Boreas as their son-in-law; and during their station off the Eubœan Chalcis to watch the motions of the enemy, they sacrificed to Boreas and Orithya, invoking their interposition to destroy the Barbarian fleet, as they had before done near mount Athos. I will not presume to say, that in consequence of their supplications Boreas dispersed the Barbarian fleet; but the Athenians do not scruple to affirm, that Boreas, who had before been favourable to them, repeated his efforts to assist them on this occasion.—They afterwards erected a shrine to Boreas on the banks of the Ilissus.

One who in beauteous feature might compare,
Or towering size, with Xerxes. O possess'd
Of all but virtue, doom'd to show how mean,
How weak, without her is unbounded power,
The charm of beauty, and the blaze of state;
How insecure of happiness, how vain! *Glover.*

1 *From the East.*]—Apeliotes, called also Solanus and Subsolanus. The ancients originally used only the four cardinal winds: they afterwards added four more. The Romans increased them to twenty-four, and the moderns have added to the four cardinal, twenty-eight collateral winds. The annexed table may probably be useful to many of my readers.

Names of the winds, and points of the compass.

English.	*Latin and Greek.*
1 NORTH	1 SEPTENTRIO or BOREAS.
2 North by east	2 Hyperboreas, Hypaquilo, Gal-
3 North north east	3 Aquilo. [licus.
4 North east by north	4 Mesoboreas, Mesaquilo, Supernas.
5 NORTH EAST	5 ARCTAPELIOTES, BORAPELIO-
6 North east by east	6 Hypocæsias. [TES, GRÆCUS.
7 East north east	7 Cæsias, Hellespontius.
8 East by north	8 Mesocæsias. [OTES.
9 EAST	9 SOLANUS, SUBSOLANUS, APELI-
10 East by south	10 Hypeurus, or Hypereurus.
11 East south east	11 Eurus or Volturnus.
12 South east by east	12 Meseurus.
13 SOUTH EAST	13 NOTAPELIOTES, EURASTER.
14 South east by south	14 Hypophœnix.
15 South south east	15 Phœnix, Phœnicias, Leuconotus, Gangeticus.
16 South by east	16 Mesophœnix.
17 SOUTH	17 AUSTER, NOTUS, MERIDIES.
18 South by west	18 Hypolibonotus, Alsanus.
19 South south west	19 Libonotus, Notolybicus, Aus-
20 South west by south	20 Mesolibonotus. [tro-Africus.
21 SOUTH WEST	21 NOTOZEPHYRUS, NOTOLIBYCUS, AFRICUS.
22 South west by west	22 Hypolibs, Hypafricus, Sub-
23 West south west	23 Libs. [vesperus.
24 West by south	24 Mesolibs, Mesozephyrus.
25 WEST	25 ZEPHYRUS, FAVONIUS, OCCIDENS.
26 West by north	26 Hypargestes, Hypocorus.
27 West north west	27 Argestes, Caurus, Corus, Iapyx.
28 North west by west	28 Mesargestes, Mesocorus.
29 NORTH WEST	29 ZEPHYRO-BOREAS, Borolibycus, Olympias.
30 North west by north	30 Hypocircius, Hypothrascias,
31 North north west	31 Circius, Thrascias. [Sciron.
32 North by west	32 Mesocircius.

2 *Boreas.*]—Astræus had by Aurora four sons, Argestes, Zephyrus, Boreas, and Notus. Some have taken Boreas for a wind, others for a prince of Thrace. This Boreas went to Thrace in Attica, from whence he carried Orithya, daughter of Erectheus. By this marriage he became son-in-law to Erectheus, and the Athenians consequently considered him as their ally, calling him their son-in-law also.—*Larcher.*

3 *Boreas—Orithya.*]—Of this ancient fable of Boreas and Orithya, Milton has made a most beautiful use in one of his minor poems. It was written when he was only seventeen, on the death of a fair infant dying of a cough:

For since grim Aquilo the charioteer
By boisterous rape th' Athenian damsel got,
He thought it touched his deity full near,
If likewise he some fair one wedded not,
Thereby to wipe away th' infamous blot,
Of long-uncoupled bed and childless eld,
Which 'mongst the wanton gods a foul reproach was held.

Consult also Ovid, Metamorph. vi. 9.

According to Apollodorus, lib. iii. Boreas ravished the daughter of Erectheus, as she crossed over the river Ilissus. That is, says Richardson, she was drowned in a high wind crossing that river.

CXC. In this storm, according to the lowest calculation, four hundred vessels were totally lost, with an infinite number of men, and a prodigious treasure. Aminocles, son of Cratinus, a Magnesian, who had an estate near Sepias, reaped afterwards very considerable advantage from this tempest; many vessels of gold and silver were thrown by the tides upon his lands; he became master also of various Persian treasures, and an immense quantity of gold. Although this incident rendered him affluent, he was in other respects unfortunate; he had by some calamity been deprived of his children.[4]

CXCI. The loss of the provision-transports, and of the other smaller vessels, was too great to be ascertained. The naval commanders, apprehending that the Thessalians would avail themselves of this opportunity to attack them, intrenched themselves within a buttress made of the wrecks of the vessels. For three days the storm was unabated; on the fourth the magi appeased its violence by human victims, and incantations to the wind, as well as by sacrificing to Thetis and the Nereids, unless perhaps the tempest ceased of itself. They sacrificed to Thetis, having learned from the Ionians, that it was from this coast she had been carried away by Peleus, and that all the district of Sepias[5] was sacred to her in common with the other Nereids. It is certain that on the fourth day the tempest[6] ceased.

CXCII. Their sentinels, who every day were stationed on the heights of Eubœa, did not fail to acquaint the Greeks with all the circumstances of the storm on the morning which followed. As soon as they received this intelligence, after paying their vows, and offering libations to Neptune Servator, they hastily returned to Artemisium, hoping to find but few of the enemy's vessels. Thus a second time they fixed their station at Artemisium, near the temple of Neptune surnamed Servator, which appellation, given on the above occasion, is still retained.

CXCIII. The Barbarians, as soon as they perceived the wind subside and the sea calm, again ventured from the shore. Coasting along, they doubled the Magnesian promontory, and made their way directly to the gulf leading to Pagasæ. It was in this gulf of Magnesia that Hercules, going on shore from the Argo[7] to procure water, was deserted by Jason and his companions, who were bound to Æa of Colchis to obtain the golden fleece. Having taken in water, they sailed from hence; in commemoration of which incident, the place afterwards took the name of the Aphetæ.

CXCIV. Here also it was that the fleet of Xerxes came to an anchor. Fifteen of these being at a considerable distance from their companions, discovered the vessels of the Greeks at Artemisium, and mistaking them for friends, sailed into the midst of them. The leader of these ships was Sardoces, son of Thamasias, the governor of Cyma, in Æolia. This man Darius had formerly condemned to the punishment of the cross; he had been one of the royal judges, and convicted of corruption in his office. He was already on the cross, when the king, reflecting that his services to the royal family exceeded his offences, and that he himself had in the present instance acted with more impetuosity than prudence, commanded him to be taken down. Thus he escaped the punishment to which Darius had condemned him; his escape now from the Greeks was altogether impossible: they saw him sailing towards them, and perceiving his error attacked and took him and his vessels.

CXCV. In one of these vessels was Aridolus, prince of the Alabandians of Caria; in another, Penthylus, son of Demonous, a Paphian general. This latter left Paphos with twelve vessels, eleven of which were lost in the storm off Sepias; he himself, with the twelfth, fell into the enemy's hands, at Artemisium. The Greeks, having obtained such information as they wished concerning the forces of Xerxes, sent their prisoners bound to the isthmus of Corinth.

4 *Of his children.*]—This passage has occasioned great perplexity; but Palmerius, in his Exercitationes, has removed every difficulty, and satisfactorily done away the effects of Plutarch's perverse misconception. Plutarch abuses Herodotus for introducing this circumstance of the affluence of Aminocles, and the means by which he obtained it, merely for an opportunity of saying that he had killed his son.—*T.*

5 *Sepias.*]—This coast was sacred to Thetis, because that goddess, desirous of eluding the pursuit of Peleus, changed herself in this place into a kind of sea-fish, which the Greeks call Σηπια (Sepia.) This story gave the name of Sepias to this coast and promontory.—*Larcher.*

6 *The tempest.*]—Twenty-four miles to the south-east of Larissa is Volo, said to be Pagasæ, where the poets say the ship Argo was built. Near it is Aphetæ, from which place they say the Argonauts sailed. The south-east corner of this land is the old promontory Sepias, where five hundred sail of Xerxes' fleet were shipwrecked in a storm.—*Pococke.*

7 *Argo.*]—See book iv. c. 179. Note *Bryant*, ii. 490, 491.

CXCVI. Except the above fifteen vessels, commanded by Sandoces, the whole of the Barbarian fleet arrived at Aphetæ. Xerxes with his land forces, marching through Thessaly and Achaia, came on the third day to the territories of the Melians. Whilst he was in Thessaly he made a trial of his cavalry against those of the Thessalians, which he had heard were the best in Greece; but in this contest the inferiority of the Greeks[1] was evidently conspicuous. The Onochonus was the only river in Thessaly which did not afford sufficient water for the army. Of those of Achaia, the Apidanus, the greatest of them all, hardly sufficed.

CXCVII. Whilst Xerxes was proceeding to Alos, an Achaian city, his guides, anxious to tell him every thing, related what was reported by the natives concerning the temple of Jupiter Laphystius.[2] It was said that Athamas, the son of Æolus, in concert with Ino, contrived the death of Phrixus. The Achaians, following the command of the oracle, forbade the eldest of the descendants of Athamas ever to enter their Prytaneum, called by them Leitus. They were very vigilant in seeing this restriction observed, and whoever was detected within the prescribed limits could only leave them to be sacrificed. There were several who in terror escaped into another country, when they were on the point of being sacrificed. If they ever afterwards returned, they were, if discovered, instantly sent to the prytaneum. To the above, the guides of Xerxes added the description of the sacrifice, the ceremony of binding the victim with ribands, with all other circumstances. The posterity of Cytissorus, the son of Phrixus, are subject to the above, because Cytissorus himself, in his way from Æa of Colchis, delivered Athamas from the hands of the Achaians, who by the direction of the oracle were about to offer him as an expiatory sacrifice. On this account, the anger of the divinity fell upon the posterity of Cytissorus. In consequence of hearing the above narrative, Xerxes, when he approached the precincts of the grove, cautiously avoided it himself, and commanded all his army[3] to do the same. He showed the same veneration for the residence of the posterity of Athamas.

CXCVIII. Such were the incidents which occurred in Thessaly and Achaia. From hence Xerxes advanced to Melis, near a bay of the sea, where the ebbing and flowing of the tide may be seen every day. Near this bay is an extensive plain, wide in one part, and contracted in another: round this plain are certain lofty and inaccessible mountains, called the Trachinian rocks, and enclosing the whole region of Melis. Leaving Achaia, the first city near this

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1 *The inferiority of the Greeks.*]—The best cavalry in the world attended Xerxes on this expedition, namely those of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Hecatonymus tells Xenophon, in the fifth book of the Anabasis, that the cavalry of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians was better and more expert in martial exercises than any other which the king of Persia had. That part of Cappadocia which Herodotus calls Cilicia paid as a tribute to the kings of Persia a horse for every day in the year. Strabo says, that Cappadocia sent 1500 hundred horses annually. The boast of Hecatonymus to Xenophon was by no means vain; the same preference was given them by others, and excellent commanders. Plutarch informs us, that on these Crassus the Roman general chiefly relied; and with these surprising feats of gallantry were performed in the Parthian war. Lucullus also had these in his army at the siege of Tigranocerta; and in the battle with Tigranes made choice of them and the Thracian horse to attack the Cataphracts, the choicest of the enemy's cavalry, and to drive them from the ground. Tigranes is said to have opposed Lucullus with an army of 55,000 horse; and many other instances may be adduced to show that the chief strength of these northern powers consisted in their cavalry.

The curious reader may compare Plutarch's account of the army of Tigranes with that which Ezekiel gives of the army of Magog.

Claudian, in Laud. Serenæ, tells us it was customary to have a breed from a Phrygian mare by a Cappadocian horse:

———— Delectus equorum————
Quos Phrygiæ matres Argæaque gramina pastæ
Semine Cappadocum sacris præsepibus edunt.—*T.*

2 *Jupiter Laphystius.*]—It was to this deity that Phrixus sacrificed the ram upon which he was saved; and even to this day, says the Scholiast to Apollonius Rhodius, one of the descendants of Phrixus enters the prytaneum according to the established law, and offers sacrifices to this god. At twenty stadia from Coroneus was mount Laphystius, where was a mound consecrated to Jupiter Laphystius; there is still seen in this place a marble statue of this god. Phrixus and Helle being on the point of being sacrificed in this place by Athamas, they say that Jupiter sent them a ram whose fleece was gold, upon which they saved themselves.

Jupiter surnamed Laphystius was, according to Kuhnius, the protector of fugitives.—*Larcher.*

3 *All his army.*]—See on this subject Bryant, vol. ii. 40, 41, &c.—This writer supposes, and his opinion is confirmed by Suidas, that the prytaneion is derived from πυρ, fire: the words of Suidas are these: πρυτανειον, πυρος ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ. The Scholiast upon Thucydides talks to the same purpose: αλλοι δε φασιν ότι το πρυτανειον πυρος ην ταμειον ενθα ην ασβεστον πυρ. Others tell us that the prutaneion was of old called *puros tameion*, from *pur*, because it was the repository of a perpetual fire. These places were temples, and at the same time courts of justice; hence we find that in the prytaneion of Athens the laws of Solon were engraved. These laws were inscribed upon wooden cylinders, some of which remained to the time of Plutarch, &c.—*Bryant.*

bay is Anticyra. This is washed by the river Sperchius, which, rising in the country of the Enienes, here empties itself into the sea. At the distance of twenty furlongs, is another river, called Dyras, which is said to have risen spontaneously from the earth, to succour Hercules when he was burning. A third river, called Melas, flows at the distance of twenty furlongs more.

CXCIX. Within five furlongs of this last river stands the town of Trachis. In this part the country is the widest, extending from the mountains to the sea, and comprehending a space of twenty two thousand plethra. In the mountainous tract which incloses Trachinia there is an opening to the west of Trachis, through which the Asopus winds round the base of the mountain.

CC. To the west of this another small stream is found, named the Phœnix; it rises in these mountains, and empties itself into the Asopus. The most contracted part of the country is that which lies nearest the Phœnix, where the road will only admit one carriage to pass. From the Phœnix to Thermopylæ are fifteen furlongs: betwixt the Phœnix and Thermopylæ is a village named Anthela, passing which the Asopus meets the sea. The country contiguous to Anthela is spacious; here may be seen a temple of Ceres Amphictyonis, the seats of the Amphictyons,[4] and a shrine of Amphictyon himself.

CCI. Xerxes encamped in Trachinia at Melis; the Greeks in the Straits. These straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylæ; the people of the country Pylæ only. Here then were the two armies stationed—Xerxes occupying all the northern region as far as Trachinia, the Greeks that of the south.

CCII. The Grecian army,[5] which here waited the approach of the Persian, was composed of three hundred Spartans in complete armour; five hundred Tegeatæ, and as many Mantineans; one hundred and twenty men from Orchomenus of Arcadia, a thousand men from the rest of Arcadia, four hundred Corinthians, two hundred from Phlius, and eighty from Mycenæ. The above came from the Peloponnese: from Bœotia there were seven hundred Thespians and four hundred Thebans.

CCIII. In addition to the above, the aid of all the Opuntian Locrians had been solicited, together with a thousand Phoceans. To obtain the assistance of these, the Greeks had previously sent emissaries among them, saying, that they were the forerunners only of another and more numerous body, whose arrival was every day expected. They added, that the defence of the sea was confided to the people of Athens and Ægina, in conjunction with the rest of the fleet; that there was no occasion for alarm, as the invader of Greece was not a god, but a mere human being; that there never was nor could be any mortal superior to the vicissitudes of fortune: that the most exalted characters were exposed to the greatest evils; he therefore, a mortal, now advancing to attack them, would suffer [6] for his temerity. These arguments proved effectual, and they

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4 *Amphictyons.*]—See book v. c. 62, note. What I have here omitted concerning the Amphictyons, their office, and character, may be found amply discussed in Gillies's History of Greece, and faithfully represented in Rees's edition of Chambers's Dictionary, as well as by Larcher.—*T.*

5 *The Grecian army.*]—Beneath is the number of Greeks who appeared on this occasion, according to the different representations of Herodotus, Pausanias, and Diodorus Siculus:

	Herodotus.	Pausanias.		Diodorus.
Spartans	300	300	- - - -	300
Tegeatæ	500	500	Lacedæmonians	700
Mantineans	500	500	The other nations of	
Orchomenians	120	120	the Peloponnese	3,000
Arcadians	1,000	1,000		
Corinthians	400	400		
Phlyontians	200	200		
Micenians	80	80		
Total	3,100	3,100		4,000

The above came from the Peloponnese; those who came from the other parts of Greece, according to the authors above mentioned—

Thespians	700	700	Milesians	1,000
Thebans	400	400	- - -	400
Phoceans	1,000	1,000	- - -	1,000
Opuntian Locrians	-	6,000	- - -	1,000
	5,200	11,200	- - -	7,400

6 *Would suffer.*]—The expedition of Xerxes to Greece, and his calamitous return, as described by Herodotus, may be well expressed by the words with which Ezekiel describes Gog's army and its destruction.—See chapter xxxviii. and xxxix.

"Thou shalt ascend and come like a storm, thou shalt be like a cloud to cover the land, thou, and all thy bands, and many people with thee:

"Persia, Æthiopia, and Libya with them, all of them with shield and helmet.

"But I will turn thee back, and put hooks into thy jaws, I will turn thee back, and leave but the sixth part of thee: and I will smite thy bow out of thy left hand; and I will cause thy arrows to fall out of thy right hand.

"Thou shalt fall upon the mountains, thou and all thy bands, and the people that is with thee. I will give thee unto the ravenous birds of every sort, and to the beasts of the field, to be devoured."—*T.*

accordingly marched to Trachis to join their allies.

CCIV. These troops were commanded by different officers of their respective countries; but the man most regarded, and who was intrusted with the chief command, was Leonidas of Sparta. His ancestors were, Anaxandrides, Leon, Eurycratides, Anaxander, Eurycrates, Polydorus, Alcamenes, Teleclus, Archelaus, Agesilaus, Doryssus, Leobotes, Echestratus, Agis, Eurysthenes, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and Hercules.

CCV. An accident had placed him on the throne of Sparta; for, as he had two brothers older than himself, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had entertained no thoughts of the government: but Cleomenes dying without male issue, and Dorieus not surviving (for he ended his days in Sicily) the crown came to Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of the sons of Anaxandrides, and who had married the daughter of Cleomenes. On the present occasion he took with him to Thermopylæ a body of three hundred chosen men, all of whom had children.[1] To these he added those Theban troops[2] whose number I have before mentioned, and who were conducted by Leontiades, son of Eurymachus. Leonidas had selected the Thebans to accompany him, because a suspicion generally prevailed that they were secretly attached to the Medes. These therefore he summoned to attend him, to ascertain whether they would actually contribute their aid, or openly withdraw themselves from the Grecian league. With sentiments perfectly hostile, they nevertheless sent the assistance required.

CCVI. The march of this body under Leonidas was accelerated by the Spartans, that their example might stimulate their allies to action, and that they might not make their delay a pretence for going over to the Medes. The celebration of the Carnian festival[3] protracted the march of their main body; but it was their intention to follow with all imaginable expedition, leaving only a small detachment for the defence of Sparta. The rest of the allies were actuated by similar motives, for the Olympic games happened to recur at this period; and as they did not expect an engagement would immediately take place at Thermopylæ, they sent only a detachment before them.

CCVII. Such were the motives of the confederate body. The Greeks who were already assembled at Thermopylæ were seized with so much terror on the approach of the Persian, that they consulted about a retreat. Those of the Peloponnese were in general of opinion that they should return and guard the isthmus; but as the Phoceans and Locrians were exceedingly averse to this measure, Leonidas prevailed on them to continue on their post. He resolved however to send messengers round to all the states, requiring supplies, stating that their number was much too small to oppose the Medes with any effect.

CCVIII. Whilst they thus deliberated, Xerxes sent a horseman to examine their number and their motions. He had before heard in Thessaly, that a small band was collected at this passage, that they were led by Lacedæmonians, and by Leonidas of the race of Hercules. The person employed performed his duty; all those who were without the intrenchment he was able to reconnoitre: those who were within for the purpose of defending it eluded his observation. The Lacedæmonians were at that period stationed without;[4] of these some were performing gymnastic exercises, whilst others were employed in combing their hair. He was greatly astonished, but he leisurely surveyed their number and employments, and returned without molestation, for they despised him too much to pursue him.—He related to Xerxes all that he had seen.

CCIX. Xerxes, on hearing the above, was little aware of what was really the case, that this people were preparing themselves either to conquer or to die. The thing appeared to him

1 *All of whom had children.*]—

Three hundred more complete th' intrepid band,
Illustrious fathers all of generous sons,
The future guardians of Laconia's state.—*Leonidas.*

2 *Theban troops.*]—Plutarch upbraids Herodotus for thus slandering the Thebans: and Diodorus says, that Thebes was divided into two parties, one of which sent four hundred men to Thermopylæ.—*T.*

3 *Carnian festival.*]—This was continued for seven days at Sparta in honour of Apollo. Various reasons are assigned for its institution; the most plausible is that found in the Scholiast to Theocritus, which tells us that they were celebrated by the people of the Peloponnese, to commemorate the cessation of some pestilence.—*T.*

4 *Stationed without, &c.*]—

By chance
The Spartans then composed th' external guard;
They, in a martial exercise employ'd
Heed not the monarch and his gaudy train,
But poise the spear portended as in fight,
Or lift their adverse shields in single strife,
Or trooping forward rush, retreat, and wheel
In ranks unbroken, and with equal feet:
While others calm beneath their polish'd helms
Draw down their hair, whose length of sable curls
O'erspread their necks with terror. *Leonidas.*

so ridiculous, that he sent for Demaratus, the son of Ariston, who was then with the army. On his appearing, the king questioned him on this behaviour of the Spartans, expressing his desire to know what it might intimate. "I have before, Sir," said Demaratus, "spoken to you of this people at the commencement of this expedition; and as I remember, when I related to you what I knew you would have occasion to observe, you treated me with contempt. I am conscious of the danger of declaring the truth, in opposition to your prejudices; but I will nevertheless do this. It is the determination of these men to dispute this pass with us, and they are preparing themselves accordingly. It is their custom before any enterprise of danger, to adorn their hair.[5] Of this you may be assured, that if you vanquish these, and their countrymen in Sparta, no other nation will presume to take up arms against you: you are now advancing to attack a people whose realms and city are the fairest, and whose troops are the bravest of Greece." These words seemed to Xerxes preposterous enough; but he demanded, a second time, how so small a number could contend with his army. "Sir," said he, "I will submit to suffer the punishment of falsehood, if what I say does not happen."

CCX. Xerxes was still incredulous, he accordingly kept his position without any movement for four days, in expectation of seeing them retreat. On the fifth day, observing that they continued on their post, merely as he supposed from the most impudent rashness, he became much exasperated, and sent against them a detachment of Medes and Cissians, with a command to bring them alive to his presence. The Medes in consequence attacked them, and lost a considerable number. A reinforcement arrived; but though the onset was severe, no impression was made. It now became universally conspicuous, and no less so to the king himself, that he had many troops, but few men.[6]—The above engagement continued all day.

CCXI. The Medes after being very roughly treated, retired, and were succeeded by the band of Persians called by the king "the immortal," and commanded by Hydarnes. These it was supposed would succeed without the smallest difficulty. They commenced the attack, but made no greater impression than the Medes; their superior numbers were of no advantage, on account of the narrowness of the place; and their spears also were shorter than those of the Greeks. The Lacedæmonians fought in a manner which deserves to be recorded; their own excellent discipline, and the unskilfulness of their adversaries, were in many instances remarkable, and not the least so when in close ranks they affected to retreat. The Barbarians seeing them retire, pursued them with a great and clamorous shout; but on their near approach the Greeks faced about to receive them. The loss of the Persians was prodigious, and a few also of the Spartans fell. The Persians, after successive efforts made with great bodies of their troops to gain the pass, were unable to accomplish it, and obliged to retire.

CCXII. It is said of Xerxes himself, that, being a spectator of the contest, he was so greatly alarmed for the safety of his men, that he leaped thrice from his throne. On the following day the Barbarians succeeded no better than before. They went to the onset as against a contemptible number, whose wounds they supposed would hardly permit them to renew the combat: but the Greeks, drawn up in regular divisions, fought each nation on its respective post, except the Phoceans, who were stationed on the summit of the mountain to defend the pass. The Persians, experiencing a repetition of the same treatment, a second time retired.

CCXIII. Whilst the king was exceedingly perplexed what conduct to pursue in the present emergence, Ephialtes, the son of Eurydemus, a Melian, demanded an audience: he expected to receive some great recompense for showing him the path which led over the moun-

5 *Adorn their hair.*]—Long hair distinguished the free man from the slave; and, according to Plutarch, Lycurgus was accustomed to say, that long hair added grace to handsome men, and made those who were ugly more terrific. The following are some of the most animated lines in Leonidas:

To whom the Spartan: O imperial lord,
Such is their custom, to adorn their heads
When full determined to encounter death.
Bring down thy nations in resplendent steel;
Arm, if thou canst, the general race of man,
All who possess the regions unexplored
Beyond the Ganges, all whose wand'ring steps
Above the Caspian range, the Scythian wild,
With those who drink the secret fount of Nile;
Yet to Laconian bosoms shall dismay
Remain a stranger.

6 *Many troops, but few men.*]—According to Plutarch, Leonidas being asked how he dared to encounter so prodigious a multitude with so few men, replied: "If you reckon by number, all Greece is not able to oppose a small part of that army; but if by courage, the number I have with me is sufficient."—*T.*

tain to Thermopylæ; and he, indeed, it was who thus rendered ineffectual the valour of those Greeks who perished on this station. This man, through fear of the Lacedæmonians, fled afterwards into Thessaly; but the Pylagoræ,[1] calling a council of the Amphictyons at Pylæa for this express purpose, set a price upon his head, and he was afterwards slain by Athenades, a Trachinian, at Anticyra, to which place he had returned. Athenades was induced to put him to death for some other reason, which I shall afterwards[2] explain; he nevertheless received the reward offered by the Lacedæmonians:—this however was the end of Ephialtes.

CCXIV. On this subject there is also a different report, for it is said that Onetes, son of Phanagoras, a Carystian, and Corydalus of Anticyra, were the men who informed the king of this path, and conducted the Persians round the mountain. This with me obtains no credit, for nothing is better known than that the Pylagoræ did not set a price upon the heads of Onetes or Corydalus, but upon that of Epialtes the Thrachinian,[3] after, as may be presumed, a due investigation of the matter. It is also certain, that Ephialtes, conscious of his crime, endeavoured to save himself by flight: Onetes, being a Melian, might perhaps, if tolerably acquainted with the country, have known this passage; but it was certainly Ephialtes who showed it to the Persians, and to him without scruple I impute the crime.

CCXV. The intelligence of Ephialtes gave the king infinite satisfaction, and he instantly detached Hydarnes, with the forces under his command, to avail himself of it. They left the camp at the first approach of evening; the Melians, the natives of the country, discovered this path, and by it conducted the Thessalians against the Phoceans, who had defended it by an entrenchment, and deemed themselves secure. It had never however proved of any advantage to the Melians.

CCXVI. The path of which we are speaking commences at the river Asopus. This stream flows through an aperture of the mountain called Anopæ, which is also the name of the path. This is continued through the whole length of the mountain, and terminates near the town of Alpenus. This is the first city of the Locrians, on the side next the Melians, near the rock called Melampygus,[4] by the residence of the Cercopes.[5] It is narrowest at this point.

CCXVII. Following this track which I have described, the Persians passed the Asopus, and marched all night, keeping the Œtean mountains on the right, and the Trachinian on the left. At the dawn of morning they found themselves at the summit, where, as I have before described, a band of a thousand Phoceans in arms were stationed, both to defend their own country and this pass. The passage beneath was defended by those whom I have mentioned; of this above, the Phoceans had voluntarily promised Leonidas to undertake the charge.

CCXVIII. The approach of the Persians was discovered to the Phoceans in this manner: whilst they were ascending the mountain they were totally concealed by the thick groves of oak; but from the stillness of the air they were discovered by the noise they made by trampling on the leaves, a thing which might natu-

1 *Pylagoræ.*]—Many are involved in a mistake, by confounding the Pylagoræ with the Amphictyons. They were not synonymous, for though all the Pylagoræ were Amphictyons, all the Amphictyons were not Pylagoræ. —See *Potter's Archæologia Græca*, lib. i. c. 16.

2 *I shall afterwards.*]—But Herodotus no where does this; whether therefore he forgot it, or whether it appeared in some of his writings which are lost, cannot be ascertained.—See P. Wesselingi Dissertatio Herodotæa, p. 14.

"Verum nihil hujus nec libro viii. neque nono. Plures ne ergo ix. libris absolvit inquis de Athenada? An excidit ex superstitibus ejus memoria? non dixero. Oblitusne est ac Athenada addere? Fieri potest. Operi longo fas est obrepere somnum."

3 *Trachinian.*]—In the preceding chapter Herodotus calls him a Melian; but this amounts to the same thing, as Trachinia made part of Melis.

4 *Melampygus.*]—See Suidas, at the article Μελαμπυγου τυχοις. The Melampygi were two brothers, and remarkable for their extreme insolence; their mother cautioned them against meeting a man who had "black buttocks." Hercules meeting them, bound them together, and suspended them from a post, with their heads downwards. Afterward seeing them laugh, he inquired the reason; they told him that their mother bade them beware of meeting a man with "black buttocks." Hercules on hearing this laughed too, and let them go. Those who had "white buttocks"(λευκοπυγους) were ridiculed by the comic poets as effeminate.—See *Aristophanes Lysistrate.*

Larcher tells a story somewhat different, from the Adagia of Zenobius.—*T.*

5 *Cercopes.*]—These people were robbers. Homer is said to have written a poem on them, mentioned by Suidas at the word Ὁμηρος, and by Proclus in his life of Homer. Probably the expression extended to all sorts of robbers, of whom there were doubtless many in such a place as Œta. Plutarch mentions them as a ridiculous people, making Agis say to Alexander, "I am not a little surprised that all you great men who are descended from Jupiter take a strange delight in flatterers and buffoons; Hercules had his Cercopians, Bacchus his Silenians about him; so I see your majesty is pleased to have a regard for such characters."—*Larcher.*

rally happen. The Phoceans ran to arms, and in a moment the Barbarians appeared, who seeing a number of men precipitately arming themselves, were at first struck with astonishment. They did not expect an adversary; and they had fallen in amongst armed troops. Hydarnes, apprehending that the Phoceans might prove to be Lacedæmonians, inquired of Ephialtes who they were. When he was informed, he drew up the Persians in order of battle. The Phoceans, not able to sustain the heavy flight of arrows, retreated up the mountain,[6] imagining themselves the objects of this attack, and expecting certain destruction: but the troops with Hydarnes and Ephialtes did not think it worth their while to pursue them, and descended rapidly the opposite side of the mountain.

CCXIX. To those Greeks stationed in the straits of Thermopylæ Megistias the soothsayer had previously, from inspection of the entrails, predicted that death awaited them in the morning. Some deserters[7] had also informed them of the circuit the Persians had taken; and this intelligence was in the course of the night circulated through the camp. All this was confirmed by their sentinels, who early in the morning fled down the sides of the mountain. In this predicament, the Greeks called a council, who were greatly divided in their opinions: some were for remaining on their station, others advised a retreat. In consequence of their not agreeing, many of them dispersed to their respective cities; a part resolved to continue with Leonidas.

CCXX. It is said, that those who retired only did so in compliance with the wishes of Leonidas, who was desirous to preserve them: but he thought that he himself, with his Spartans, could not without the greatest ignominy forsake the post they had come to defend. I am myself inclined to believe that Leonidas, seeing his allies not only reluctant, but totally averse to resist the danger which menaced them, consented to their retreat. His own return he considered as dishonourable, whilst he was convinced, that his defending his post would equally secure his own fame, and the good of Sparta. In the very beginning of these disturbances, the Spartans having consulted the oracle, were informed that either their king must die, or Sparta be vanquished by the Barbarians. The oracle was communicated in hexameter verses, and was to this effect:

"To you who dwell in Sparta's ample walls,
Behold, a dire alternative befalls;—
Your glorious city must in ruins lie,
Or slain by Persian arms, a king must die,
A king descended from Herculean blood.
For, lo! he comes, and cannot be withstood;
Nor bulls, nor lions, can dispute the field,
'Tis Jove's own force, and this or that must yield."

I am unwilling to presume of the allies that departed, that differing in opinion from their leader, they dishonourably deserted. I should also suppose that the conduct of Leonidas was the result of his revolving the oracle[8] in his mind, and of his great desire to secure to the Spartans alone the glory of this memorable action.

CCXXI. To me it is no small testimony of the truth of the above, that amongst those whom Leonidas dismissed was Megistias himself. He was of Acarnania, and, as some affirm, descended from Melampus; he accompanied Leonidas on this expedition, and from the entrails had predicted what would happen: he refused however to leave his friends, and satisfied himself with sending away his only son, who had followed his father on this occasion.

CCXXII. Obedient to the direction of their leader, the confederates retired. The Thespians and Thebans[9] alone remained with the Spartans, the Thebans indeed very reluc-

6 *Up the mountain.*]—Mr. Glover has been very minute and faithful in his representations of the places where this noble scene was exhibited:

The Phocian chief,
Whate'er the cause, relinquishing his post,
Was to a *neighbouring eminence* removed
Though by the foe neglected or *contemned.*

7 *Deserted.*]—Diodorus Siculus mentions but one: "There was in the army," says he, "one Tyrastiades of Cyrene; as he was a man of honour and probity, he fled from the camp by night, and going to Leonidas and his party, discovered to them the designs of Ephialtes."—*Larcher.*

8 *The oracle.*]—Plutarch is very severe upon Herodotus for his manner of representing these circumstances; some of which he says our author has done falsely, others maliciously. This however does not seem to have been the case.

'Glover makes Leonidas exclaim, on hearing that the enemy had circumvented them,

I now behold the oracle fulfill'd.—
Then art thou near, thou glorious sacred hour
Which shall my country's liberty secure?
Thrice hail, thou solemn period; thee the tongues
Of virtue, fame, and freedom, shall proclaim,
Shall celebrate in ages yet unborn! *T.*

9 *Thespians and Thebans.*]—Diodorus Siculus speaks only of the Thespians. Pausanias says that the people of Mycene sent eighty men to Thermopylæ, who had part in this glorious day; and in another place he says, that all the allies retired before the battle, except the Thespians and people of Mycene.—*Larcher.*

tantly, but they were detained by Leonidas as hostages. The Thespians were very zealous in the cause, and refusing to abandon their friends, perished with them. The leader of the Thespians was Demophilus son of Diodromas.

CCXXIII. Xerxes early in the morning offered a solemn libation, then waiting till that period of the day [1] when the forum is fullest of people, he advanced from his camp: to the above measure he had been advised by Ephialtes. The descent from the mountain is of much shorter extent than the circuitous ascent. The Barbarians with Xerxes approached; Leonidas and his Greeks proceeded as to inevitable death a much greater space from the defile than they had yet done. Till now they had defended themselves behind their intrenchment, fighting in the most contracted part of the passage; but on this day they engaged on a wider space, and a multitude of their opponents fell. Behind each troop officers were stationed with whips in their hands, compelling with blows their men to advance. Many of them fell into the sea, where they perished; many were trodden under foot by their own troops, without exciting the smallest pity or regard. The Greeks, conscious that their destruction was at hand from those who had taken the circuit of the mountain, exerted themselves with the most desperate valour against the Barbarian assailants.

CCXXIV. Their spears being broken in pieces, they had recourse to their swords.[2] Leonidas fell in the engagement, having greatly signalized himself; and with him many Spartans of distinction, as well as others of inferior note. I am acquainted with the names of all the three hundred. Many illustrious Persians also were slain, among whom were Abrocomes and Hyperanthes, sons of Darius, by Phrataguna, the daughter of Artanes. Artanes was the brother of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, and grandson of Arsamis. Having married his daughter to Darius, as she was an only child, all his wealth went with her.

CCXXV. These two brothers of Xerxes fell as they were contending for the body of Leonidas:[3] here the conflict was the most severe, till at length the Greeks by their superior valour four times repelled the Persians, and drew aside the body of their prince. In this situation they continued till Ephialtes and his party approached. As soon as the Greeks perceived them at hand, the scene was changed, and they retreated to the narrowest part of the pass. Having repassed their intrenchment, they posted themselves, all except the Thebans, in a compact body, upon a hill, which is at the entrance of the straits, and where a lion of stone[4] has been erected in honour of Leonidas. In this situation, they who had swords left, used them against the enemy, the rest exerted themselves with their hands and their teeth.[5]

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1 *That period of the day.*]—I have before explained this circumstance with respect to the mode of computing time.

2 *Their swords.*]—The soldiers of the Lacedæmonians wore a red uniform; and Suidas says, that it was because the blood of those who were wounded would thus be less conspicuous.—*T.*

3 *Body of Leonidas.*]—One of the noblest descriptions in Homer is that of the battle for the body of Patroclus; and we learn from various examples, that the ancients were remarkably tenacious on this head, deeming it the greatest baseness to forsake the dead bodies of their friends. Plutarch, in his parallels between the Romans and Greeks, thus describes the death of Leonidas:

"Whilst they were at dinner, the Barbarians fell upon them: upon which Leonidas desired them to eat heartily, for they were to sup with Pluto. Leonidas charged at the head of his troops, and after receiving a multitude of wounds, got up to Xerxes himself, and snatched the crown from his head. He lost his life in the attempt; and Xerxes causing his body to be opened found his heart hairy. So says Aristides, in the first book of his Persian history." This fiction seems to have been taken from the λασιον κηρ of Homer.

4 *Lion of stone.*]—Two epigrams on this subject may be found in the Analecta Veterum Poet. Græc. v. i. 132, v. ii. 162. The bones of Leonidas were carried back to Sparta, by Pausanias, forty years after his death; they were placed in a monument opposite the theatre; every year they pronounced in this place a funeral oration, and celebrated games, at which Spartans only were suffered to contend.—*Larcher.*

5 *Their teeth.*]—"What are we to think of this hyperbole?" says Longinus. "What probability is there that men should defend themselves with their hands and teeth against armed troops? This nevertheless is not incredible, for the thing does not appear to be sought out for an hyperbole, but the hyperbole seems to arise from the subject."

This circumstance which appeared hyperbolical to Longinus does not to me; this mode of fighting was common among the Lacedæmonians; when they had no arms, they availed themselves of their nails and teeth: Cicero had been a witness of this.—See the *Tusculan Questions*, book v. chap. 27th.

Diodorus Siculus relates the battle of Thermopylæ somewhat differently; he tells us that Leonidas, when he knew that he was circumvented, made a bold attempt by night to penetrate to the tent of Xerxes: but this the Persian king had forsaken on the first alarm. The Greeks however proceeded in search of him from one side to the other, and slew a prodigious multitude. When morning approached, the Persians perceiving the Greeks so few in number, held them in contempt; but they still did not dare to attack them in front: encom-

The Barbarians rushing upon them, some in front, after overturning their wall, others surrounding and pressing them in all directions, finally overpowered them.

CCXXVI. Such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Thespians; but none of them distinguished themselves so much as Dieneces the Spartan. A speech of his is recorded, which he made before they came to any engagement. A certain Trachinian having observed, that the Barbarians would send forth such a shower of arrows that their multitude would obscure the sun: he replied, like a man ignorant of fear, and despising the numbers of the Medes, "our Trachinian friend promises us great advantages; if the Medes obscure the sun's light, we shall fight with them in the shade, and be protected from the heat." Many other sayings have been handed down as monuments of this man's fame.

CCXXVII. Next to him, the most distinguished of the Spartans were Alpheus, and Maron, two brothers, the sons of Orsiphantus; of the Thespians, the most conspicuous was Dithyrambus, son of Harmatidas.

CCXXVIII. All these were interred in the place where they fell, together with such of the confederates as were slain before the separation of the forces by Leonidas. Upon their tomb was this inscription:

"Here once, from Pelops' sea-girt region brought,
Four thousand men three hostile millions fought."

This was applied to them all collectively. The Spartans were thus distinguished:

"Go, stranger, and to list'ning Spartans tell,
That here, obedient to their laws, we fell."

There was one also appropriated to the prophet Megistias:

"By Medes cut off beside Sperchius' wave,
The seer Megistias fills this glorious grave:
Who stood the fate he well foresaw to meet,
And, link'd with Sparta's leaders, scorn'd retreat."

All these ornaments and inscriptions, that of Megistias alone excepted, were here placed by the Amphictyons. Simonides son of Leoprepis,[6] inscribed the one to the honour of Megistias, from the ties of private hospitality.

CCXXIX. Of these three hundred, there were two named Eurytus and Aristodemus; both of them, consistently with the discipline of their country, might have secured themselves by retiring to Sparta, for Leonidas had permitted them to leave the camp; but they continued at Alpenus, being both afflicted by a violent disorder of the eyes: or, if they had not thought proper to return home, they had the alternative of meeting death in the field with their fellow-soldiers. In this situation, they differed in opinion what conduct to pursue. Eurytus having heard of the circuit made by the Persians, called for his arms, and putting them on, commanded his helot to conduct him to the battle. The slave did so, and immediately fled, whilst his master died fighting valiantly. Aristodemus pusillanimously staid where he was. If either Aristodemus, being individually diseased, had retired home, or if they had returned together, I cannot think that the Spartans could have shown any resentment against them; but as one of them died in the field, which the other, who was precisely in the same circumstances, refused to do, it was impossible not to be greatly incensed against Aristodemus.

CCXXX. The safe return of Aristodemus to Sparta is by some thus related and explained. There are others who assert, that he was despatched on some business from the army, and might, if he had pleased, have been present at the battle, but that he saved himself by lingering on the way. They add, that his companion, employed on the same business, returned to the battle, and there fell.

CCXXXI. Aristodemus, on his return, was branded with disgrace and infamy; no one would speak with him; no one would supply him with fire: and the opprobrious term of trembler[7] was annexed to his name; but he

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passing them on both sides, and behind, they slew them all with their spears. Such was the end of Leonidas and his party.

Mr. Glover, in his English poem of Leonidas, has followed the account of Diodorus; he differs however from both historians, in making the king of Sparta fall the last; his description is sufficiently animated to be inserted in this place:

The Spartan king
Now stands alone. In heaps his slaughter'd friends
All stretch'd around him lie. The distant foes
Shower on his head innumerable darts;
From various sluices gush the vital floods;
They stain his fainting limbs; nor yet with pain
His brow is clouded; but those beauteous wounds,
The sacred pledges of his own renown,
And Sparta's safety, in serenest joy
His closing eye contemplates. Fame can twine
No brighter laurels round his glorious head;
His virtue more to labour fate forbids,
And lays him now in honourable rest,
To seal his country's liberty by death.

6 *Simonides son of Leoprepis.*]—See note to book v. c. 102. The Simonides here mentioned composed several works, the titles of which may be seen in the Biblio theca Græca of Fabricius, v. i. p. 565.

7 *Trembler.*]—He who trembled, ὁ τρέσας; it might

afterwards at the battle of Platea effectually atoned for his former conduct.

CCXXXII. It is also said that another of the three hundred survived; his name was Pantites, and he had been sent on some business to Thessaly. Returning to Sparta, he felt himself in disgrace, and put an end to his life.

CCXXXIII. The Thebans, under the command of Leontiades, hitherto constrained by force, had fought with the Greeks against the Persians; but as soon as they saw that the Persians were victorious, when Leonidas and his party retired to the hill, they separated themselves from the Greeks. In the attitude of suppliants they approached the Barbarians, assuring them what was really the truth, that they were attached to the Medes; that they had been among the first to render earth and water; that they had only come to Thermopylæ on compulsion, and could not be considered as accessory to the slaughter of the king's troops. The Thessalians confirming the truth of what they had asserted, their lives were preserved. Some of them however were slain; for as they approached, the Barbarians put several to the sword; but the greater part, by the order of Xerxes, had the royal marks impressed upon them, beginning with Leontiades himself. Eurymachus his son was afterwards slain at the head of four hundred Thebans, by the people of Platea, whilst he was making an attempt upon their city.

CCXXXIV. In this manner the Greeks fought[1] at Thermopylæ. Xerxes afterwards sent for Demaratus, and thus addressed him: "I have already, Demaratus, had experience of

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be rendered *quaker*; this seems to have been an established term of opprobrium in Sparta; Tyrtæus says, τρεσαντων δ' ανδρων πασ' απολωλ' αρετη—"the *tremblers* are devoid of all virtue." See Brunck's Anal. vol. i. p. 49.—*T.*

1 *The Greeks fought.*]—Plutarch censures Herodotus for omitting many memorable things relating to Leonidas. Some of those specified by Plutarch I have already introduced in my notes, others were as follows: When the wife of Leonidas took leave of him, she asked him what commands he had for her? "Marry," said he, in reply, "a good man, and bring him good children."—Being desirous of saving two of his relations, who were with him at Thermopylæ, he pretended to give them messages to the senate of Sparta, "I followed you," says one of them, "to fight, not as a messenger." "What you enjoin," says the other, "is the business of a messenger;" he then took up his shield and placed himself in his rank.

I cannot in a more proper place than this make a few miscellaneous remarks upon the institutions of Lycurgus, and the manners of the Spartans; not that I entertain any hope of throwing new light on a subject which has been amply investigated by the learned; but I may perhaps be able to make a few things familiar to my English readers, which were obscure or unknown to them before. The Spartans are renowned in the volumes of antiquity for one virtue above all others: I speak of their fortitude, which they carried to an amazing and almost incredible perfection, a virtue, which if we canvass and examine it to the extent in which it was practised by this extraordinary people, will seem almost peculiar to themselves.

It was the aim of Lycurgus to settle and root in the minds of the Spartans this principle, that the preference was always to be given to virtue, which constituted the only real difference or inequality between one man and another. And he succeeded almost to a miracle. He persuaded them to renounce all other means of happiness usually but falsely so called, to make virtue their chief and only object, and to put themselves, their desires, and their hopes to this single test. He prevailed on the rich and noble to give up their ample possessions, to throw all they had into a common fund, and to reduce themselves to a level with their neighbours. And these men, instead of the soft and tender blandishments of plenty, the sweets of luxury, and the pride of life, to which they had been accustomed, were contented to submit to the austerities of a severe and painful discipline; to sit down to a coarse mess of black Spartan broth; to make no appearancé, to expect no treatment abroad better than others. This astonishing reformation was confirmed and secured by two expedients; the one which obliged every person to dine constantly in public with his own tribe, on the dinner which was provided for them at the expense of the state; the other, which forbad the use of any other than iron money: by these salutary injunctions, every opportunity of indulging in luxury was cut off, as well as the means of providing for it. They rendered money altogether useless among them, so that Plutarch informs us, it was a common saying in other countries, "that at Sparta, and there alone, of all the cities in the world, Plutus the god of riches was blind; a mere picture or statue without life or motion." I would here remark, that is one note of difference which Polybius assigns against those who likened the Cretan polity to the Spartan, see book sixth. Plato also, when he reckons riches the fourth ordinary blessing to a state, certainly could not esteem this disregard of money which prevailed in Sparta as a mark of extraordinary virtue, but ordinances so self-denying, so opposite to the suggestions of sense, and the ordinary practice of mankind, would not have been received on the authority of Lycurgus, if they had not been favoured by a character of mind peculiar to this people. It was the natural and constitutional bravery of the Spartans which inclined them to admit and obey such a plan and form of government.

Precept and authority alone would not have done it, for the passions of men are neither to be reasoned nor terrified from their own bent and tendency: it is therefore but rendering justice to this gallant people to confess, that their bravery of mind was founded in inclination and principle. Cicero observes, that the Spartans (and the same could not be said of any other people in the world) had retained their primitive manners, without changing their laws, for more than seven hundred years.—See Orat. pro L. Flacco. Lacedæmonii soli, to to orbe terrarum, septingentos annos et amplius suis moribus et nunquam mutatis legibus, vixerunt.—See also *Livy*, book xxx. c. 34.

your truth and integrity, every thing has happened as you foretold; tell me then how many of the Lacedæmonians may there be left, how many of like valour with those who have perished, or are they all alike?" "Sir," replied Demaratus, "the Lacedæmonians are a numerous people, and possessed of many cities; but I will answer your question more particularly. Sparta itself contains eight thousand men, all of whom are equal in valour to those who fought here: the other Lacedæmonians, though inferior to these, are still brave." "Tell me then," returned Xerxes, "how we may subdue these men with least trouble? you who have been their prince, must know what measures they are likely to pursue."

CCXXXV. "Since, Sir," answered Demaratus, "you place a confidence in my opinion, it is proper that I should speak to you from the best of my judgment: I would therefore recommend you to send a fleet of three hundred vessels to the coast of Lacedæmonia. Contiguous to this is an island named Cythera, of which Chilon, the wisest of our countrymen, observed, that it would be better for the Spartans if it were buried in the sea; foreseeing the probability of such a measure as I now recommend. From this island your troops may spread terror over Sparta. Thus, a war so very near them, may remove from you any apprehension of their assisting the rest of Greece, which will then be open to your arms, and

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Plutarch says, only five hundred years, until the time of Agis, son of Archidamus, in which period fourteen kings had reigned. See his life of Lycurgus. The conquest of Lysander in Asia, by filling Lacedæmon with money, introduced luxury, and vitiated their morals; several examples of which are produced by Xenophon. The women of Sparta seem little less entitled to admiration; strangers to the natural weakness and softness of their sex, they were actuated by the same gallant spirit as the men. They submitted to a like discipline, and endured similar hardships. Instead of studying the accomplishments which usually distinguish a female education, they accustomed themselves to manly exercises; to running, wrestling, throwing the dart or quoit: having the emulation to contend with men at their own arts, and to bear them company in the same paths of glory.

I cannot help presuming, with respect to the dames as well as the men of Sparta, that it must have been something innate, something beyond the power of education, custom, or example, which constitutes the wonderful difference we discern in them, compared with all other women. Can it then be a matter of wonder, that the Spartan females claimed extraordinary privileges at home, and more extensive power in the government of their families. Lycurgus disliked that excessive authority, which the women had usurped, and attempted it seems, to reform it, and to restore to the husband the usual and proper authority in his own house; but in vain: a convincing argument, that if the women had not of themselves been inclined to his laws of female education, they would have paid them neither attention nor obedience. War, then, and conquest, with the endurance of fatigue, were the principal objects which the Spartans had in view. Learning, and the study of letters, of arts and sciences, to which their neighbours the Athenians were devoted, were in no repute among them. Hence it has been observed, that the former made the better figure in war, the latter in peace.—See Valerius Maximus, l. ii. c. 6. Egregios virtutis bellicæ spiritus Lacedæmoniorum, prudentissimi pacis moribus Athenienses subsequuntur.

And this was unquestionably true, since we are assured, that although the most rigorous care was taken to keep their youth constantly to their exercises, their men of mature years were permitted to live just as they pleased; they followed no employment, they disdained industry and honest labour, and were indeed forbidden to pursue any art, which was accounted illiberal; even husbandry, and the management and culture of their lands, the most rational and public spirited study that can be pursued, they left entirely to their slaves. The old men of Sparta spent the whole of their time in frequenting their schools and apartments of the youth, as at Athens they did at the public places of resort, to hear or to tell some new thing. The former indeed could mispend their time in this manner with more grace, and might plead the authority of Lycurgus in their vindication, whose policy and scheme of government aimed at maintaining an equality among the people, by restraining them from trade, and the arts of growing rich. The design of Solon was entirely the reverse: he strove to animate the Athenians with a spirit of industry; he enacted a law against idleness, requiring every person to have a calling and profession, and the philosopher who had none fell under the statute. Cleanthes and Menedemus were indicted and called before the Areopagus on this account. The statute which restrained the study of Rhetoric at Rome, assigned this reason: "Ibi homines adolescentulos totos dies desidere;" for the same reason philosophers were banished, among whom was Epictetus in the reign of Domitian.—See *Aulus Gellius*, l. xv. c. 11.

I have little to say on the religion of the Spartans. The object of their worship seems to have been diversified by them as well as by the Athenians according to the system of politics which their respective lawgivers established. Solon, intent upon promoting commerce, and gainful arts, presented the GREAT GODDESS to the Athenians, holding in her right hand the weaver's beam, and he surnamed her from the Egyptians, Athene, and Minerva, styling her the goddess of arts and sciences. Lycurgus, training up the Spartans to the discipline of war, clothed the same goddess in armour, called her Pallas, and the Goddess of Battle (παμμαχος και χαλκιοικος θεα) Aristoph. Lysist. ad finem. She was styled Chalciœcus, either because her temple was of brass, or because it was built by fugitives from Chalcis in Eubœa. The brothers also, Castor and Pollux, were for similar reasons enrolled in the Fasti of the Spartans; and I presume, if the Pagan Theology be capable of being reduced to any fixed and settled rules, it will be best explained and accounted for by supposing the religion of every different nation or people to be a mixture of worship and physics, and politics, and that their idols were representations of natural causes, named and habited according to the different tempers and genius of those who set them up.—*T.*

which if subdued, will leave Sparta hardly able to oppose you. If my advice be disregarded you may expect what follows. There is a narrow isthmus in the Peloponnese, in which all its people will assemble in resistance to your arms, and where you will have far more violent contests to sustain than you have here experienced. If you execute what I propose, you may without a battle become master of the isthmus, with all the cities of Peloponnesus."

CCXXXVI. Achæmenes the brother of Xerxes, and commander of the fleet, was present at this interview. Fearful that the king might do as he had been advised, he thus delivered his sentiments: "You seem, Sir," said he, "too much inclined to listen to a man, who either envies your prosperity, or wishes to betray you. It is the character of Greeks to envy the successful, and to hate their superiors. We have already lost by shipwreck four hundred vessels; if we detach three hundred more to the Peloponnese, the force of our opponents will be equal to our own; our united fleet will be far superior to theirs, and with respect to any efforts they can make, invincible. If your forces by land, and your fleet by sea, advance at the same time, they will be able mutually to assist each other; if you separate them, the fleet will not be able to assist you, nor you the fleet. It becomes you to deliberate well on your own affairs, and not to concern yourself about those of your enemies, nor to inquire where they will commence their hostilities, what measures they will take, or how numerous they are. Let them attend to their affairs, we to ours. If the Lacedæmonians shall presume to attack the Persians, they will be far from repairing the loss they have already sustained."

CCXXXVII. "Achæmenes," answered Xerxes, "I approve your counsel, and will follow it. The sentiments of Demaratus are, I well know, dictated by his regard to my interests; but your advice to me seems preferable. I cannot be persuaded that he has any improper intentions, events having proved the wisdom of his former counsels. One man frequently envies the prosperity of another, and indulges in secret sentiments of hatred against him, neither will he, when he requires it, give him salutary advice, unless indeed from some surprising efforts of virtue; but a friend exults in a friend's happiness; has no sentiments for him but those of the truest kindness, and gives him always the best advice. Let no one therefore in future use any invective against Demaratus, who is my friend."

CCXXXVIII. When Xerxes had finished, he went to view the dead, amongst whom was Leonidas. When he heard that he had been the prince and leader of Sparta, he ordered his head to be cut off, and his body to be suspended on a cross. This incident is no small proof to me amongst many others, that Xerxes indulged the warmest indignation against Leonidas whilst he was alive. He otherwise would not have treated him when dead with such barbarity. I know that the Persians, of all mankind, most highly honour military virtue. The orders however of the king were executed.

CCXXXIX. I shall now return to the thread of our history. The Spartans were the first who were acquainted with the king's designs against Greece; they sent to the oracle on the occasion, and received the answer I have related. The intelligence was communicated to them in an extraordinary manner. Demaratus, the son of Ariston, had taken refuge amongst the Medes, and, as there is every reason to suppose, was not friendly to the Spartans. He however it was who informed them of what was meditated, whether to serve or insult them must be left to conjecture. When Xerxes had resolved on this expedition against Greece, Demaratus, who was at Susa, and acquainted with his intentions, determined to inform the Lacedæmonians. As this was both difficult and dangerous, he employed the following means: he took two tablets, and erased the wax from each; then inscribed the purpose of the king upon the wood. This done, he replaced the wax, that the several guards on the road, from seeing the empty tablets, might have no suspicion of the business. When these were delivered at Lacedæmon, the people had no conception of their meaning, till, as I have been informed, Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes and wife of Leonidas, removed the difficulty. Imagining what might be intended, she ordered the wax to be removed, and thus made the contents of the tablets known. The Lacedæmonians, after examining what was inscribed on the wood, circulated the intelligence through Greece.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK VIII.

URANIA.

I. I HAVE before described the events which are said to have happened. The Greeks who composed the naval armament were these: The Athenians[1] furnished one hundred and twenty-seven vessels, part of which were manned by Plateans, who, though ignorant of sea affairs, were prompted by zeal and courage; the Corinthians brought forty ships, the Megarians twenty; the Chalcidians equipped twenty ships, which the Athenians supplied; the Æginetæ eighteen, the Sicyonians twelve, and the Lacedæmonians ten; the Epidaurians brought eight, the Eretrians seven, the Trœzenians five, the Styreans two, the people of Ceos two, and two barks of fifty oars; the Opuntian Locrians assisted the confederates with seven vessels of fifty oars.

II. These were stationed at Artemisium; and such were the numbers which each nation supplied. Without taking into the account the vessels of fifty oars, the whole amounted to two hundred and seventy-one. Of these the commander-in-chief appointed by the Spartans, was Eurybiades, the son of Euryclidas. The allies refused to serve under the Athenians, and had resolved, unless they had a Spartan leader, to disperse.

III. At first, and before any deputation had been sent to Sicily requiring assistance, it had been debated whether it would not be expedient to intrust the conduct of the naval forces to the Athenians; but as this was opposed by the allies, the Athenians did not insist upon it.[2] Their principal concern was the welfare of Greece, and as they were sensible that it would be endangered by any contention, they very wisely withdrew their claims: as much as war itself is more destructive than peace, so much more dangerous are intestine commotions, than a war conducted with consistency and union; persuaded of this they did not dispute the matter whilst circumstances justified and required their forbearance. Afterwards, when having repelled the Persian, they were contending for what belonged to him, they made the insolence of Pausanias a pretence for depriving the Lacedæmonians of the command. These, however, were things which happened afterwards.

IV. When the Greeks assembled at Artemisium saw the number of ships which were collected at Aphetæ, and every place crowded with troops, they were struck with terror; and as the attempts of the Barbarians had succeeded so much beyond their expectations, they consulted about retreating to the interior parts of Greece.[3] When this idea had been generally circulated, the Eubœans entreated Eurybiades to give them time to remove their children and their slaves. Unsuccessful in this application, they went to Themistocles the Athenian leader, whom they engaged on consideration of thirty talents, to continue at Eubœa, and risk the event of a battle.

V. This was effected by Themistocles in the following manner: he presented Eurybiades with five talents as if from himself; having gained him, he had only to prevail on Adimantus the Corinthian,[4] the son of Ocytus, who

1 *Athenians.*]—Diodorus Siculus makes the number of Athenian vessels on this occasion two hundred.

2 *Did not insist upon it.*]—Mr. Glover, in his Poem of the Athenaid, puts this sentiment into the mouth of Themistocles:

> Wisely did we cede
> To Spartan Eurybiades command;
> The different squadrons to their native ports
> Had else deserted, &c.

3 *Parts of Greece.*]—Plutarch is very severe upon Herodotus for making this assertion. Pindar, says he, who was a native of a city supposed to be attached to the Medes, mentions the behaviour of the Athenians at Artemisium with the highest encomiums. So perhaps he might, but what does this prove? certainly not that the Greeks did not stay and fight against their will, though when they actually were engaged, they behaved with extraordinary valour.

4 *Adimantus the Corinthian.*]—This Adimantus in the event behaved timidly. He was a Corinthian, and leader

was obstinate in his determination to sail from Artemisium. After using the solemnity of an oath, "If you," said he, "will not desert, I promise to give you a greater present than the king of the Medes would have done for leaving us." He instantly sent to his vessel three talents of silver. By these gifts he gained the commanders to his purpose, and satisfied the Eubœans. Themistocles rewarded himself by keeping the remainder, whilst they who had accepted of his presents supposed the money had been sent him from Athens for this purpose.

VI. They continued therefore at Eubœa, and came to a battle. The Barbarians arriving at break of day at Aphetæ, had before heard that the Greeks at Artemisium were very few in number. On their seeing this they were eager to engage, in expectation of taking them; they did not, however, think it expedient to advance directly to the attack, lest the Greeks perceiving them should escape under cover of the night. The Persians had already boasted that not even the torch-bearer[1] should escape them

VII. With this idea they pursued the following measures: two hundred chosen vessels were detached beyond Sciathus, lest in passing round Eubœa they might be discovered by the enemy off Capharea and Geræstus, near the Euripus, meaning thus to enclose them, and commence an attack at the same time in the rear and in front. With this design the appointed squadron set sail; it was not their intention to attack the Greeks on this day, nor till a signal should be given by the detachment with which they were to act in concert. On the departure of the former, an account was taken of the number of those which continued at Aphetæ.

VIII. Whilst the Persians were thus employed, they happened to have with them Scyllias[2] of Scios, the most skilful diver of his time, who in the shipwreck off Pelion had preserved to the Persians an immense quantity of treasure, and at the same time considerably enriched himself. This man had long intended to desert to the Greeks, but he had never before had the opportunity; he on this day effected his purpose; it is uncertain in what manner, but if what is related of him be true, it is really astonishing. It is said, that having leaped into the sea at Aphetæ, he did not rise again till he came to Artemisium, having gone a space of eighty stadia through the water. Other things are related of this man, some of which appear to be fabulous, whilst others are actually true. For my own part, I am inclined to the opinion that he escaped to Artemisium

of the Corinthians; he must not therefore be confounded with the Athenian Adimantus, who greatly distinguished himself against the Persians, and who probably is the same person who was archon in the fourth year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad. An epitaph by Simonides was inscribed on his tomb, intimating, that by his counsels Greece became free.—*Larcher.*

1 *Torch-bearer.*]—Before trumpets were used in armies, the signal for battle was given by a torch. Those who carried it were sacred to Mars; they advanced at the head of armies, and in the interval betwixt them they dropt their torch, and retired without molestation. The armies engaged, and even if a whole army was destroyed, they spared the life of the torch-bearer, because he was sacred to Mars: thence came a proverb applicable to total defeats, "not even the torch-bearer has escaped." Herodotus is the first author where we meet with this expression, which afterwards became so familiar, that it passed into a proverb.—*Larcher.*

It is probable, that in the time of Homer, no signals for battle were in use, as we find no mention of any throughout his works; in both Iliad and Odyssey we find torches placed on the tops of the hills to give intelligence of certain events. Modern signals for battle are, by land, drums and trumpets; by sea they are more various, and are sometimes given by cannon, lights, sails, and colours. The Romans, in addition to the shout with which all nations have been described as commencing an engagement, violently clashed their arms together. Milton makes a happy use of this idea;

> He spake, and to confirm his words outflew
> Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thigh
> Of mighty cherubim. The sudden blaze
> Far round illumined hell: highly they raged
> Against the highest, and fierce *with grasped arms*
> *Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,*
> Hurling defiance toward the vault of heaven.

2 *Scyllias.*]—The name of this skilful diver is differently written. In an epigram of Apollonides it is Scyllos, in Pliny and Pausanias it is Scilles. Scyllias had taught his daughter Cyane the art of diving; during the tempest, which surprised the Persians near mount Pelion, they plunged together under the water, and removed the anchors which held the vessels of Xerxes, which occasioned considerable injury. By order of the Amphictyons, statues were erected to the father and daughter in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.—The statue of Cyane was among those which by the command of Nero were transported to Rome.—*Larcher.*

Brydone, in his entertaining Tour through Sicily and Malta, informs us that the Sicilian authors make mention of one Colas, who, from his extraordinary skill in diving, was named Pesce, or the fish. It was said of him, that without coming at all to land, he would live for several days in the water; that he caught fish merely by his agility in the water, and that he could even walk across the straits at the bottom of the sea. One of their kings had the cruelty to propose his diving near the gulf of Charybdis, and to tempt him threw in a golden cup. In a third attempt to gain this, it is supposed he was caught by the whirlpool, for he appeared no more.—*T.*

in a little vessel; on his arrival, he informed the commanders of the shipwreck,[3] and of the ships which had been sent round Eubœa.

IX. Upon this the Greeks called a council: various opinions were delivered, but it was ultimately determined to remain that day in their station, but to depart soon after midnight to meet that part of the enemy's fleet which had been sent round Eubœa. As they perceived no one advancing against them, as soon as the twilight appeared, they proceeded towards the Barbarians, determined to make experiment of their skill in fighting and manœuvring.

X. The commanders and forces of Xerxes seeing them approach in so small a body, conceived them to be actuated by extreme infatuation,[4] and, drawing out their vessels, expected to find them an easy conquest. In this they were not unreasonable, for their fleet was superior to the Greeks, not only in number but swiftness; in contempt, therefore, they surrounded them. There were some of the Ionians who wished well to the Greeks, and served against them with the greatest reluctance; seeing them thus encircled, they were affected with much uneasiness concerning them, not supposing that any could escape, so insignificant did they appear. There were other Ionians, to whom the seeming distress of the Greeks gave great pleasure; these contended with all exertion who should take the first Athenian vessel, in hopes of a reward from the king. For among the Barbarians greater reputation[5] was allowed to the Athenians than to any other of the allies.

XI. The Greeks, as soon as the signal was given, turned their prows towards the Barbarians, collecting their sterns into one common centre. On a second signal, though compressed within a narrow space, they attacked the enemy in front. They soon took thirty of the Barbarian vessels, among whom was Philaon, son of Chersis, and brother of Gorgus, prince of Salamis, a man very highly esteemed in the army. The first enemy's ship was taken by an Athenian; his name was Lycomedes, the son of Æschreas, and he obtained the fame he merited. Victory alternately inclined to both parties, when they were separated by the night: the Greeks returned to Artemisium, the Barbarians to Aphetæ, the issue of the contest being very different from what they had expected. Of those Greeks who were in the service of the king, Antidorus the Lemnian was the only one who went over to his countrymen. The Athenians, in consideration of his conduct, assigned him some lands in Salamis.

XII. The above engagement took place in the middle of the summer. When night approached, there fell a heavy storm of rain attended with continued thunder from mount Pelion. The bodies of the dead, and the wrecks of the vessels floating to Aphetæ, were so involved among the prows of the ships, that the oars were hardly manageable; the forces on board were seized with a violent panic, expecting every moment to perish.[6] They had hardly recovered themselves from the effect of the first storm and shipwreck off Pelion, when that severe battle at sea had succeeded. As soon as this last terminated, they had now been attacked again by violent rains, a tempestuous sea, and continued thunder.

XIII. This night, however, proved still more severe to those whose business it was to make a circuit round Eubœa. The storm fell

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3 *Shipwreck.*]—See book vii. chap. 188.

4 *Extreme infatuation.*]—With the same contempt the French are represented to have considered the English army before the battle of Agincourt. This is expressed with the greatest possible animation by Shakspeare in his Life of Henry the Fifth.

His numbers are so few,
His soldiers sick, and famish'd in their march;
And I am sure, when he shall see our army,
He'll drop his heart into the sink of fear,
And for achievement, offer us his ransom.

To the Persians, as well as to the French, the noble answer of Henry to the French herald was happily applicable.

The man that once did sell the lion's skin
While the beast lived, was kill'd with hunting him.

5 *Greater reputation.*]—Notwithstanding what is here asserted in favour of the Athenians, their own historian remarks, that from the best conjectures he was able to form, his countrymen had done nothing worthy of being recorded, either at home or abroad, from the Trojan to the Persic and Peloponnesian wars. *Thucydides*, l. i. As I have thrown together at the end of the preceding book some remarks on the Spartan policy and manners, the reader at the conclusion of this will find some relative to those of Athens.—*T.*

6 *Expecting every moment to perish.*]—An example of terror very much like this, occurs in 1 Samuel xiv. 15. Though it must be acknowledged, that the confusion into which the camp of the Philistines was thrown, is expressly attributed to a divine cause, and was attended with an earthquake.

"And there was trembling in the host, in the field, and among the people; the garrison and the spoilers they also trembled, and the earth quaked; so it was a very great trembling.

"And the watchmen of Saul in Gibeah looked, and behold the multitude melted away, and they went on beating down one another."—*T.*

upon them with the greater violence, as they were remote from land, and they perished in a miserable manner.[1] It commenced when they were standing towards the sands of Eubœa; ignorant of their course, they were driven before the wind, and dashed against the rocks. It seemed a divine interposition, that the Persian fleet should thus be rendered equal, or at least not much superior to that of the Greeks: in this manner they were destroyed on the Eubœan sands.

XIV. The Barbarians at Aphetæ saw with joy the morning advance, and remained inactive, thinking it of no small moment, after their past calamities, to enjoy the present interval of tranquillity. At this juncture the Greeks were reinforced by fifty-three Athenian ships: animated by the arrival of their friends, they had still farther reason to exult in the fate of those Barbarians who had been ordered round Eubœa, not one of whom escaped the violence of the storm. The Greeks taking the opportunity of the same hour towards the evening advanced boldly against the Cilicians; these they totally defeated, and at night returned again to Artemisium.

XV. On the third day the leaders of the Barbarians did not wait for the Greeks to commence the attack; they advanced about mid-day, mutually encouraging each other; they could not bear to be insulted by so inferior a number, and they feared the indignation of Xerxes. It happened that these engagements by sea took place precisely at the same periods as the conflicts at Thermopylæ. The object of the sea-fights was the Euripus, as that of the battles by land was the passage of Thermopylæ. The Greeks animated each other to prevent the entrance of the Barbarians into Greece; the Barbarians in like manner were emulous to disperse the Greeks, and become masters of these passages.

XVI. Whilst the forces of Xerxes advanced in order of battle, the Greeks remained on their station at Artemisium: the Barbarians, as if to render themselves secure of them all, enclosed them in a semicircle. The Greeks met them, and a battle ensued, which was fought on both sides on equal terms. The fleet of Xerxes, from the size and number of its vessels, was much perplexed by their falling foul of each other; they fought however with firmness, and refused to give way, for they could not bear to be put to flight by so inferior a force. In the conflict many Grecian vessels perished, with a great number of men; but the loss of the Barbarians was much greater in both; they separated as by mutual consent.

XVII. Of all those in the fleet of Xerxes, the Egyptians performed the most important service; they distinguished themselves throughout, and took five Grecian vessels with all their men. Of the confederates, the Athenians were the most conspicuous, and of these the bravest was Clinias, son of Alcibiades.[2] His ship, which carried two hundred men, was equipped and manned at his own expense.

XVIII. The two fleets eagerly retired to their respective stations. The Greeks retained the wrecks of their vessels which were damaged, and possessed the bodies of their dead; but as they had suffered severely, and particularly the Athenians, the half of whose vessels were disabled, they deliberated about retiring to the remoter parts of Greece.

XIX. Themistocles had constantly believed that if he could detach from the Barbarians the Ionians and Carians,[3] there would be no difficulty in overpowering the rest. Whilst the Eubœans were assembling their cattle on the sea-coast, he called the chiefs together, and

1 *Miserable manner.*]—Το τελος σφι εγινετο αχαρι. Longinus, section xliii. p. 160, Pearce's edition, censures this expression of αχαρι, as mean and feeble. Pearce does not vindicate our author, neither does Toup; Larcher does, and with considerable effect. Boileau, he says, has rendered the word αχαρι, *peu agreable*. If this were admitted, the censure of Longinus would be reasonable enough; but in fact αχαρι is a very strong term, and signifies something in the highest degree shocking. Herodotus has applied συμφορη αχαρις, to the murder of a brother, book i. 42; and again to the murder of a son, vii. 190. Antoninus Liberalis calls the crime of incest between a father and his daughter, αχαρι και αθεσμον εργον, an action horrible and offensive to all laws. A similar mode of speaking was in use among the Romans: every one knows that Virgil applied the word *illaudatus* to Busiris; and Horace calls Pythagoras, Non sordidus auctor naturæ verique.

2 *Clinias, son of Alcibiades.*]—Upon this personage Valcnaer has a very elaborate and learned note, but I do not see that it contains any thing particularly claiming the attention of the English reader, except that he was the father of the famous Alcibiades, afterwards so celebrated in Greece.—*T.*

3 *Carians.*]—Originally these people inhabited the islands lying near their own coasts, and so much only of the Ægean sea as was called the Icarian, of which Icarus, the *island of Caria*, was the principal island; they were then named Leleges and Pelasgi.—*See Strabo* l. xii. 661—572. Afterwards removing to the continent, they seized upon a large tract of the sea-coast, as well as of the inland country; "This," says Strabo, "was the opinion most generally allowed."—*T.*

informed them he had conceived a method, which he believed would deprive the king of the best of his allies. At this juncture he explained himself no farther, adding only his advice that they should kill as much of the cattle of the Eubœans as they possibly could; for it was much better that their troops should enjoy them than those of the enemy. He recommended them to order their respective people to kindle a fire, and told them that he would be careful to select a proper opportunity for their departure to Greece. His advice was approved, the fires were kindled, and the cattle slain.

XX. The Eubœans, paying no manner of regard to the oracle of Bacis, had neither removed any of their effects, nor prepared any provision, which it certainly became those to do who were menaced by a war: their neglect had rendered their affairs extremely critical. The oracle of Bacis [4] was to this effect:

"When barb'rous hosts with Byblus yoke the main,
Then drive your cattle from Eubœa's plain."

As they made no use of this declaration, either in their present evils or to guard against the future, they might naturally expect the worst.

XXI. At this period there arrived a spy from Trachis; there was one also at Artemisium, whose name was Polyas, a native of Anticyra. He had a swift vessel with oars constantly in readiness, and was directed to communicate to those at Thermopylæ the event of any engagement which might take place at sea. There was also with Leonidas an Athenian named Abronychus, the son of Lysicles, who was prepared with a thirty-oared vessel to give immediate information to those at Artemisium of whatever might happen to the land forces. This man arrived at Artemisium, and informed the Greeks of what had befallen Leonidas and his party. On receiving his intelligence, they thought it expedient not to defer their departure, but to separate in the order in which they were stationed, the Corinthians first, the Athenians last.

XXII. Themistocles,[5] selecting the swiftest of the Athenian vessels, went with them to a watering place, and there engraved upon the rocks these words, which the Ionians, coming the next day to Artemisium, perused: "Men of Ionia, in fighting against your ancestors, and endeavouring to reduce Greece to servitude, you are guilty of injustice: take, therefore, an active part in our behalf; if this be impracticable, retire yourselves from the contest, and prevail on the Carians to do the same. If you can comply with neither of these requisitions, and are so bound by necessity that you cannot openly revolt, when the conflict begins, retire; remembering that you are descended from ourselves, and that the first occasion of our dispute with the Barbarians originated with you." Themistocles in writing the above, had, as I should suppose, two objects in view. If what he said were concealed from the king, the Ionians might be induced to go over to the Greeks, and if Xerxes should know it, it might incline him to distrust the Ionians, and employ them no more by sea.

XXIII. When Themistocles had written the above, a man of Histiæa hastened in a small vessel to inform the Barbarians that the Greeks had fled from Artemisium. Distrusting the intelligence, they ordered the man into close custody, and sent some swift vessels to ascertain the truth. These confirmed the report, and as soon as the sun rose the whole fleet in a body sailed to Artemisium; remaining here till mid-day, they proceeded to Histiæa: they then took possession of the city of the Histiæans, and over-ran part of Hellopia,[6] and all the coast of Histiæotis.

XXIV. Whilst his fleet continued at Histiæotis, Xerxes having prepared what he intended concerning the dead, sent to them a herald. The preparations were these: Twenty thousand men had been slain at Thermopylæ, of these one thousand were left on the field, the rest were buried in pits sunk for the purpose; these were afterwards filled up, and covered with leaves, to prevent their being perceived by the fleet. The herald, on his arrival at Histiæa, assembled the forces, and thus addressed them:

4 *The oracle of Bacis.*]—There were three soothsayers of this name; the most ancient was of Eleus in Bœotia, the second of Athens, and the third of Caphya in Arcadia. This last was also called Cydus and Aletes, and wonderful things are related of him by Theopompus.—*Larcher.*

5 *Themistocles.*]—Bartelemy in his Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, divides the Athenian history into three distinct intervals, which he calls the commencement, the progress, and the fall of that empire. The first he names the age of Solon, or of the laws; the second the age of Themistocles, and Aristides, or of glory; the third, the age of Pericles, or of luxury and the arts.—*T.*

6 *Hellopia.*]—The whole island of Eubœa was anciently called Helapia; I understand that the Hebrew word which we pronounce Hellap, means of a clear countenance; for this reason the people round Dodona were called Elli and Ellopes, and their country also Ellopia. —*T.*

"Xerxes the king, O allies, permits whoever chooses it to leave his post, and see in what manner he contends with those foolish men, who had hoped to overcome him."

XXV. Immediately on this declaration, scarce a boat remained behind, so many were eager to see the spectacle: coming to the spot, they beheld the bodies of the dead. Though a number of Helots[1] were among them, they supposed that all whom they saw were Lacedæmonians and Thespians. This subterfuge of Xerxes did not deceive those who beheld it; it could not fail of appearing exceedingly ridiculous, to see a thousand Persian bodies on the field, and four thousand Greeks crowded together on one spot. After a whole day had been thus employed, the troops returned on the following one to the fleet at Histiæa, and Xerxes with his army proceeded on their march.

XXVI A small number of Arcadians deserted to the Persian army: they were destitute of provisions, and wished to be employed. Being introduced to the royal presence, and interrogated by several Persians, and by one in particular, concerning the Greeks, and how they were then employed: "At present," they replied, "they are celebrating the Olympic games, and beholding gymnastic and equestrian exercises." Being a second time asked what the prize was for which they contended, they answered, "An olive garland." On this occasion Tigranes,[2] the son of Artabanus, having expressed himself in a manner which proved great generosity of soul, was accused by the king of cowardice. Hearing that the prize was not money, but a garland, he exclaimed before them all—"What must those men be, O Mardonius, against whom you are conducting us, who contend not for wealth, but for virtue?"

XXVII. After the above calamity at Thermopylæ, the Thessalians sent a herald to the Phoceans, with whom they had before been at enmity,[3] but particularly so after their last overthrow. Some years antecedent to this expedition of the king the Thessalians in a body, in conjunction with their allies, had attacked the Phoceans, but had been driven back and roughly handled. The Phoceans, being surrounded at Parnassus, happened to have with them Tellias[4] of Eleum, the soothsayer, at whose instigation they concerted the following stratagem: They selected six hundred of their bravest men, whose persons and arms they made white with chalk; they thus sent them against the Thessalians, under cover of the night, commanding them to put every one to death who was not whited like themselves. The Thessalian out-posts, who first saw them, conceived them to be something supernatural. These communicated their panic to the body of the army, in consequence of which the Phoceans slew four thousand, and carried away their shields: half of these shields were consecrated at Abæ, and half at Delphi. A tenth part of the money which resulted from this victory was applied to erect the large statues which are to

1 *Helots.*]—I have in a preceding note spoke of the Helots; but for more particulars concerning them, I beg leave to refer the reader to a dissertation on the history and servitude of the Helots, by M. Capperonier, published in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.—*T.*

2 *Tigranes.*]—Many learned men are of opinion, that this name is derived from the Togarmah of scripture, and given to the chiefs of that house; see Eze. xxxviii. 6.—"Togarmah of the north quarters, and all his bands." Josephus writes Togarmah's name, Θυγραμμης, Thygrammis, which some copies render Thygran, neither of them very unlike Tigranes.—*T.*

3 *Enmity.*]—The Thessalians being natives of Thesprotia, had seized Æolia, afterwards called Thessaly, whence they attempted to penetrate into Phocea, by the passage of Thermopylæ; but the Phoceans in this place constructed a wall, which checked their incursions. This was the source of the hatred which these people bore each other, and which was carried to such extremities, that the Thessalians in one day cut the throats of all the magistrates and princes of the Phoceans, who, in return, beat to death two hundred and fifty hostages they had in their hands.—*Larcher.*

4 *Tellias.*]—He was the chief of the family of the Telliadæ, in which the art of divination was hereditary. In gratitude for the victory which they obtained through his means, the Phoceans made a statue of Tellias, which they sent to Delphi, with those of the chiefs and heroes of their country.—*Larcher.*

Compare the account here given by Herodotus with Pausanias, l. x. c. l. and the Stratagemata of Polyænus, l. vi. c. 18.—See also Plutarch on the virtues of women.

To revenge the above-mentioned murder of their hostages, the Thessalians marched against the Phoceans, determining to spare no men that were of age, and to sell the women and children for slaves. Diaphantus, governor of Phocis, on hearing this, persuaded his countrymen to go and meet the Thessalians, and to collect their women and children in one place, round whom they were to pile combustible materials, and to place a watch, who, if the Phoceans should be defeated, were to set fire to the pile. To this one person objected, saying the women ought to be consulted on the business. The women hearing of this, assembled together, and not only agreed to it, but highly applauded Diaphantus for proposing it: it is also said, that the children also met together and resolved on the same thing. The Phoceans afterwards engaging the enemy at Cleon, a place in Hyampolis, were victorious. The Greeks called this resolution of the women *aponoia*, desperation. The greatest feast of the Phoceans is that which they celebrated at Hyampolis, and called *Elaphebolia*, in commemoration of this.

be seen round the tripod before the temple at Delphi: an equal number were erected at Abæ.

XXVIII. The Phoceans thus treated the Thessalian foot, by whom they had been surrounded: their horse which had made incursions into their country, they effectually destroyed. At the entrance to Phocis near Hyampolis they sunk a deep trench, into which having thrown a number of empty casks, they covered them with earth to the level of the common ground. They then waited to receive the attack of the Thessalians: these advancing, as if to capture the Phoceans, fell in among the casks, by which the legs of their horses were broken.

XXIX. These two disasters had so much exasperated the Thessalians, that they sent a herald to say thus to the Phoceans: "As you are now, O Phoceans, rendered wiser by experience, it becomes you to acknowledge yourselves our inferiors. When we formerly thought it consistent to be united with the Greeks, we were always superior to you; we have now so much influence with the Barbarians, that it is in our power to strip you of your country, and reduce you to slavery. We are nevertheless willing to forget past injuries, provided you will pay us fifty talents: on these terms we engage to avert the evils which threaten your country."

XXX. Such was the application of the Thessalians to the Phoceans, who alone of all the people of this district, did not side with the Medes, and for no other reason, as far as I am able to conjecture, than their hatred of the Thessalians. If the Thessalians had favoured the Greeks, the Phoceans I believe would have attached themselves to the Medes. The Phoceans in reply refused to give the money; they had the same opportunity, they added, of uniting with the Medes, as the Thessalians, if they wished to change their sentiments; but they expressed themselves unalterably reluctant to desert the cause of Greece.

XXXI. This answer of the Phoceans so irritated the people of Thessaly, that they offered themselves as guides to the Barbarian army, which they conducted from Trachis to Doris. The passage of this district is not more than thirty stadia in extent, it is situate betwixt Melias and Phocis, and was before called Dryopis. The Dorians are the original and principal people of the Peloponnese: the Barbarians penetrated into Doris, but without committing any devastations. The Thessalians did not wish them to commit any violence here, and indeed the inhabitants had embraced the interest of the Medes.

XXXII. The Barbarians passed from Doris into Phocis, but did not make themselves masters of the persons of the inhabitants. Of these some had taken refuge on the summits of Parnassus,[5] at a place called Tithorea, near the city Neon, capable of containing a great number of people. A greater number had fled to Amphissa, a town of the Ozolæ Locrians, beyond the plain of Crisæum. The Barbarians effectually over-ran Phocis, to which the Thessalians conducted them; whatever they found they destroyed with fire and sword, and both the cities and sacred temples were burned.

XXXIII. Proceeding along the river Cephissus, they extended their violence throughout Phocis. On one side they burned the city Drymos, on the other Charadra, Erochos, Tethronium, Amphicæa, Neon,[6] Pedieas, Triteas, Elatea, Hyampolis, Parapotamios, and Abæ. At this last place is an edifice sacred to Apollo, abounding in wealth, and full of various treasures,[7] and offerings. Here as now was an oracle. Having plundered this temple, they set it on fire. They pursued the Phoceans, and overtook some of them near the mountains;

5 *Parnassus.*]—This celebrated mountain had a forked summit with two vertices: of these one was sacred to Apollo, the other to Bacchus. See Joddrel on Euripides, p. 19. Sir George Wheeler, in his Travels into Greece, has given an engraving of this poetical circumstance, so often celebrated by the Greek and Roman poets; and he observes, that the high cliffs seem to end in two points from the town of Delphi. He also adds, that there is a fountain with a very plentiful source of water continually flowing out from a cavity close to this mountain, which by the marble steps leading to it should be the fountain Castalia. Lucan observes, that at the time of the deluge Parnassus was the only mountain, and that too with one of its tops only, which projected above the water, l. v. 75.

> Hoc solum fluctu terras mergente cacumen
> Eminuit, pontoque fuit discrimen et astris.

Which lines are thus diffusely rendered by Rowe:

> When o'er the world the deluge wide was spread,
> This only mountain rear'd its lofty head;
> One rising rock preserved, a bound was given
> Between the wasty deep and ambient heaven.
>
> *L. v. ver.* 17.

Sir George Wheeler says, "I esteem this mountain not only the highest in all Greece, but one of the highest in all the world, and not inferior to mount Cenis among the Alps."

6 *Neon.*]—M. Larcher thinks, and with great reason, that the Neon in this passage should be read Cleon.

7 *Treasures.*]—As the greater part of the Grecian cities sent their wealth to Delphi, it is very probable, says M. Larcher, that those of Phocis deposited theirs at Abæ.

many of their female captives died, from the great number who committed violence on their persons.

XXXIV. Passing the Parapotamians, they came to the Paropeans;[1] at this place the army was divided into two bodies, of which the one most numerous and powerful proceeded towards Athens, entering Bœotia through the Orchomenian territories. The Bœotians in general had taken part with the Medes. Alexander, with the view of preserving the Bœotian cities, and of convincing Xerxes that the nation were really attached to him, had stationed a Macedonian detachment in each. This was the line of march pursued by one part of the Barbarians.

XXXV. The other division, keeping Parnassus to the right, advanced under the conduct of their guides, to the temple of Delphi. Whatever they met in their march belonging to the Phoceans they totally laid waste, burning the towns of the Paropeans, Daulians, and Æolians. They proceeded in this direction, after separating from the main army, with the view of plundering the temple of Delphi; and of presenting its treasures to the king. I have been informed that Xerxes had a more intimate knowledge of the treasures which this temple contained than of those which he had left in his own palace; many having made it their business to inform him of its contents,[2] and more particularly of the offerings of Crœsus, the son of Alyattes.

XXXVI. The Delphians on hearing this, were struck with the greatest consternation, and applying to the oracle, desired to be instructed whether they should bury the sacred treasures in the earth, or remove them to some other place. They were ordered not to remove them, as the deity was able to protect what belonged to him; their sole care therefore was employed about themselves, and they immediately removed their wives and children into Achaia. Of themselves the greater part fled to the summits of Parnassus, and to the Corycian cave;[3] others took refuge at Amphissa, in Locris. Excepting sixty men, with the principal priest, the city of Delphi was entirely deserted.

XXXVII. When the Barbarians approached, and were in sight of the temple, the prophet, whose name was Aceratus, observed that the sacred arms, which had ever been preserved in the sanctuary, and which it was impious to touch, were removed[4] to the outward front of the temple: he hastened to acquaint those Delphians who remained with the prodigy. The enemy continued to advance; and when they came to the temple of Minerva Pronea,

2 *Paropeans.*]—D'Anville, in his Geography, reverses this order, and places the Paropeans before the Parapotamians.

2 *Of its contents.*]—See, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, a dissertation on the riches of the temple of Delphi, and an account of those by whom it was at different times pillaged. We have had in this country a parallel of immense but useless riches, accumulated by superstition, and long preserved by the jealous and vigilant hand of bigotry, in the shrine of Thomas a Becket at Canterbury. These, however, like the wealth of the temple of Delphi, were in process of time plundered and carried away by the violent and powerful. When Erasmus saw at Canterbury the tomb of Becket laden with so many precious jewels, and other inestimable riches, he could not but wish that these superfluous heaps of wealth might be distributed among the poor, and his tomb to be better adorned with leaves and flowers, than to heap up all that mass of treasure to be one day plundered and carried away by the men of power; which was a prophecy most literally fulfilled in less than twenty years.—See *Jortin's Life of Erasmus.*

At the present day, the shrine of "Our lady of Loretto" is in like manner remarkable for the splendour and profusion of its riches, and will not improbably, in the course of succeeding years, share a similar fate.

3 *Corycian cave.*]—This was at the base of mount Corycus, and said by Pausanias to have been of vast extent: it was sacred to the muses, who from thence were called Nymphæ Corycides. See Ovid, Met. i. 320.

Corycidas nymphas et numina montis adorant.

It should seem, that in the countries of the East subterraneous caves were very frequent, and used by shepherds to sleep in, or as folds for their flocks in the evening. The Syrian coast, or rather the mountains on this coast, are remarkable for the number of caves in them. See Harmer's Observations on passages of Scripture, vol. iii. p. 61.

We find in the history of the Croisades, by the Archbishop of Tyre, that Baldwin the First presented himself, with some troops which he had got together, before Ascalon; that the citizens were afraid to venture out to fight with him. Upon which, finding it would be to no advantage to continue there, he ranged about the plains between the mountains and the sea, and found villages whose inhabitants, having left their houses, had retired with their wives and children, their flocks and herds, into *subterraneous caves.*

See also 1 Sam. xiii. 11.

"And both of them discovered themselves unto the garrison of the Philistines; and the Philistines said, Behold, the Hebrews come forth out of the *holes* where they had hid themselves."

Again—Judges, vi. 2.

"And because of the Midianites, the children of Israel made them the *dens* which are in the mountains, and *caves*, and strong holds."—*T.*

4 *Were removed.*]—A little before the battle of Leuctra, it was said, that the temples opened of themselves, and that the arms which were in the temple of Hercules disappeared, as if Hercules himself was gone to be pre-

more portentous appearances were seen. It might be thought sufficiently wonderful, that the arms should spontaneously have removed themselves to the outward part of the temple; but what afterwards happened was yet more astonishing. As the Barbarians drew near the temple of Minerva Pronea, a storm of thunder burst upon their heads; two immense fragments of rock[5] were separated from the tops of Parnassus, which rolling down with a horrid noise, destroyed a vast multitude. At the same time there proceeded from the shrine of the goddess loud and martial shouts.

XXXVIII. This accumulation of prodigies impressed so great a terror on the Barbarians, that they fled in confusion. The Delphians perceiving this,[6] descended and slew a great number. They who escaped fled to Bœotia; these, as I have been informed, related that besides the above prodigies, they saw also two armed beings of more than human size, who pursued and slaughtered them.

XXXIX. The Delphians say, that these two were heroes, and natives of the country, their names Phylacus and Autonous, to whom some buildings near the temple had been consecrated. That of Phylacus stands on the public road, near the temple of Minerva Pronea, that of Autonous, near Castalia, beneath the Hyampean vertex. The rocky fragments which fell from Parnassus have been preserved within my remembrance near the temple of Minerva Pronea, where they first fixed themselves, after rolling through the Barbarian ranks. In this manner was the enemy obliged to retreat from the temple.

XL. The Grecian fleet, after their departure from Artemisium, at the request of the Athenians, came to an anchor at Salamis. The motive of the Athenians in soliciting this, was to have the opportunity of removing their wives and families from Attica, as well as to deliberate upon what measures they should pursue. To this also they were farther induced, because things had hitherto happened contrary to their expectations. They had hoped that the people of the Peloponnese, in one collected body, would wait the approach of the Barbarians in Bœotia. Instead of which they learned, they were satisfied with fortifying the isthmus of the Peloponnese with a wall, careful of their own security alone. The Athenians were induced, in consequence of this intelligence, to entreat the allies to station themselves at Salamis.

XLI. Whilst the rest of the allies continued with the fleet, the Athenians returned to their country, where they proclaimed by a herald,[7] that every Athenian was to preserve his family and effects by the best means in his power. The greater number took refuge at Trœzene, others fled to Ægina, and some to Salamis, each being anxious to save what was dear to him, and to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. It is asserted by the Athenians, that there is a large serpent[8] in the temple of the citadel, which continually defends it. Of this they have such an entire conviction, that they offer to it every month cakes of honey: these had before always been regularly consumed, at this juncture they were untouched.[9] The priestess having made this incident known, the

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sent at that engagement. But many did not scruple to say, that these miracles were contrived by the magistrates.—*Xenophon.*

Julius Obsequens, in his enumeration of the Roman prodigies, says, that A. U. 652, Hastæ Martis in regia sua sponte motæ.—The spears of Mars, preserved in the palace, moved of their own accord. Among the prognostics which preceded the assassination of Cæsar, Virgil mentions the sound of arms heard all over Germany.

> Armorum sonitum toto Germania cœlo
> Audiit. *T.*

5 *Fragments of rocks.*]—

> The double head
> Of tall Parnassus reeling from the crag
> Unloosed two fragments: mountainous in bulk
> They roll to Delphi, with a crashing sound
> Like thunder nigh, whose burst of ruin strikes
> The shattered ear with horror.—
> They move, and passing by Minerva's grove,
> Two monuments of terror see.—There stopped
> The massy fragments from Parnassus rent:
> An act of nature, by some latent cause
> Disturbed. Tremendous o'er Barbarian ranks
> The ruins down the sacred way had rolled,
> Leaving its surface horrible to sight,
> Such as might startle war's remorseless god,
> And shake his heart of adamant. *Athenaid.*

The same events are recorded by Diodorus Siculus, l. xi. & c. 4.

6 *Perceiving this.*]—

> The Delphian race,
> By fear so lately to the neighbouring hills
> And caves restrained, forsake their sheltering holds;
> In clusters rushing on the foes dismayed,
> Accomplish their defeat. *Athenaid.*

7 *By a herald.*]—It was criminal at Athens to abandon their country in time of danger, or even to remove their wives and children from the perils which impended, till permission was given by a public proclamation—*Larcher.*

8 *Large serpent.*]—See Bryant on the subject of serpent worship, vol. i. p. 476, &c. The Athenians were esteemed Serpentigenæ, and they had a tradition that the chief guardian of their Acropolis was a serpent, &c.—*T.*

9 *Untouched.*]—It appears that Themistocles was at the bottom of all these pretended miracles, and of this in particular. See his Life, as given by Plutarch.

Athenians still more precipitately deserted the city, believing that their goddess had abandoned the citadel. Removing, therefore, all their effects, they hastened to join the fleet.

XLII. When it was generally known that those who had left Artemisium had taken their station at Salamis, all the vessels which were at Trœzene hastened to join them: orders having been previously issued to assemble at Pogon and Trœzene. A much larger fleet was now got together than had before fought at Artemisium, and they were manned by a greater number of different nations. Eurybiades, the son of Euryclidas, who had commanded at Artemisium, was the leader also on the present occasion, though not of the blood royal. The vessels of the Athenians were the most numerous, and the best sailers.

XLIII. The fleet was thus composed: Of the people of the Peloponnese, the Lacedæmonians furnished sixteen vessels, the Corinthians the same number as at Artemisium, the Sicyonians fifteen, the Epidaurians ten, the Trœzenians five, the Hermionians three. All these, except the Hermionians, were Dorians and Macedonians, coming from Erineus, Pindus, and Dryopis. The Hermionians are from Dryopis, they had formerly been expelled by Hercules, and the Melians of the district now called Doris.—These were the forces from the Peloponnese.

XLIV. Of those situated upon the exterior continent, the Athenians alone furnished one hundred and eighty vessels, a number equal to all the rest. The Plateans were not present at the battle of Salamis, and for this reason: when the Greeks departing from Artemisium touched at Chalcis, the Plateans, landing on the opposite coast of Bœotia, employed themselves in removing their families and effects, in doing which they were left behind. The Athenians were Pelasgi, and called Cranai, when that region now named Greece was possessed by the Pelasgi: under Cecrops [1] they took the name of Cecropidæ. The title of Athenians was given them when Erectheus succeeded to the throne: their name of Ionians [2] was derived from Ion, who had been general of the Athenian forces.

XLV. The Megareans supplied the same number of vessels, as at Artemisium. The Ampraciotæ brought a reinforcement of seven ships; the Leucadii, a Dorian nation, originally from Corinth, furnished three.

XLVI. Of the people of the islands, the Æginetæ provided thirty vessels, they had others, but these were employed in defending their coasts: the thirty, in which they fought at Salamis, were the best equipped, and the swiftest sailers. The Æginetæ are Dorians, originally of Epidaurus, and their island was formerly called Œnone. Next to this people, the Chalcidians, as at Artemisium, supplied twenty ships, the Eretrians seven; these are Ionians. An equal number was furnished by the people of Ceos, who also are Ionians of Athenian descent. The Naxians brought four vessels: these, with the rest of the islanders, had been desired by the majority of their countrymen to take part with the Medes, but they had gone over to the Greeks, by the persuasion of Democritus, a man of considerable distinction, and at that time trierarch. The Naxians also are Ionians, and of Athenian origin. The Styreans appeared with the same number of ships as at Artemisium; the Cythnians [3] brought only one, and that of fifty oars: both of these last people are Dryopians. The allies

1 *Cecrops.*]—Strabo cites Hecatæus, who said that Peloponnesus was inhabited by the Barbari before it was possessed by the Greeks; and adds, that almost all Greece was anciently the seat of this strange people. Among other proofs he alleges several names of persons, such as Cecrops, Codrus, &c. which he says evidently prove a foreign language; το βαρβαρον εμφαινεται.

Thucydides l.i. at the beginning, with the Scholia, says that the Ionians were called Pelargi, or Pelasgi. The name Pelargus is usually taken for a *saunterer*, πλανητικος; this shows that it was originally used as a word of reproach. Strabo evidently derives the wandering temper of the Pelargi, or Pelasgi, from the Greek περγος, explaining the word πολυπλανον by ταχυ προς αναστασεις, quick in changing their settlements.—*T.*

Ægeus of Athens, according to Androtion, was of the serpent breed: and the first king of the country is said to have been Δρακων, a dragon. Others make Cecrops the first who reigned; he is said to have been of a twofold nature, being formed with the body of a man, blended with that of a serpent. Diodorus says, that this was a circumstance deemed by the Athenians inexplicable, yet he labours to explain it by representing Cecrops as half a man and half a brute, &c.—*Bryant*, vol. i. 484. &c.

2 *Ionians.*]—See Genesis, x. 4.

"And the sons of Javan, Elishah, and Tarshish, and Chittim, and Dodanim."

Bochart places Javan and his sons in Europe, assigning to the father, Greece; to Elishah, Peloponnesus: to Tarshish, Tartessus in Spain; to Chittim Latium in Italy; and to Dodanim, a part of France, l. iii. c. 7.—Javan he considers as the prince of Ionia.—*T.*

3 *Cythnians.*]—These islanders were of no great strength or importance. "If," says Demosthenes, "I considered you as like the Siphnians, Cythnians, or such people, I would not recommend you to adopt sentiments so elevated.—*Larcher.*

were further assisted by the Seriphians, Siphnians, and Melians, who alone, of the islanders, had refused to render the Barbarian earth and water.

XLVII. All these different people who inhabit the region betwixt the Thesproti and the river Acheron,[4] appeared as confederates in the war. The Thesproti are contiguous both to the Ampraciotæ and Leucadii, who came on this occasion from the remotest limits of Greece. Of the nations still further distant, the Crotoniatæ alone, with one vessel,[5] assisted Greece in its danger: it was commanded by Phayllus, a man who had been three times victorious[6] at the Pythian games.—The Crotoniatæ are of Achaian origin.

XLVIII. The allies in general furnished triremes for the service: the Melians, Siphnians, and Seriphians, brought vessels of fifty oars: the Melians two, the Siphnians and Seriphians one each. The Melians are of Spartan extraction:[7] the Siphnians and Seriphians are Ionians, and descended from the Athenians. Without taking into the account these vessels of fifty oars, the fleet consisted of three hundred and seventy-eight ships.

XLIX. When all these different nations were assembled at Salamis, a council was called of their leaders. At the suggestion of Eurybiades, it was proposed that each should deliver his opinion, what place of those which they yet possessed, would be most proper for a naval engagement. Attica was considered as totally lost, and the object of their deliberation was the rest of Greece. It seemed to be the opinion of the majority, that they should sail to the isthmus, and risk a battle in the vicinity of the Peloponnese; for if, it was urged, a defeat should be the issue of a contest at Salamis, they would be exposed to a siege on the island, without the prospect of relief; but from the isthmus they might easily retire to their respective countries.

L. Whilst the leaders were revolving this matter, a messenger arrived from Athens, to inform them that the Barbarian had penetrated Attica, and was burning all before him. The forces under Xerxes in their passage through Bœotia had set fire to the city of the Thespians, who had retired to the Peloponnese. They had also burned the city of the Plateans, and proceeding onwards, were now about to ravage Athens.[8] They had so treated Thes-

4 *Acheron.*]—Here Hercules descended into hell, and hither he brought back with him the dog Cerberus, whose foam overspread the country with aconitum. Adonis was celebrated for having the liberty of descending to Acheron, or the infernal regions, and of returning again at certain seasons. See Theocritus, Idyl. iii. 48. with Scholia; see also Theoc. Id. xv. 135; where Adonis is said to be the only hero who had this privilege.

Ἡμιθέων ὡς φαντι μονωτατος.

The descent into hell is generally understood to be a form of admission into the mysteries, for all those more especially who endeavoured to prove themselves the most illustrious benefactors to mankind. Of these mysteries the Egyptians may perhaps be esteemed the original authors; and that the descent of their king Rhamsinitus to the infernal regions is older than that of Hercules. Homer in the 10th Od. enumerates Acheron among the rivers of hell, saying that the Phlegethon and Cocytus flow into it, εις Αχεροντα ῥεουσι. Pope diffusely renders this the flaming gulf of Acheron; Homer says no such thing.—*T.*

5 *One vessel.*]—Pausanias says, that this vessel was provided and manned at the private expense of Phayllus; which induces Valcnaer to believe that the text of Herodotus is in this place corrupt, and that instead of νηι μιῇ, we should read οικηΐῃ νηι. Plutarch also, in his Life of Alexander, says, that the Crotoniatæ were permitted to plunder the Persians, out of respect to Phayllus, who equipped a vessel at his own expense to assist the Greeks at Salamis.

There was a statue at Delphi of this Phayllus.

I find mention made of Phayllus twice in Aristophanes; once in the Acharnenses, 210.

——— οτ' εγω φερων
Ανθρακων φορτιον
Ηκολουθουν Φαΰλλῳ τρεχων.

In the Scholiast to which passage we are told that there were others of this name; concerning which there is a Greek epigram, which says he could leap fifty-five feet, and throw the discus ninety-five.

Πεντ' επι πεντηκοντα ποδας πηδησε Φαΰλλος,
Δισκευσεν δ' ἑκατον πεντ' απολειπομενων.

Which I have somewhere seen thus rendered in Latin:

Saltum ad quinque pedes quinquagintaque Phayllus,
Discum ad centum eget quinque minus pedibus.

He is again mentioned in the Vespæ, 1201, for his swiftness in the course.—*T.*

6 *Three times victorious.*]—Pausanias says, that he was twice victorious in the contests of the Pentathlon, and once in those of the Stadium.

7 *Spartan extraction.*]—Thucydides, book v. says the same thing; Μηλιοι Λακεδαιμονιων μεν εισιν αποικοι, the Melians are a Lacedæmonian colony; so also does Xenophon, Hist. Græc. l. ii. The particulars of their migration are related at length by Plutarch, in his treatise of the virtues of Women, where he speaks of the Tyrrhene Women.—*T.*

8 *Ravage Athens.*]—The following lines, describing the advance of Xerxes to Athens, are highly animated and poetical:

Her olive groves now Attica display'd;
The fields where Ceres first her gifts bestow'd,
The rocks, whose marble crevices the bees
With sweetness stored; unparallel'd in art
Rose structures growing on the stranger's eye
Where'er it roam'd delighted. On like death

pia and Platea, because informed by the Thebans that these places were hostile to them.

LI. After passing the Hellespont, the Barbarians had remained a month in its vicinity, before they advanced; three more were employed in their march to Attica, where they arrived when Calliades was chief magistrate. They found the city deserted; an inconsiderable number remained in the temple, with the treasurers[1] of the temple, and a few of the meaner sort, who, with a palisade of wood, attempted to prevent the approach of the enemy to the citadel. These had not gone to Salamis, being deterred partly by their indigence, and partly from their confidence in the declaration of the oracle, that a wall of wood would prove invincible. This they referred not to the ships, but to the defence of wood, which on this occasion they had formed.

LII. The Persians encamped on the hill opposite the citadel, which the Athenians call the hill of Mars,[2] and thus commenced their attack: they shot against the intrenchment of wood, arrows wrapped in tow, and set on fire. The Athenians, although reduced to the last extremity, and involved in the fire which had caught their barricade, obstinately refused to listen to conditions, and would not hear the Pisistratidæ, who on certain terms invited them to surrender. They resisted to the last, and when the Persians were just about to enter, they rolled down upon them stones of an immense size. Xerxes, not able to force the place, was for a long time exceedingly perplexed.

LIII. In the midst of their embarrassment the Barbarians discovered a resource; indeed the oracle had declared, that whatever the Athenians possessed on the continent, should be reduced to the power of the Persians. In the front of the citadel, but behind the gates and the regular ascent, there was a cragged and unguarded pass, by which it was not thought possible that any man could force his way. Here, however, some of the enemy mounted, near the temple of Aglauros,[3] the daughter of Cecrops. As soon as the Athenians discovered them, part threw themselves over the wall and were killed, others retired into the building. The Persians who entered, forced their way to the gates, threw them open, and put the suppliants to death who had there taken refuge; they afterwards plundered and set fire to the citadel.

LIV. As soon as Xerxes found himself entire master of Athens, he sent a horseman to Susa, to inform Artabanus of his success. On the following day he called together the Athenian exiles who were with him, and ordered them to go to the citadel and there sacrifice according to the custom of their country. He was probably induced to this from some nocturnal vision, or from some compunction, on account of his having burned the temple. The exiles did as they were commanded.

LV. I will explain my reason for introducing this circumstance:—There is in the citadel a temple sacred to Erectheus,[4] who is said to

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From his pale courser scatt'ring waste around,
The regal homicide of nations pass'd,
Unchaining all the furies of revenge
On this devoted country, &c. *Athenaid.*

1 *Treasurers.*]—See Suidas, at the word Ταμιαι; these, he tells us, were Athenian magistrates, and were ten in number; the shrine of Minerva, of Victory, with their ornaments and wealth, were delivered to them in the presence of the senate.

2 *Hill of Mars.*]—On this place was held the celebrated court of the Areopagus, of which, as it bore so high a rank in the constitution of the Athenian republic, the following succinct account from Gillies may be acceptable.

"The court of the Areopagus, originally intrusted with the criminal jurisdiction, assumed an extensive power in regulating the behaviour and manners of the citizens: it consisted only of such magistrates as had discharged with approbation the duties of their respective offices. The members were named for life, and as from the nature of the institution they were generally persons of a mature age, of an extensive experience, and who having already attained the aim, had seen the vanity of ambition, they were well qualified to restrain the impetuous passions of the multitude, and to stem the torrent of popular frenzy."

3 *Aglauros.*]—This word is written Aglauros in Pausanias, l. i. c. 18; in Ovid. Met. l. ii. 739.

Aglauros lævum, medium possederat Herse.

Larcher nevertheless, on the authorities of Apollodorus and of Stephen of Byzantium, writes it Agraulos; see his elaborate note.

4 *Erectheus.*]—See book v. c. 82. Not only Erectheus called himself the offspring of the earth, but, as I have before shown, all the Athenians also. In his temple were three altars, on the first of which they sacrificed to Neptune and Erectheus, from which Neptune was called Erecthean. See Lycophron, v. 158.

Erectheus was deified, because in a contest with Eumolpus, prince of Thrace, he was told by the oracle that if he would sacrifice his daughter before he engaged the enemy, he should be victorious; he did so, and succeeded. See the story related, *Lycurg. contra Leocrat.*—Taylor's edit. 217.

Concerning his being deemed an offspring of the earth, Farnaby, on this kind of fortuitous generation, is worth consulting, in his note on Ovid. Met. i. 416.

Pausanias, in Atticis, c. xxvii. mentions two large figures in brass in a fighting attitude, supposed to represent Erectheus, and Immaradus, son of Eumolpus.—T.

have been the offspring of the earth: in this is an olive[5] and a sea,[6] believed to have been placed there by Neptune and Minerva, in testimony of their dispute[7] concerning this country: this olive the Barbarians had burned with the temple. The Athenians, who had been sent by the king to perform the ceremonies of their religion, which was two days after the place had been burned, observed that this olive had put forth a new shoot, a cubit[8] in length.

LVI. When the Greeks at Salamis heard what had befallen the citadel of Athens, they were seized with consternation; many of the leaders, without waiting the result of the council as to their future conduct, went hastily on board, hoisted their sails, and prepared to fly. It was instantly determined by those who remained, that they must only risk an engagement at sea near the isthmus. At the approach of night they left the assembly, and returned to their ships.

LVII. As soon as Themistocles had retired to his vessel, Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, came to ask him what had been the determination of the council. When he was informed of their resolution to sail to the isthmus, and come to battle in the vicinity of the Peloponnese, he expressed himself as follows: "If the allies," said he, "shall once leave Salamis, you will never have the opportunity of fighting for your country. The fleet will certainly separate, and each nation return to their respective homes, and neither Eurybiades nor any one else will be able to prevent them: thus Greece will perish from the want of judicious counsel. Make haste, therefore, and endeavour to counteract what has been determined; if it be possible, prevail on Eurybiades to change his purpose and continue here."

LVIII. This advice was so agreeable to Themistocles, that, without returning an answer, he went to the vessel of Eurybiades. As soon as he saw him, he expressed his desire to speak with him on what was of importance to the common interest: he was desired to come on board, and declare his sentiments. Themistocles, seated by him, related what had been said by Mnesiphilus, as from himself, which he so enforced by other arguments, that Eurybiades was brought over to his opinion, and persuaded to leave the ship, and again assemble the leaders.

LIX. As soon as they were met, and before Eurybiades had explained why he had called them together, Themistocles spake at some length, and with great apparent zeal. Adimantus, son of Ocytus, the Corinthian leader, interrupted him: "Themistocles," said he, "at the public games they who rise before their time are beaten." "True," replied Themistocles, "but they who are left behind are never crowned."

LX. Having thus gently reproved the Corinthian, he turned to Eurybiades: he did not repeat what he had said to him before, that as soon as the fleet should leave Salamis, the confederates would disperse, for as they were present he did not think it proper to accuse any one. He had recourse to other arguments: "The safety of Greece," said he, "depends on you; whether, listening to me you come to an engagement here, or, persuaded by those who are of a contrary opinion, you shall con-

5 *An olive.*]—This, according to Pliny, was said to exist in his time; it was in the citadel: and because goats destroy the olive and make it barren, it was forbidden to bring goats near the citadel, except once a-year for the necessary sacrifice.—*Larcher*.

Some oil made of this olive, which was sacred to Minerva, was given as a reward to those who conquered in the Panathenæa. See the Scholiast to the Nubes of Aristophanes, and to the 10 Nem. Ode of Pindar, ver. 65. See a whole oration of Lysias; ὑπερ του σηκου.—*T.*

6 *A sea.*]—This was a cistern, into which, by a subterraneous canal, sea water was conducted.

"In itself," said Pausanias, "there is nothing remarkable, but what deserves to be related is, that when the south wind blows, a noise is heard like that of agitated waves; and upon the stone is seen the figure of a trident, which is said to be a testimony of the dispute betwixt Minerva and Neptune concerning Attica."—See *Pausanias*, l. i. c. 26.

The same was also said to be in the temple of Neptune Hippias, near Mantinea, and at Mylase, a town of Caria, although the gate of this last place was eighty furlongs from the sea, and Mantinea was so far inland, that the water of the sea could not come there unless by a miracle.—*Larcher*.

The word sea is used in the same manner for a large cistern, by our interpreters of the Bible: see 2 Kings, xxv. 13.

"And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the Lord, and the bases, and the *brazen sea* that was in the house of the Lord, did the Chaldees break in pieces, and carried the brass of them to Babylon."

This sea is described, 1 Kings vii. 23, to be ten cubits from one brim to the other. The Greek word in Herodotus, and in the Septuagint, is θαλασσα. This meaning of the English word *sea* I do not find either in Chambers's or Johnson's Dictionary.—*T.*

7 *Their dispute.*]—This is said to have happened in the reign of Cecrops. Neptune coming to Athens, struck with his trident the midst of the citadel, from which sprang a horse; Minerva produced an olive: Jupiter assigned the patronage of the town to Minerva.

8 *A cubit.*]—Pausanias says two cubits. I suppose, says Larcher, the miracle increased with the time.

duct the fleet to the isthmus; hear the arguments on both sides and then determine. If we fight at the isthmus, we must fight in the open sea, where, on account of our heavier vessels and inferior number, we shall have every disadvantage: add to this, that if every thing else succeed to our wishes, we shall yet lose Salamis, Megara, and Ægina. The land forces of the enemy will accompany their fleet, which you will thus draw to the Peloponnese, and involve all Greece in danger. By adopting what I recommend you will have these advantages: By fighting within a narrower space of sea, our small force will be better able to contend with the greater armament of the enemy, and according to the common chances of war, we shall decisively have the advantage. For us it must be most eligible to contend in a small space, as for them to fight in a large one. Thus also will Salamis be preserved, where our wives and children remain, and thus too, the very advantage of which you yourselves are solicitous, will be secured. By remaining here you will as effectually defend the Peloponnese, as by sailing to the isthmus; and it will be extremely injudicious to draw the enemy there. If, as I sincerely wish, we shall obtain the victory, the Barbarians will neither advance to the isthmus, nor penetrate beyond Attica: they will retire in confusion. We shall thus be benefited by preserving Salamis, Megara, and Ægina, where the oracle has promised we shall be superior to our enemy. They whose deliberations are regulated by reason[1] generally obtain their wishes, whilst they who are rash in their decisions must not expect the favour of the gods."

LXI. Themistocles was a second time interrupted by Adimantus of Corinth, who ordered him to be silent, as not having now a country;[2] and he added, that Eurybiades could only then consistently suffer Themistocles to influence his determination, when he should again have a city: this he spake in allusion to the plunder and capture of Athens. Themistocles in reply heaped many reproaches upon the Corinthians, and upon their leader in particular; and he further urged, that they still possessed a country and a city, in effect greater than theirs, as long as they had two hundred vessels,[3] well provided with stores and men, a force which none of the Greeks would be able to resist.

LXII. He afterwards proceeded to address himself to Eurybiades in particular. "If," said he with greater earnestness, "you continue here, you will deserve our universal gratitude; if not you will be the destroyer of Greece. In this war our fleet constitutes our last, our only resource. You may be assured, that unless you accede to my advice, we will take on board our families, and remove with them to Siris in Italy,[4] which from remote times has been considered as belonging to us, and where, if the oracle may be credited, we ought to found a city. Deprived of our assistance, you will hereafter have occasion to remember my words."

LXIII. By these arguments, Eurybiades was finally influenced, principally, as I should suppose, from his fears lest, if they sailed to the isthmus, they should be deserted by the Athenians, without whose aid they would be little able to contend with the enemy. He acceded therefore to what Themistocles proposed, and consented to stay and fight at Salamis.

LXIV. When the determination of Eurybiades was known, the confederates, wearied with altercations, prepared to engage. In this situation the morning appeared, at the dawn of which there was a convulsion of the earth, which was felt at sea. They determined therefore to supplicate the gods, and implore the interposition of the Æacidæ. This was accordingly done; after calling upon all the gods, they invok-

1 *Regulated by reason.*]

True fortitude is seen in great exploits,
Which justice warrants, and which wisdom guides;
All else is tow'ring phrenzy and distraction.—*Addison.*

2 *Not having now a country.*]

Proud Adimantus, on his birth elate,
. . . . . arose and spake:
For public safety when in council meet
Men who have countries, silence best becomes
Him who has none—Shall such presume to vote?
Too patient Spartan, nay, to dictate here,
Who cannot tell us they possess a home, &c.—*Athenaid.*

3 *Two hundred vessels.*]—Aristotle writes, that the senate of the Areopagus gave eight drachmæ to every soldier, and thus the compliment of men was soon provided. Clidemnus says, that this money was procured by the artifice of Themistocles: whilst the Athenians, says he, assembled at Piræus, to embark, the ægis of the statue of Minerva was lost. Themistocles pretending to make a search, found amongst the baggage an immense sum of money, which being divided, spread abundance amongst their fleet.—*Larcher.*

Thus brief he [Themistocles] closed:—
Athenians still possess
A city buoyant on two hundred keels.
Thou admiral of Sparta frame thy choice;—
Fight, and Athenians shall thy arms sustain;
Retreat, Athenians shall retreat to shores
Which bid them welcome. *Athenaid.*

4 *In Italy.*]—

To Hesperian shores
For them by ancient oracles reserved,
Safe from insulting foes and false allies. *Athenaid.*

ed Ajax and Telamon, and despatched a vessel to Ægina, to entreat the aid of Æacus and the Æacidæ.[5]

LXV. Dicæus the son of Theocydes, an Athenian exile, but of considerable reputation with the Medes, at the time when Attica was deserted by the Athenians, and wasted by the army of Xerxes, reported that he was with Demaratus of Sparta on the plains of Thria. Here he saw a dust as of an army of thirty thousand men advancing from Eleusis. Whilst they were wondering from whence it could proceed, Dicæus affirms that he heard a voice which seemed to him the mystic Iacchus.[6]—Demaratus, being ignorant of the Eleusinian mysteries,[7] inquired the meaning of the noise which he heard. "Demaratus," answered Dicæus, "some great calamity is impending over the forces of the king: Attica being deserted, it is evidently the divinity which speaks, and is now coming from Eleusis to assist the Athenians and their allies. If this shall appear in the Peloponnese, the king himself, and the forces which are with him, will be involved in the greatest danger; If it shall show itself at Salamis, the destruction of the king's fleet will probably ensue. Once in every year the Athenians solemnize these rights to Ceres and Proserpine, when also they initiate into the mysteries, such of the Greeks as may desire it. The sound which you hear is the voice of Iacchus." To this he says Demaratus made him this reply: "Make no mention of this to any one. If what you say should be communicated to the king, you will certainly lose your head, and neither myself nor any one else will be able to save you; be silent, therefore, and leave the event to the gods." He added, that after the dust and voice which they saw and heard, a cloud appeared, which directed its course towards Salamis and the Grecian fleet. From this they concluded that the armament of Xerxes would be defeated. This was reported by Dicæus,[8] the son of Theocydes; for the truth of which he appealed to Demaratus and others.

LXVI. The naval troops of Xerxes, after being spectators of the slaughter of the Spartans, passed over from Trachis to Histiæa,

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5 *Æacidæ.*]—See book v. c. 80.—Consult Pausanias, book ii. c. 29.

Near the port of the island of Ægina there is a temple of Venus, and in the most conspicuous part of the city is a temple of Æacus, called the Æaceium. It is a square structure of white marble, in the entrance of which are the statues of the deputies who came to Æacus from all parts of Greece.

6 *Iacchus.*]—On the 20th of the month Boedromion, which answers to our October, which was the 16th day of the festival of the mysteries of Ceres, they carried from the Ceramians to Eleusis, a figure of Iacchus, or Bacchus, crowned with myrtle, having a torch in his hand. During the procession they sung a hymn in honour of the god, which hymn was also called Iacchus, and in which they often repeated the word Iacche.—*Larcher.*

The word Iacchus is derived, according to Eustathius απο του ιαχειν, from bawling out. Iacchus is used by Virgil as synonymous with vinum, because Iacchus or Bacchus was the god of wine: some say he was the son of Ceres. In the mysteries here mentioned he is always joined with Ceres and Proserpine; but he is not always considered as the son of Ceres, though nursed at her breast.—See *Lucretius, and Salmasius ad Solinum,* p. 750.

The circumstance of the mystica vannus, or mystical fan, which in this solemnity was carried before the image of Iacchus, is thus curiously explained by Servius, ad Georg. i. 166. The fan, says he, was carried in procession before Bacchus, because they who were initiated into his mysteries are purified as corn is by the use of the fan or van.—*T.*

7 *Mysteries.*]—I have before spoken on the subject of these mysteries; but the reader will find a far more particular and entertaining account of them in Warburton's Divine Legation, and in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, vol. v. 507, &c. Warburton intimates his belief that the initiated were instructed in the unity of the Divine Being. Larcher thinks otherwise: they might perhaps, says the learned Frenchman, do this with respect to those whom they found inclined to believe this dogma; but they preached atheism to a select number, in whom they found a favourable disposition to receive it. The temple of Ceres, where these mysteries were celebrated, was one of the noblest in Greece; it is described by Strabo, book ix. and by Vitruvius, book vii. A view of it is given in the "*Ruins of Athens;*" and it is described also by Chandler in his Travels in Greece. There were the greater and the lesser mysteries; the latter of which belonged to Proserpine only.—*T.*

8 *Dicæus.*]—Upon this name the following pleasant anecdote occurs in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.

A Persian, who founded all his merit on the splendour of his name, came to Athens: as I had known him at Susa, I was his conductor to the theatre. We happened to sit near a number of Athenians who were talking together—he was anxious to know their names. The first, says I, is called *Eudoxus*, that is, *the honourable;* immediately my Persian makes a low bow to *Eudoxus*, the second, I continued, is named *Polycletus*, or *the very celebrated;* another very low bow. Doubtless, says he, these two are at the head of the republic. Oh no, they are people whom nobody knows. That third person, who seems so infirm, is called *Megasthenes*, or *the very strong;* the fat heavy man yonder is named *Prothoos*, or *the very swift;* yon melancholy fellow's name is *Epicharis*, which means *the cheerful.* The sixth, says the Persian impatiently, how is he called? *Sostrates*, or *the saviour of the army.* He has commanded then? No; he has never been in the service. The seventh, yonder, who is called *Clitomachus*, which signifies *illustrious warrior*, has always been a coward, and is declared infamous. The name of the eighth is *Dicæus*, or *the just*, a most notorious rascal.—I was going to name the ninth, when the stranger rose and said, How all these people disgrace their names! But at least, says I, you must confess, that their names do not make them coxcombs.—*T.*

where they remained three days: thence sailing down the Euripus, in three more they came to Phalerum.[1] The land and sea forces were neither of them, as far as I can determine, less in number when they laid waste Attica, than when they first arrived at Sepias and Thermopylæ. To supply the loss of those who perished from the storm, and who were slain at Thermopylæ and Artemisium, there arrived from those nations which had not yet declared for the king, reinforcements of Melians, Dorians, Locrians, and Bactarians, who, except the Thespians and Plateans, joined him with all their troops. To these may be added the Carystians, Andrians, Tenians, with all the people of the islands, except the five states[2] before specified. The farther the Persians penetrated into Greece, by the greater numbers were they followed.

LXVII. All these troops, except the Parians, assembled at Athens or at Phalerum. The Parians[3] stayed at Cythnus, waiting the event of the war. At this juncture Xerxes visited his fleet in person, to confer with the leaders, and to acquaint himself with their sentiments. On his arrival he presided at a council where the princes of the different nations, and the several commanders, were placed according to the rank which Xerxes had given them, the prince of Sidon first, the prince of Tyre[4] next, and the rest in order. The king then commissioned Mardonius to inquire of them individually whether they were willing to engage the enemy.

LXVIII. Mardonius began with the prince of Sidon, and from him went to the rest; and they were all of opinion that a battle should be fought; but Artemisia thus delivered her sentiments: "Mardonius, deliver this my opinion to the king, whose exertions in the battle of Eubœa were neither the meanest nor the least;

1 *Phalerum.*]—Athens had three ports near each other, Piræus, Munychia, and Phalerum. Phalerum is said to have been named from Phalerus, a companion of Jason in the Argonautic expedition. Theseus sailed from it for Crete, and Menestheus his successor for Troy; and it continued to be the haven of Athens to the time of Themistocles. It is a small port of a circular form; the entrance narrow, the bottom a clear fine sand, visible through the transparent water. The fane of Aristides, and his monument, which was erected at the public expense, were by this port. The capital port was Piræus.—*Chandler.*

Chandler writes Phalerum; Pococke, Phalereus and Pyræium: D'Anville, Phalerus; Meursius, in his tract called Piræus, or an Essay on the Port of that name, writes Phalerum, and properly. This was the most ancient port of the three.—*T.*

2 *Five states.*]—Naxos, Melos, Siphnos, Seriphus, and Cythnus.

3 *Parians.*]—The Parians shared with the Persians the disgrace of the battle of Marathon; and their perfidy to the Greeks became proverbial.—*T.*

4 *Tyre.*]—In Isaiah, chapter xxiii. v. 10. Tyre is called the daughter of Tarshish; in the same chapter, v. 12. Tyre is called the daughter of Sidon, I presume, on different accounts. The Syrians were originally a colony of the Sidonians, and Sidon, consequently the mother city of Tyre. By Tarshish, the Seventy universally understand Carthage: but how then could Tyre be called the daughter of Tarshish? for Carthage was the daughter of Tyre.

Herodotus, in book ii. chap. 44, speaks of the Hercules of Tyre. It has been conjectured by many learned men, that this could have been no other than the Israelitish Samson. That this is very probable, the reader may perhaps be inclined to think from these among other reasons:

With the story of Samson the Tyrians might easily become acquainted at Joppa, a seaport belonging to the tribe of Dan; but more especially from those Danites who removed to Laish, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, and who, as Ezekiel informs us, had great commerce with the Tyrians. These Danites came from Zorah and Eshtaol, where Samson was born and lived, and would not fail of promulgating and magnifying the exploits of their own hero. I am aware how rash it is to pronounce a sameness of person from a likeness of certain corresponding circumstances in the actions of men, but there are certain particulars so striking, first in the account given of this Tyrian Hercules by Herodotus, and secondly, in the ritual prescribed for his worship, that where we can prove nothing by more solid argument, conjectures so founded may be permitted to have some weight. The story of Samson will account for the two pillars set up in the temple of Hercules, if we consider them as placed there in commemoration of the greatest of Samson's exploits. The various circumstances which Herodotus makes peculiar to the Tyrian Hercules, however disguised, are all reducible and relative to this last action of Samson. 1. Hercules, being apprehended by the Egyptians, was led in procession as a sacrifice to Jupiter; and the Philistines proclaimed a feast to offer a great sacrifice to Dagon their god, and to rejoice, because Samson was delivered into their hands. 2. Whilst Hercules stood at the altar, he remained quiet for a season; and so did Samson when his strength was departed from him. 3. But in a short time Hercules returned to his strength, and slew all the Egyptians.—Concerning the ritual used in the worship of the Tyrian Hercules, Bochart remarks there were many things in it not practised elsewhere. Let the reader judge from what follows whether they do not seem borrowed from the Levitical Law or grounded on what the Scripture relates of Samson. The total disuse of images, the prohibition of swine in sacrifice, the habit of the priest, the embroidered stole, &c. and naked feet, the strict chastity exacted of him, the fire ever-burning on the altar, are all of them precepts which Moses delivered. Why may we not add that the exclusion of women from the temple, and the shaven head of the priests, were intended to brand the treacherous behaviour of Delilah, and to commemorate the loss of Samson's locks? Appian, Arrian, and Diodorus Siculus, acknowledge these to have been Phenician rites, and different from any observed among the Greeks; and it is well known that this *singularity* was a principal point intended by the ritual of Moses.—*T.*

I think myself therefore justified in declaring what I think will be most to your interest to pursue. I would advise you to spare your ships, and not risk a battle. These men by sea are as much superior to yours, as men are to women: but after all, what necessity is there for your hazarding an engagement? You are already in possession of Athens, the avowed object of this expedition, the rest of Greece is already your own, and no one resists you. They who opposed you, have met the fate they merited. I will now tell you how the affairs of your adversaries are circumstanced: if you do not urge a naval engagement, but will order your vessels either to remain here, or sail to the Peloponnese, all your wishes will infallibly be accomplished.—The Greeks will not long be able to oppose you; you will oblige them to separate, and retire to their respective homes. I am well informed, that in the island where they are, they have no supply of provisions; and if you shall enter the Peloponnese, it is not to be supposed that these remaining here, will risk a battle for the sake of the Athenians. But if you determine to fight them by sea, I seriously fear that a defeat of your fleet will be added to that of your land forces. Let this also be impressed upon your mind, that the best of men have sometimes the worst of servants; and that bad men are frequently served with fidelity. You, O king, are one of the best of men; but you have among your dependants Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians,[5] from whom no good can be expected."

LXIX. They who wished well to Artemisia were apprehensive that her speaking thus decisively to Mardonius against risking a battle, would bring upon her some mark of the king's indignation; her enemies on the contrary, who wished to see her disgraced, and who were jealous of her favour with the king, were delighted in the confident expectation that her freedom of speech would prove her ruin; but Xerxes, after hearing the opinions of the council, was particularly pleased with that of Artemisia; he had esteemed her before, but he was on this occasion lavish in her praise. He nevertheless determined to comply with the decision of the majority; and as he imputed the former ill success at Eubœa to his being absent, he resolved to be a spectator of the battle of Salamis.

XX. When orders were given for the fleet to depart, they proceeded towards Salamis, and deliberately ranged themselves in order of battle. As the approach of evening prevented their then coming to an encounter, they prepared themselves for the following day. In the mean while a general consternation was impressed upon the Greeks, and in particular upon those of the Peloponnese, who, conceiving that their fighting at Salamis was solely on account of the Athenians, believed that a defeat would occasion their being blockaded in the island, and would leave their own country totally defenceless.

LXXI. On the very same night the land forces of the Barbarians advanced to the Peloponnese, though every possible effort had been made to check their proceeding farther on the continent. As soon as the Peloponnesians had heard of the ruin of Leonidas and his party at Thermopylæ, they assembled, at the isthmus, all the forces they could collect from their different cities under the conduct of Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, and brother of Leonidas. Encamped here, their first care was to fortify the pass of Sciron;[6] they then after

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5 *Cilicians and Pamphylians.*]—However contemptuously these people may be here introduced, it is certain that Tarsus of Cilicia was accounted the metropolis of this part of Asia, and was the first commercial power which made any figure in that part of the world. Not only the fables of Pagan mythology, which inform us that Anchiale was built by the daughter of Japetus, and Tarsus by Perseus, son of Jupiter, bear witness to the high antiquity of these cities; but Scripture also informs us, that the sons of Tarshish, who were settled on this coast had made themselves famous for their navigation and commerce as early as the days of David. The *ships of Tarshish*, see Psalm xlviii. 7, were then become a common appellation for all vessels of trade; and *to go to Tarshish*, a proverbial expression for setting out to sea in such vessels. That part of the Mediterranean which was contiguous to Cilicia was called the Sea of Tarshish. Pamphylia was colonized from Cilicia, and was the entrance to it from the north-west. Strabo gives this character of the natives of Tarsus: "They did not stay at home," says he, "but in order to complete their education went abroad; and many of them, when thus accomplished, resided with pleasure in foreign parts, and never returned." When their neighbours on all sides, both in Asia and the adjacent islands, made themselves infamous for their piratical depredations, the inhabitants of Tarsus maintained a fair reputation; they not only occupied their business in great waters, but they also traded on the continent. They had factories at Dedan and Sheba on the Euphrates, with which they trafficked in silver, &c.—*Ezekiel*, xxxviii 10. All which incidents considered, I should suppose that the censure of Artemisia, passed upon them in this place, will hardly occasion them to be considered either as a faithless or cowardly people.—*T.*

6 *Sciron.*]—Said by Strabo to have been called from

consulting on the subject, proceeded to defend the whole of the isthmus by a wall. This was soon finished, as not one of so many thousands was inactive; for without intermission either by night or day, they severally brought stones, bricks, timber, and bags of sand.

LXXII. The Greeks who appeared in defence of the isthmus with their collected strength, were the Lacedæmonians, Arcadians universally, Eleans, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Phliasians, Trœzenians, and Hermionians. All these were drawn together, by the danger which menaced Greece. The rest of the Peloponnesians, although the Olympic games and Carnian festivals were past, remained in careless inactivity at home.

LXXIII. The Peloponnese is inhabited by seven different nations; two of these, the Arcadians[1] and Cynurians are natives of the country, and have never changed their place of residence. The Achaians have never quitted the Peloponnese, but simply removed from one situation to another. The four others, namely, the Dorians, Ætolians, Dryopians, and Lemnians, migrated hither. The Dorians have many famous cities; the Ætolians[2] Elis only; the Dryopians have Hermion and Asina, near Cardamyle,[3] in Laconia. The Paroreatæ[4] are all Lemnians. The Cynurians, though natives of the country, are supposed to be Ionians; but in process of time, like the Orneatæ and their neighbours, they became Dorians, and subject to the Argives.[5] Of all these seven nations, those only whom I have specified, attached themselves to the cause of Greece; the others, if I may speak the truth, certainly favoured the Medes.

XXIV. They who were at the isthmus exerted themselves as if every thing depended upon them alone, not expecting any thing from the fleet. The Greeks at Salamis, hearing this, were overwhelmed with terror, not so much on their own account, as on that of the Peloponnese. They began to murmur secretly among each other, and to complain of the injudicious conduct of Eurybiades. They at length expressed their discontent aloud, and obliged a council to be called; a violent debate ensued, some were for sailing instantly to the Peloponnese, and risking every thing for its defence, urging the absurdity of staying where they were to contend for a country already captured. The Athenians, with those of Ægina and

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the famous robber of that name, who was remarkable for his barbarity to passengers, and who was killed by Theseus.—See Lucian in Jove Tragœdo, where we learn that at the same time Theseus destroyed two other famous robbers, whose names were Pityocamptes and Cercyon. Sciron he threw into the sea, and his bones became rocks.—See *Ovid. Met.* vii. 443.—*T.*

1 *Arcadians.*]—Eustathius, in Dion. v. 414, tells us, that Arcadia was formerly called Gigantis, that is, the Land of Giants. It was also called Azania. Arcadia was sacred to the god Pan, who was worshipped in every corner of the country. It was celebrated for the richness of its pastures; and its inhabitants were so generally addicted to the business of feeding cattle, that Arcades and Pastores became synonymous terms, and the Bucolic verse was styled the Arcadian. Of the antiquity which this people claimed, I have already spoken in a foregoing note. Some have supposed Arcadia to have been so called from Arcas, the son of Callisto, who was said to have had his name from the supposed transformation of his mother, and to have given it to Arcadia.—See in *Arati Phæn. de Callistho.* Τικειν Αρκτον ουσαν τον κληθεντα Αρκαδα. Homer says they were wholly ignorant of maritime affairs:

Επει ου σφι θαλασσια εργα μεμηλει.

Which Pope imperfectly renders,

And new to all the dangers of the main.

See what De Pauw says of the Arcadians in his *Recherches sur les Grecs.*—*T.*

2 *Ætolians.*]—There seems to be a doubt in this place whether it should be read Æolians or Ætolians. Æolus is said by some learned men to be Elishah, eldest son of Javan.—See the Genealogy. The name Elishah is explained by the Jewish Rabbi to mean *ad insulam:* and Varro, as cited by Servius on the 1st Æneid, gives the same title to Æolus Hippetades, styling him *dominus insularum.* Lesbus was called Issa, that is, I believe, the island. See Hesychius in Ισση. Of the Ætolians, M. P. De Pauw, in his preliminary Discourse to his Recherches Philosophiques sur les Grecs, gives a shocking character. "On y parloit," says the Frenchman, "a la verite la langue des Grecs, mais on y avoit les mœurs des Barbares, & tant d' atrocite dans les caracteres, que l'on comparoit les Ætolians a des betes feroces cachees sous le masque de l'homme," &c.—*T.*

3 *Cardamyle.*]—Strabo says this city was founded on a rock, επι πετρας; and Homer mentions it as one of the seven which Agamemnon promised to give Achilles.

4 *Paroreatæ.*]—See book iv. c. 145. Oreatæ was the name of a city in the territories of Lacedæmon, which was afterwards called Bræsiæ or Prasiæ, concerning which consult Pausanias in Laconicis.—*T.*

5 *Argives.*]—Eustathius says, that Apis cleared the Peloponnese of serpents, and named it from himself Apia; he was deified, and thence called Serapis, a manifest allusion to the great idol of the Egyptians. From these serpents Argos might receive its name, for αργας was used as synonymous with οφις.—See *Hesychius.* The frog, which was the symbol of the people of Argos, was explained to be a direction for them to keep at home; and properly enough, that they might guard the isthmus, prevent a surprise, and be a constant garrison to the Peloponnese. It was an allusion also, I believe, to their old name Leleges. Αελαγις, says Hesychius, is the frog of a green colour. The Spartan coin, or that of the Peloponnese, was a χελωνη, or tortoise, the symbol of a housekeeper.—*T.*

Megara, thought it most advisable to fight where they were.

LXXV. Themistocles, seeing himself overpowered by those of the Peloponnese, retired privately from the council: he immediately despatched a messenger to the enemy's fleet, with instructions what to say. The man's name was Sicinnus, a domestic, and the tutor of his children, whom Themistocles afterwards caused to be made a citizen of Thespia, and who became very opulent. Directing his course to the leaders of the barbarian fleet, he thus addressed them: "The Athenian leader,[6] who in reality is attached to the king, and who wishes to see the Greeks in subjection to your power, has sent me thus privately to you: a consternation has seized the Greeks, and they are preparing to fly; an opportunity is now afforded you of performing a splendid action, unless you suffer it through negligence to escape you." They are divided among themselves, and incapable of farther resistance. You will soon see those who favour, and who are inclined to oppose you, in hostilities with each other." Having said this, Sicinnus departed.

LXXVI. The Barbarians, confiding in this intelligence, passed over a large body of Persians to the small island of Psittalia,[7] betwixt Salamis and the continent. About midnight the western division of their fleet advanced towards Salamis,[8] meaning to surround it. The ships also which lay off Ceos and Cynosura,[9] removed, and occupied the whole narrow sea as far as Munychia. They drew out their fleet in this manner to cut off from the Greeks the possibility of retreat, and that, thus inclosed at Salamis, they might suffer vengeance for the battle of Artemisium. Their view in sending a body of forces to Psittalia was this; this island was contiguous to the spot where the battle must of necessity take place; as therefore such vessels and men as were injured in the fight must endeavour to take refuge here, they might here preserve their own and destroy the forces of the enemy. The measure was pursued privately and unperceived by the enemy, to accomplish which, the whole night was employed without any interval of rest.

LXXVII. After reflecting upon this subject, the truth of the oracular prediction appears incontestible; for who would attempt to contradict a declaration so obvious as the following?

"On Dian's shore, and Cynosura's coasts,
When every strait is fill'd with naval hosts;
When hostile bands, inspired with frantic hope,
In Athens give wide-wasting fury scope.—
Then shall the youthful son of daring Pride
The vengeance of celestial wrath abide,
Fierce though he be, and confident of power,
For arms with arms shall clash, and blood shall shower
O'er all the sea: while liberty and peace
From Jove and Victory descend to Greece."

After the above explicit declaration from Bacis, I shall neither presume to question the authority of oracles myself, nor patiently suffer others to do so.

LXXVIII. Disputes still continued to run high amongst the leaders of Salamis, who were not at all conscious of their being surrounded by the Barbarians. They presumed that the enemy remained on the very same post in which they had observed them during the day.

LXXIX. Whilst they were debating in council, Aristides, son of Lysimachus, arrived at Ægina; he was an Athenian, and had been banished [10] by a vote of the people, although my

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6 *Athenian leader.*]—

Themistocles, who leads
Athenian squadrons, is the monarch's friend,
Approved by this intelligence: the Greeks
In consternation shortly will resolve
To separate and fly. Let Asia's fleet
Her numbers round in diligence extend,
Investing every passage; then confused
This whole confederated force of Greece
Will sooner yield than fight, and Xerxes close
At once so perilous a war.—*Athenaid.*

7 *Psittalia.*]—Ψιττάλεια. Non retulissem inter populos Atticos nisi Strabonis locus aliud suaderet. Itaque credendum illum aliquando fuisse habitatum.—*Jacobus Sponius de Pagis Atticis.*

8 *Advanced towards Salamis.*]—Larcher, in a very elaborate note, attempts to describe the situation of the two fleets with respect to each other in this memorable engagement; but the reader perhaps will have a better conception of it from a chart to be found in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, than from any thing Larcher has said, or that I can say.—*T.*

9 *Cynosura.*]—This was a promontory of Attica, opposite to the southern extremity of Eubœa; and must not be confounded with the place of the same name in Laconia. Some critical remarks on the subsequent oracle may be found in Jortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist. Appendix, No. 2.—*T.*

10 *Banished.*]—Literally ostracised. Every body knows that ostracism was the banishing a person by writing his name upon a shell, in Greek *Ostracon.* It was not a dishonourable banishment, but rather a mark of popularity, and generally inflicted on the great and powerful. By this, Themistocles, Aristides, Thucydides, and Alcibiades, were banished.

By ostracism, a person was banished for ten years; a similar mode of banishment was adopted at Syracuse, and called petalism, where the people wrote the name upon a leaf, *petalon.* By petalism, a man was banished for five years only.

information induces me to consider him as the most excellent[1] and upright of his fellew-citizens. He immediately went to the assembly, and called out Themistocles, who was not his friend, but his particular enemy. The greatness of the impending danger prevailed over every thing else, he called him out to confer with him: he had heard how anxious the Peloponnesians were to return with the fleet to the isthmus; accordingly, when Themistocles appeared, he spoke to hîm thus: "It would become us at any time, and more particularly at the present, to contend which of us can best serve our country.[2] I have to inform you, that whatever the Peloponnesians may now urge with respect to retiring to the isthmus can be of no signification; I can assure you, from my own observation, that the Corinthians, and Eurybiades himself, could not now sail thither if they would; we are on all sides surrounded by the enemy. Return, therefore, and tell this to the assembly."

LXXX. "What you tell me," replied Themistocles, "I consider as particularly happy for us all. The thing which I most ardently wished to happen you have beheld: know then, that this motion of the Medes is the consequence of my measures, it appearing to me essential that those Greeks, who were reluctant to fight, should be compelled to do so; but as you come to tell us what promises so much good, tell it yourself. If I shall inform the assembly of what you say, I shall obtain no credit; nor will they suppose that the Barbarians are posted as they are. Enter therefore yourself, and inform them how things are. If they believe you, it will be well; but if not, the event will be the same. For if, as you sáy, we are surrounded, there exists no opportunity to retreat."

LXXXI. Aristides entering the council, repeated what he had before said; that he was come from Ægina, and had passed with great difficulty through the enemy's forces; that the Grecian fleet was entirely surrounded, and that it became them to prepare for their defence. Aristides, as soon as he had spoken, retired. Fresh altercations now again arose among the leaders, the greater part of whom refused to credit what they had heard.

LXXXII. Whilst they continued still to doubt, a trireme of Tenians deserted to them; they were commanded by Parætius, the son of Sosimenes; and their intelligence put the matter beyond all dispute. In gratitude for this service, the names of the Tenians were inserted upon the tripod consecrated at Delphi, amongst those who repelled the Barbarians. This vessel, which joined them at Salamis,[3] added to one of Lemnos, which before came over to them at Artemisium, made the exact number of the Grecian ships three hundred and eighty. There were only three hundred and seventy-eight before.

LXXXIII. The Greeks having all their doubts removed by the Tenians, prepared seriously for battle. At the dawn of morning all was in readiness. Themistocles said every thing which might avail to animate his troops. The principal purport of his speech was a comparison betwixt great and pusillanimous actions; explaining how much the activity and genius of man could effect, and exhorting them to have glory in view. As soon as he had finished, orders were given to embark. At this juncture the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ returned from Ægina, and soon afterwards all the Grecian fleet were under sail.

Perpetual exile at Athens was the punishment of sacrilege and high treason; the term they used was not φευγειν, but εξεϱχεσθαι.—*T.*

1 *Most excellent.*]—Ælian gives a catalogue of Greeks who were alike remarkable for their extraordinary merit and extreme poverty. Aristides, Phocion, Epaminondas, Pelopidas, Lamachus, Socrates, and Ephialtes. With respect to the dispute betwixt Themistocles and Aristides, the same authority informs us, that they were educated together under the same preceptor, and that when children they were notorious for their dislike of and quarrels with each other. Plutarch says, that one among other reasons for the inveterate hatred which prevailed betwixt them, was their having an attachment to the same youth.

The circumstance of their mutually laying aside their animosities when their country was in danger, has obtained them everlasting glory.—*T.*

2 *Best serve our country.*]—

Dissensions past as puerile and vain
Now to forget, and nobly strive who best
Shall serve his country, Aristides warns
His ancient foe Themistocles. I hear
Thou giv'st the best of councils, which the Greeks
Reject through mean solicitude to fly,
Weak men! throughout these narrow seas the foe
Is stationed, now preventing all escape.—*Athenaid.*

3 *Salamis.*]—Attica was surrounded by islands, but except this of Salamis, they were in general barren and uninhabited. Salamis is praised in high terms by Euripides, as abounding in honey and olives. Euripides and Solon were both born here. The trophies of the battle of Salamis, says De Paux, cease to interest us; but the Iphigenia in Tauris, and the legislation of Solon, can never be forgotten.

To take a circuit of the district of Attica, it was advised to embark at Salamis, double the promontory of Sunium, and landing in the Oropian territories, proceed to the mouth of the Asopus.—*T.*

LXXXIV. As soon as they began to move, the Barbarians rushed upon them. While the Greeks lay upon their oars, and seemed rather inclined to retire, Aminias, of Pallene, an Athenian, darted forwards, and attacked the enemy; when he was so involved with his opponent, as to be unable to separate, the rest came to his assistance, and a promiscuous engagement ensued. Thus, according to the Athenians, the battle began. The people of Ægina say, that the engagement was begun by the vessel which had been sent to the Æacidæ. It is also affirmed, that a female figure was visible to the Greeks, and that in a voice sufficiently loud to be heard by them all, it exclaimed, "Insensate men, how long will ye remain inactive on your oars?"

LXXXV. The Athenians were opposed to the Phenicians, who occupied the division towards Eleusis[4] and the west; the Lacedæmonians combated the Ionians, who were in the division towards the Piræus[5] and the east. A small number of these, at the suggestion of Themistocles, made no remarkable exertions: but with the majority it was otherwise. I am able to mention the names of several trierarchs, who overpowered and took Grecian vessels; but I shall only specify Theomestor, son of Androdamas, and Phylacus, son of Histiæus, both of them Samians. I mention these, because on account of the service which he on this occasion performed, Theomestor was made prince of Samos by the Persians. Phylacus also had his name written, as deserving of the royal favour, and was presented with a large tract of land. They who merit the favour of the king are in the Persian tongue called Orosangæ.

LXXXVI. A very great part of the Barbarian fleet was torn in pieces at Salamis, principally by the Athenians and the people of Ægina. The event could not well be otherwise. The Greeks fought in order, and preserved their ranks; the Barbarians, without either regularity or judgment. They nevertheless behaved better this day than at Eubœa, and they made the greater exertions from their terror of the king, in whose sight[6] they imagined they fought.

LXXXVII. To speak decisively and minutely of the several efforts, either of Barbarians or Greeks, is more than I can presume to do. The conduct however of Artemisia increased her favour with the king. When the greatest disorder prevailed in the royal fleet, the vessel of Artemisia was pursued by an Athenian, and reduced to the extremest danger. In this perplexity, having before her many vessels of her allies, and being herself nearest to the enemy, the following artifice succeeded.[7] As she retreated from the Athenian, she commenced an attack upon a ship of her own party; it was a Calyndian, and had on board Damasithymus, the Calyndian prince. Whilst they were in the Hellespont, she was involved in some dispute with this man, but it is still uncertain whether her conduct in the present instance was the effect of design, or accidentally happened from the Calyndian's coming first in her way. This vessel Artemisia attacked and sunk, by which she obtained a double advantage. The Athenian commander, seeing the vessel he pursued attack a Barbarian, supposed that it was either a Grecian ship, or one that had deserted the Barbarians, and was now assisting the Greeks; he was thus induced to direct his attack elsewhere.

LXXXVIII. Artemisia by this action not only avoided the impending danger, but also made herself more acceptable to the king at the time she was doing him an actual injury. It is asserted that the king, as he viewed the engagement, observed her vessel bearing down upon the other. At this period some attendant remarked to him, "observe, Sir, the prowess of Artemisia, she has now sent to the bot-

4 *Eleusis.*]—So called from Eleusis son of Mercury.—See Pausanias in Atticis, and Meursius Atticæ Lectiones, l. iii. c. 20. The Eleusinians submitted voluntarily to the dominion of Athens, on condition of having the privilege exclusively of celebrating the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, which proved to them an inexhaustible source of riches.—*T.*

5 *Piræus.*]—This, as I have before remarked, was the most celebrated port of the Athenians. A tract of J. Meursius, called Piræus, contains every thing relating to it and its antiquities.—*T.*

6 *In whose sight.*]—It is no doubt difficult to describe and understand accounts of battles: but whoever places himself on the spot where the Persian monarch is said to have viewed the battle of Salamis, and at the same time reads the account which Herodotus, or that which Æschylus, an eye-witness, gives in his Persæ, of that action, and considers the shoalness of the water, and the small space into which so many ships were crowded must think contemptibly of the marine engagements in those days.—*Wood on Homer.*

7 *Artifice succeeded.*]—Polyænus informs us, that Artemisia first ordered her Persian ensign to be taken down, a circumstance omitted by Herodotus, but which adds much to the probability of the story.—*Larcher.*

tom a vessel of the enemy." The king was earnest in his inquiry, whether the ship which attracted his attention was really that of Artemisia. Those about him knowing exactly the figure which distinguisned her ship, assured him that it was: at the same time they had no doubt but the vessel she had attacked belonged to the enemy. It happened among the other fortunate occurrences which Artemisia met with, that not a single person of the Calyndian vessel survived to accuse her. Xerxes is said to have replied to what they told him: "The men have behaved like women, the women like men."[1]

LXXXIX. In this battle, many personages of distinction fell, both of the Persians, the Medes, and their confederates: among others, Ariabignes[2] was slain: he was the commander-in-chief, son of Darius, and brother of Xerxes. The loss of the Greeks was but small. As they were expert in swimming,[3] they, whose ships were destroyed, and who did not perish by the sword, made their escape to Salamis. Great numbers of the Barbarians, from their ignorance of this art, were drowned. When the foremost ships were obliged to seek their safety by flight, a general destructicn of the rest ensued. They who were behind, anxious to advance to the front, and to give the king who viewed them, some testimony of their zeal and courage, ran foul of those vessels which were retreating.

XC. During the confusion, many Phenicians who had lost their ships, went to the king, and informed him, that their disgrace was occasioned by the perfidy of the Ionians. The consequence of this was, that the Ionian leaders were not punished with death, but the Phenicians were. While they were yet speaking, a Samothracian vessel attacked one of Attica, and sunk it; immediately afterwards, a ship of Ægina fell upon the Samothracian, and inflicted on it a similar fate; but the Samothracians, who were skilful in the management of the spear, attacked as they were going down their adversaries with so much success, that they boarded and took the vessel. This exploit was very fortunate for the Ionians. Xerxes observing this specimen of the Ionian valour, turned with anger to the Phenicians, and as he was beyond measure vexed and exasperated, he ordered them all to be beheaded, as being pusillanimous themselves, they had presumed to accuse men better than themselves. The king, placed on mount Ægaleos,[4] which is opposite to Salamis, was particularly observant of the battle, and when he saw any person eminently distinguish himself, he was minute in his inquiries concerning his family

1 *The women like men.*]—Xerxes sent a complete suit of Grecian armour to Artemisia as a reward of her bravery; to the commander of his own fleet, a distaff and spindle.—*Polyænus*. This last does not seem to me probable and the answer of Xerxes perhaps gave rise to it. The commander of the fleet was the brother of Xerxes, who died after fighting gallantly.—*Larcher*.

Cicero in his Treatise de Off. i. 18, quotes these lines:

Vos etenim, juvenes, animum geritis muliebrem,
Illa virago viri.

Upon which Jortin remarks:

"We know not from what poet these lines are taken; they are, however, placed among the fragments of Ennius, p. 150, and are more likely to have come from his pen than any other."

This virago was perhaps Artemisia; be that as it will, the Latin poet seems to have borrowed the expression from Herodotus.

2 *Ariabignes.*]—Called Artabazanes, book vii. c. 2.

3 *Swimming.*]—The art of swimming constituted a material part of youthful education among the Greeks and Romans: if they intended to speak in very contemptuous terms of any man, they said he had neither learned to read nor to swim.

Savary informs us, that of the Egyptians, men, women and children, are remarkably expert, and he says graceful, in swimming. Man is the only perfect animal which learns to swim, all others swim naturally; in general we find that islanders, and all those people whose country is intersected by canals, or abounds in rivers, are skilful in this manly exercise, whilst those living more inland are ignorant of it.—*T.*

4 *Mount Ægaleos.*]—The ancients differ concerning the place from which Xerxes beheld the battle of Salamis. Phanodemus pretends that it was from the temple of Hercules, in a place where Attica is separated from Salamis by a very small strait. Acestodorus says it was from the hills called Cerata, (The Horns) or the confines of the territory of Megara. The difference is only in appearance. They fought, says Pausanias, at Salamis, which stretches itself as far as Megara; thus mount Ægaleos was on the confines of Attica and Megara.—*Larcher*.

Æschylus in the Persæ contents himself with saying, that Xerxes was a spectator of the engagement, without saying from what place:

Εδραν γαρ ειχε παντος ευαυγη στρατου
'Υψηλον οχθον αγχι πελαγιας αλος.

He had a seat from which he could easily discern all his forces, a lofty mound, *near the sea*; from which it should seem to have been some artificial tumulus. The Scholiast to the passage of Æschylus refers the reader to the place before us in Herodotus. Pliny calls it mount Ægialos.—*T.*

Xerxes, who enthroned
High on Ægaleos anxious sate to view
A scene which nature never yet display'd,
Nor fancy feign'd. The theatre was Greece,
Mankind spectators, equal to that stage,
Themistocles, great actor.

Athenaid.

and city; all which, at his direction, his scribes recorded. This execution of the Phenicians was not a little forwarded by Ariaramnes, a Persian, and favourite of the king, who happened to be then present.

XCI. In this disaster were the Phenicians involved; the Barbarians retreating, were anxious to gain Phalerum; the Æginetæ however guarding this neck of sea, performed what well deserves mention. The Athenians in the tumult of the fight, overpowered those who resisted, and pressed upon those who fled. These last the Æginetæ attacked, so that many which escaped from the Athenians were intercepted by the Æginetæ.

XCII. As Themistocles was engaged in the pursuit of a flying enemy, he came up with a vessel of Ægina, commanded by Polycritus, son of Crios, which was then attacking a vessel of Sidon. It happened to be the very ship which off Sciathus took Pytheas, the son of Ischenus, in a vessel of Ægina sent to watch the motions of the enemy. This man, almost expiring from his wounds, the Persians with great tenderness had preserved on account of his extraordinary valour; and when the Sidonian vessel with the Persians on board was taken, Pytheas was restored in safety to his country. Polycritus observing the Athenian vessel, which by its colours he knew to belong to the commander-in-chief, called out in a reproachful manner[5] to Themistocles, and bade him observe how the Æginetæ showed their attachment to the Medes, and at the same time he rushed on the Sidonian.

XCIII. The Barbarians, whose ships remained, fled to Phalerum, and joined the forces. On this day, they who distinguished themselves the most were the people of Ægina, next to them the Athenians. Of the Æginetæ, Polycritus was most eminent; of the Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyris, and Aminias of Pallene.[6] This last was the person who pursued Artemisia, and who would not have desisted till he had taken the enemy, or been taken himself, if he had conceived her to have been on board the vessel which he chased. The Athenian commanders had received particular orders with respect to her, and a reward of ten thousand drachmæ was offered to whoeve. should take her alive; it being thought a most disgraceful circumstance that a woman should fight against Athens. She however escaped as we have before described, as also did many others, to Phalerum.

XCIV. The Athenians affirm[7] of Adimantus, the leader of the Corinthians, that at the very commencement of the fight he was seized with a panic and fled. The Corinthians followed his example. Arriving at the temple of Minerva Sciras,[8] not far from the coast of Salamis, they met a little bark, which seemed as if sent by the gods: who actually sent it could never be discovered; it approached however the Corinthians, who were in total ignorance how things went, and when at a certain distance some one on board exclaimed, "Adimantus, by thus flying with the ships under your command, you must be considered as the betrayer of Greece: the Greeks however are victorious over their enemies to the utmost of their hopes. Adimantus not giving credit to these assertions, it was repeated from on board the little bark, that they would agree to suffer death if the Greeks were not victorious. Adimantus therefore with his detachment made haste to rejoin the Greeks, but they did not come up till the battle was determined. This is what the Athenians affirm. The Corinthians deny the fact, declaring that no nation was more distinguished on this occasion than themselves; and this indeed the Greeks in general confirm.

5 *In a reproachful manner.*]—The Athenians had accused the Æginetæ, and particularly Crios the father of this man. of designing to betray their country to the Medes.—See book vi. chap. 40. To this unjust accusation Polycritus alluded in this sarcasm.—*T.*

6 *Aminias of Pallene.*]—He was brother to the great poet Æschylus.

7 *The Athenians affirm.*]—Dion Chrysostom relates, that our historian not having received the compensation which he expected from the Corinthians, to whom he had recited what he had written in their praise, was induced to misrepresent their conduct, with that of Adimantus, on the day of Salamis. Plutarch pretends that Herodotus from malignity related the battle of Salamis in a manner disadvantageous to the Corinthians. If what was asserted by Dion Chrysostom were true, Plutarch would not have omitted it. I cannot prevail on myself to believe that our historian was influenced by either motive. I rather think he desired to gratify the Athenians, who were at enmity with the Corinthians. Plutarch with some reason opposes to Herodotus the silence of Thucydides, the offerings made at Delphi, the vow of the women of Corinth, and the inscriptions of Simonides, and some other poets, of which the historian could not be ignorant. I may add, that if Herodotus had felt the motives imputed to him, by Plutarch and Dion Chrysostom, he would not have opposed to the recital of the Athenians the evidence of Universal Greece.—*Larcher.*

8 *Minerva Sciras.*]—Salamis was anciently called Sciras, from some hero. Minerva was honoured by this name in that island, whence came the sacrifice called at Athens Episcirosis, and the month Scirophorion.—*Larcher.*

XCV. Aristides the Athenian, son of Lysimachus, of whose integrity I have before made honourable mention, during the tumult of the battle of Salamis rendered his country this service; taking with him a number of armed Athenians, whom he found stationed along the shore of Salamis, he landed on the island of Psittalia, and put every person whom he found there to death.

XCVI. After the engagement, the Greeks collected all their damaged vessels at Salamis,[1] and prepared for another battle, presuming that the king would renew the fight with all the vessels he had left. At the same time a wind from the west had driven on that part of the coast of Africa which is called Colias, many wrecks belonging to the enemy. Thus the different oracles pronounced concerning this battle by Bacis and Musæus, were minutely accomplished, as was also the prediction of the Athenian Lysistratus, made many years before, concerning these wrecks. It had long eluded the sagacity of the Greeks, and was to this effect:

The Colian dames with oars shall roast their food.[2]

The above happened after the king's departure.

XCVII. When Xerxes knew how severely he had suffered, apprehending that the Ionians might induce the Greeks, or that of themselves they might be disposed to sail to the Hellespont, and break down the bridge, determined to seek his safety by flight. Desirous however of not being suspected in his design, either by the Greeks or his own troops, he made an effort to connect Salamis with the continent, joining for this purpose the Phenician transports together, to serve both as a bridge and a wall, he then made seeming preparations for another naval engagement. His taking these measures caused it to be generally believed that he intended to continue where he was and prosecute hostilities. His real purpose did not escape Mardonius, who was well acquainted with his mind. Whilst Xerxes was thus employed, he sent a messenger to Persia with intelligence of his defeat.[3]

XCVIII. The Persian messengers travel with a velocity which nothing human[4] can equal. It is thus accomplished: as many days as are required to go from one place to another so many men and horses are regularly stationed along the road, allowing a man and a horse for each day; neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor darkness, are permitted to obstruct their speed

1 *Salamis.*]—Among other rejoicings which celebrated the victory of Salamis, I find in Athenæus the following anecdote of Sophocles. Sophocles who had a very fine person, was also accomplished in the arts of music and dancing, which, when very young, he had been taught by Lamprus. After the victory of Salamis, he danced with a lyre in his hand, round a military trophy erected by the conquerors. Some say that he was entirely naked, and anointed with oil; others, that he was in his clothes. When he exhibited his tragedy of Thyamris, he played on the Citharis; and when his Nausicaa was performed, he discovered great activity in leaping with the ball—σφαιρισαι.—*T.*

2 *Roast their food.*]—This passage has greatly perplexed the commentators; in the Greek it is ερετμοισι φριξουσι, shall rage at the oars. Kuhnius reads φρυξουσι, which both Wesseling and Valcnaer approve.—*T.*

3 *Defeat.*]—"I have been told by a Mede," says Dion Chrysostom, "that the Persians do not agree to what is reported by the Greeks. They pretend that Xerxes conquered the Lacedæmonians at Thermopylæ, and slew their king; that he made himself master of Athens, totally destroying it, and reducing all those Athenians to slavery who did not escape by flight; and that finally he returned to Asia, after having imposed a tribute on the Greeks. It is evident that this narrative is false; but it is not impossible, indeed it is very probable, that the king said this to the Asiatic nations," &c.—*Larcher.*

4 *Nothing human.*]—θνητον εον.—Valcnaer does not approve this reading. Surely, says he, the domestic pigeons, which we know were used for the purpose of conveying intelligence very anciently, travelled much faster. He therefore proposes to read ανδρηιον or ανθρωπηιον, human. Larcher replies to this, by saying, "that it is not probable that pigeons were used in the great roads where public posts were established, but rather in routs difficult of access for horses." This observation has no great weight; it is more to the purpose that he refers the reader to an expression of Herodotus, in the first book, where he calls the horse, παντων των θνητων το ταχιστον. I nevertheless prefer the conjecture of Valcnaer.

The regularity and swiftness of the Roman posts cannot fail of exciting the admiration of all who attentively consider the subject; they are thus excellently described by Gibbon.

"The advantage of receiving the earliest intelligence, and of conveying their orders with celerity, induced the emperors to establish, throughout their extensive dominions, the regular institution of posts. Houses were every where erected at the distance only of five or six miles; each of them was constantly provided with forty horses, and by the help of these relays, it was easy to travel a hundred miles in a day along the Roman roads." Mr. Gibbon adds in a note the following anecdote:

"In the time of Theodosius, Cesarius, a magistrate of high rank, went post from Antioch to Constantinople. He began his journey at night, was in Cappadocia (165 miles from Antioch) the ensuing evening, and arrived at Constantinople the sixth day about noon. The whole distance was 725 Roman, or 665 English miles." See also *Libanius Orat.* 22, and the *Itineraria*, p. 572.—581.

The mode adopted by Cyrus, as described by Xenophon, did not essentially vary from this of the Romans—*T.*

The first messenger delivers his business to the second, the second to the third, as the torch is handed about among the Greeks at the feast of Vulcan. This mode of conveying intelligence the Persians call Angereion.

XCIX. On the arrival of the first messenger at Susa, informing them that Xerxes was master of Athens, such universal transport prevailed, that the Persians strewed their public roads with myrtle, burned perfumes, and all were engaged in religious or private festivals; but the intelligence of the second messenger excited universal sorrow; they tore their clothes,[5] wept and mourned aloud, imputing all the blame to Mardonius. They were not so solicitous about the loss of their fleet, as anxious for the person of their king; nor were their disquietudes calmed but by the arrival of Xerxes himself.

C. Mardonius observed that his defeat at sea greatly afflicted Xerxes, and he suspected that he meditated to fly from Athens: he began therefore to be alarmed on his own account, thinking that as he had been the instrument of the king's commencing hostilities with Greece, he might be made the object of his vengeance. He thought it therefore preferable to attempt again the subjection of Greece, or in some great effort meet an honourable death. His idea of conquering Greece prevailed, and after some deliberation, he thus addressed the king: "I would not, Sir," said he, "have you much afflict yourself concerning what has happened, nor suppose that your reputation has sustained from it any considerable wound. The ultimate success of our attempts does not depend[6] on ships, but on our troops and horses. They, who from their late advantages, suppose all contest at an end, will not presume to leave their vessels to oppose you, nor will the Greeks on the continent dare to meet you in the field. They who did so, suffered. With your permission, therefore, our future exertions shall be made in the Peloponnese: or if you please for a while to suspend your activity, it may securely be done: be not however disheartened, it is not possible that the Greeks should be finally able to elude the vengeance due to them, or to avoid being made your slaves. What I have recommended, you will find to merit your attention; but if you are determined to return with your army, I have other advice to offer. Suffer not, O king, the Persians to become the ridicule of the Greeks; you will not find us to have been the instruments of your losses; you have never seen us cowardly or base. If the Phenicians, Egyptians, Cyprians, or Cilicians have behaved themselves ill, it ought not to be imputed to us: if the Persians therefore have not merited your censure, vouchsafe to listen to my counsel; if you shall not think proper to continue with us yourself, return to your country, and take with you the majority of your forces. Leave me here three hundred thousand chosen men, and I doubt not but I shall reduce Greece to your obedience."

CI. Xerxes, on hearing this, found his vexation suspended, and his tranquillity restored. He told Mardonius, that after taking advice on the subject he would give him an answer. Having consulted with some Persians whom he assembled, he determined to send for Artemisia, whose superior wisdom he had before had reason to approve. On her arrival, Xerxes ordered his counsellors and guards to retire, whilst he thus addressed her: "Mardonius advises me to continue here, and make an attempt on the Peloponnese, urging that my Persians and land forces have not been at all accessory to the injuries we have sustained, of which they desire to give me future testimony. If I should disapprove of this, he himself engages, with three hundred thousand troops, to stay and reduce Greece to my power, recommending me to retire with the rest of the army to my native country. Do you therefore, who with so much wisdom endeavoured to dissuade me from risking an engagement at sea, tell me, which of these measures you would have me pursue."

CII. The reply of Artemisia was to the following purport: "In a situation like the present, O king, it is not easy to say what measures will be best; but as far as I am able to discern, I would recommend your return. Let

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3 *Tore their clothes.*]—This was a custom of the Orientals, of which various examples occur in scripture.—See also the Persæ of Æschylus, 53, &c.—*Larcher.*

6 *Does not depend.*]—The following paraphrase on this speech of Mardonius by Mr. Glover, is one of the best passages in his poem:

Be not discouraged, sovereign of the world;
Not oars, not sails and timber can decide
Thy enterprise sublime. In shifting strife,
By winds and billows govern'd, may contend
The sons of traffic; on the solid plain
The generous steed and soldier: they alone
Thy glory must establish, where no swell
Of fickle floods, nor breath of casual gales
Assist the skilful coward, and control
By nature's wanton but resistless might
The brave man's arm, &c. *Athenaid.*

Mardonius remain here with the number of forces he requires, as it is his own voluntary proposal with these to effect the accomplishment of your wishes. If he shall subjugate the country, and effect what he promises, the glory will be yours,[1] for your troops must be his instruments; if he should be disappointed and vanquished, while you are safe, and your family and fortunes secure, no great calamity can ensue. The Greeks, as long as you shall survive, and your family remain, must be involved in many contests. If Mardonius shall fail in his attempts, and perish, the Greeks will have no great advantage to boast from the misfortunes or death of one of your slaves. You have burned Athens, which was the proposed object of your expedition, and may therefore return without dishonour."

CIII. Xerxes was delighted with advice so consonant to the secret wishes of his heart; for my own part, I am of opinion his terror was so great, that no persuasions could have prevailed on him to stay. Artemisia was dismissed most graciously from his presence, and directed to retire with the royal children to Ephesus, for some of the king's natural sons had accompanied him.

CIV. Hermotimus, a favourite eunuch of the king, and a Pedasian by birth, was sent to take care of them. The Pedasians[2] inhabit the district beyond Halicarnassus. It is affirmed of this people, that as often as they are menaced by any calamity, the chin of the priestess of Minerva produces a large beard; an incident which has happened twice among them.

CV. This Hermotimus revenged himself on account of the injury he had formerly sustained, with a severity, as far as I can learn, without example. He had been taken captive, and sold as a slave to a man of Chios,[3] named Panionius, who maintained himself by the most infamous of all traffic: whenever he met with any youths whose persons were handsome, he castrated them, and carrying them to Sardis or Ephesus, disposed of them at a prodigious price. Among the Barbarians, eunuchs[4] are esteemed of

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1 *The glory will be yours.*]—Thus in subsequent times did the emperors of Rome obtain ovations, triumphs, and an artificial reputation from the successful labours of their more bold and hardy lieutenants. "Under the commonwealth," says Mr. Gibbon, "a triumph could only be obtained by the general who was authorized to take the auspices in the name of the people. By an exact consequence drawn from this principle of policy and religion, the triumph was reserved to the emperor; and his most successful lieutenants were satisfied with some marks of distinction, which, under the name of triumphal honours, were invented in their favour." Speaking of the emperors' lieutenants, in another place, he says, "they received and held their commissions at the will of a superior, to whose auspicious influence the merit of their actions was legally attributed."—*T.*

2 *The Pedasians, &c.*]—See book i. chapt. 175. Valcnaer is of opinion that the whole of this paragraph to the end of the chapter is spurious. It certainly has no business here, and if essential at all, would have more properly appeared in book vi. chap. 20. The strongest argument against its being genuine is, that Strabo seems to have known nothing of it; speaking as if he had only seen the passage in the first book, to which I have referred the reader.—*T.*

3 *Chios.*]—Chios, and the islands in its vicinity, were famous for their purple. It was to Chios that Alexander, when he was revelling in Persia, sent for materials to clothe himself and his attendants with purple robes. It was produced from the purpura, called in Maccabees, chap. iv. verse 23, the purple of the sea.

"Then Judas returned to spoil the tents, where they got much gold and silver, and blue silk, *and purple of the sea*, and great riches."

See also Ezekiel, chap. xxvii. where the prophet, enumerating the merchandise of Tyre, says, verse 7, "Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah was that which covered thee." By the isles of Elishah, I conceive the prophet to mean Lesbos, Tenedos, and the small islands near them. There were several species of the purpura, but the Pelagium and the Buccina were most valued.—See *Pliny*, l. ix.c. 33. From these two separately, or combined, were produced the three kinds of purple most esteemed by the ancients. One was called πορφυρεις, of a strong violet colour inclining to black; a second was called φοινικις, inclining to scarlet; a third αλουργις, azureor sky blue. Athenæus says, l. iii. c. 12, that the best and largest were found about Lesbos and the promontory of Lectus.

"By the discovery of cochineal," says Mr. Gibbon, "we far surpass the colours of antiquity. Their royal purple had a strong smell, and a dark cast, as deep as bull's blood. In Rome, this was restrained to the sacred person and palace of the emperor, and the penalties of treason were denounced against the ambitious subjects who dared to usurp the prerogative of the throne."—See *Gibbon*, vol. iii. 71. Statius in the following passage seems to distinguish betwixt the deep and the bluish purple:

Quis purpura sæpe
Œbalis et Tyrii moderatur livet aheni.—*Syl.* i. 2. 150

The best, or the Pelagia, were so called, because found in deeper waters.—See the *Schol. to Apollonius Rhodius*, l. i. v. 461, Εν βαθει της θαλασσης ευρισκεται. From this peculiarity of the purpura, the verb πορφυρισκω was used for to meditate *profoundly.*—*T.*

4 *Eunuchs.*]—Eunuchs were introduced in the courts of princes and the families of great men at a very early period, and of course became an important article of commerce. Black eunuchs appear to have been preferred, at least we find one in the court of Zedekiah.—See Jeremiah xxxviii. 7.

"Now when Ebed-Melech, the Ethiopian, one of the eunuchs which was in the king's house, heard that they had put Jeremiah in the dungeon," &c.

Black eunuchs are still an article of great luxury in the east, and seldom found but in the seraglio of the Grand Signior, and those of the Sultanas.—See Memoirs of Baron Tott, who represents their manners as always harsh and brutal.—See also *Harmer*, vol. iii. 328

greater value than other slaves, from the presumption of their superior fidelity. Hermotimus was one of the great many, whom Panionius had thus treated. Hermotimus, however, could not be esteemed as altogether unfortunate: he was sent from Sardis to the king as one among other presents, and in process of time became the favourite of Xerxes above all the other eunuchs.

CVI. When the king left Sardis to proceed towards Athens, this Hermotimus went on some business to a place in Mysia, called Atarneus, inhabited by some Chians: he there met and remembered Panionius. He addressed him with much seeming kindness; he first enumerated the many benefits he enjoyed through him, and then proceeded to assure him, that if he would come to him with all his family, he should receive the most convincing testimony of his gratitude. Panionius listened to the offer with great delight, and soon went to Hermotimus, with his wife and children. When the eunuch had got them in his power, he thus addressed Panionius: "The means by which you obtain a livelihood is the most infamous that can be conceived. How could I, or any of my ancestors, so have injured you or your family as to justify your reducing me from manhood to my present contemptible state? could you imagine that your crimes would escape the observation of the gods, who inspiring me with the fallacy I practised, have thus delivered you into my hands? Abandoned as you are, you can have no reason to complain of the vengeance which I mean to inflict on you." After these reproaches, he produced the four sons of Panionius, and obliged the father to castrate them himself: when this was done, he compelled the sons to do the same to their father. Such was[5] the punishment of Panionius, and the revenge of Hermotimus.

CVII. Xerxes having sent his children to Ephesus, under the care of Artemisia, commissioned Mardonius to select from the army the number that he wished, and desired him to make his deeds correspond with his words. The above happened during the day; but on the approach of night, the king commanded the leaders of his fleet to retire from Phalerum, towards the Hellespont, with the greatest expedition, to protect the bridge and secure his passage. The Barbarians set sail, but when they approached Zoster, mistaking the little promontories which rise above that coast for ships, they fled a great way. Discovering their error, they afterwards formed, and proceeded in a regular body.

CVIII. In the morning, the Greeks perceiving the land forces of the enemy on their former post, supposed their fleet to be still at Phalerum, and prepared for a second engagement. When informed of their retreat, they commenced a pursuit with the greatest eagerness. Proceeding as far as Andros without being able to discover them, they went on shore on the island to hold a consultation. Themistocles was of opinion that they should sail through the midst of the islands, continuing their pursuit, and endeavour to reach the Hellespont, and destroy the bridge. This was opposed by Eurybiades, who thought that the measure of breaking down the bridge would not fail to involve Greece in the greatest calamity. It was not probable, he urged, that if the Persian was compelled to stay in Europe he would remain inactive; if he did, his army would be in danger of suffering from famine, unable either to return to Asia, or advance his affairs: but if he should be earnest in the prosecution of any enterprise, he would have great probability of success, as it was much to be feared, that most of the cities and powers of Europe would either be reduced by him, or surrender previously to his arms; besides this, he would have a constant supply of corn from the annual produce of Greece: as therefore it was not likely that the Persian, after his late naval defeat, would wish to stay in Europe, it was better that his escape to his own country should be permitted. Here he added, it will be afterwards advisable to prosecute hostilities. In this opinion the other leaders of the Peloponnese acquiesced.

CIX. Themistocles seeing his advice to sail immediately to the Hellespont overruled by the majority, addressed himself next to the Athenians. They were more particularly exasperated by the escape of the enemy, and had determined to continue the pursuit to the Hellespont, even if unsupported by the rest of the allies. He spoke to them as follows: "I have

Eunuchs are found in the catalogue of eastern commodities, which, about the time of Alexander Severus, were made subject to the payment of duties; and Mr. Gibbon observes, that the use and value of these effeminate slaves gradually rose with the decline of the empire.—*T.*

5 *Such was.*]—

Qui primus pueris genitalia membra recidit
Vulnera quæ fecit debuit ipse pati.

Ovid. Amor. l. ii. c. 3.

myself been witness of similar incidents, and I have frequently heard it affirmed by others, that men reduced to the extremest ebb of fortune have by some succeeding efforts retrieved their affairs, and made amends for their former want of vigour. We Athenians have enjoyed this favourable vicissitude; but although we have thus happily defended ourselves and our country, and have repulsed such a host of foes, we refrain from the pursuit of a flying enemy; not that we must impute our success to our own exertions: we must thank the gods and the heroes who would not suffer an individual marked by his impiety and crimes to be the tyrant of Asia and of Europe; a man who made no discrimination betwixt things sacred and profane; who consumed by fire the shrines of the gods; who dared to inflict lashes on the sea, and throw chains into its bosom. To us the present moment is auspicious, let us therefore attend to the interest of ourselves and families; and as the Barbarian is effectually expelled, let us severally repair our dwellings, and cultivate our lands. In the spring we will sail to Ionia and the Hellespont." By this conduct, Themistocles intended to conciliate the friendship of the Persian, that in case of his becoming unpopular with his countrymen he might be secure of a place of refuge. The event proved his sagacity.[1]

CX. The Athenians, deluded by Themistocles, assented to his proposal; they had before thought highly of his wisdom, and the present instance of his prudence and discretion induced their readier compliance with his wishes. The Athenians had no sooner agreed in form to what he recommended, than he despatched a bark with confidential servants to inform the king of their determination, who were not to be prevailed on even by torture to reveal what was intrusted to them; among these was the slave Sicinnus.[2] On their arrival at Attica, Sicinnus left his companions in their vessel, and hastened to the king, whom he thus addressed: "Themistocles, son of Neocles, and leader of the Athenians, of all the confederates the most wise and the most valiant, has sent me to inform you, that willing to render you kindness, he has prevented the Greeks from pursuing you to the Hellespont, when it was their inclination to do so,[3] in order that they might break down your bridge; you may now, therefore, retire there in security." Saying this, Sicinnus returned.

CXI. The Greeks having thus declined to pursue the Barbarians, with the view of breaking down the bridge at the Hellespont, laid close siege to Andros, and determined totally to destroy it. These were the first of the islanders who had refused the solicitations of Themistocles for money. He had urged to them, that they were impelled to make this application by two powerful divinities, persuasion and necessity, who could not possibly be refused. The Andrians replied, that Athens might reasonably expect to be great and prosperous from the protection of such powerful deities, but that their island was of itself poor and barren, and had withal unalterably attached to it two formidable deities, poverty and weakness; that they, therefore, could not be expected to supply them with money: the strength of Athens, they added, could never be greater in proportion than their weakness. In consequence of this refusal and reply they were now besieged.

CXII. In the meanwhile the avarice of Themistocles appeared to be insatiable. He made applications to all the other islands also for money, using the same emissaries and language as before to the Andrians. In case of refusal, he threatened to bring against them the forces of Greece, and utterly destroy them. He by these means obtained from the Carystians and Parians an enormous sum of money.

1 *The event.*]—It is a singular circumstance which I do not remember ever to have seen remarked by any writer, that one of the motives which made Atossa urge on Darius to hostilities with Greece was, that she might have some Ionian female slaves, who were celebrated for their graces and accomplishments.—See Horace:

> Motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
> Matura virgo, et fingitur artubus
> Jam nunc, &c.

And the escape of Themistocles to Asia, was in the habit of an Ionian female slave, concealed in a litter, by which means he with difficulty eluded the fury of his incensed countrymen.—*T.*

2 *Sicinnus.*]—Plutarch says it was one of the king's eunuchs, found among the prisoners, named Arraces. But as Larcher justly remarks, Themistocles was much too wise to send a person of this description, who, if possessed of the smallest sagacity, could have forewarned Xerxes of the artifice of the Athenian commander.—*T.*

3 *Inclination to do so.*]—Plutarch relates the matter differently: he makes Themistocles inform Xerxes, that the Greeks, after their victory, had resolved to sail to the Hellespont, and break down their bridge; but that Themistocles, zealous to preserve him, urged him to hasten to that sea, and pass over to Asia. In the mean time he raised perplexities and embarrassments among the allies, which retarded their pursuit.—*Larcher.*

These people hearing that the Andrians had been distressed, on account of their attachment to the Medes, and being informed that Themistocles was the first in rank and influence of all the Grecian leaders, were terrified into compliance. Whether any of the other islands gave him money or not, I will not take upon me to decide, but I am inclined to believe that some of them did. The Carystians, however, did not by their compliance escape the menaced calamity, whilst the Carians, by the effect of their bribes on Themistocles, avoided being made the objects of hostilities. In this manner Themistocles, beginning with the Andrians, extorted money from the islanders without the knowledge of the other leaders.

CXIII. The land forces of Xerxes, after continuing on their former station, a few days after the battle of Salamis moved towards Bœotia, following the track by which they had come. Mardonius thought proper to accompany the king, both because the season of the year was improper for any farther military exertions, and because he preferred wintering in Thessaly, intending to advance to the Peloponnese on the commencement of the spring. On their arrival in Thessaly, the first care of Mardonius was to select, in preference to all the Persians, those called the Immortals, excepting only their leader Hydarnes, who refused to leave the person of the king. Of the other Persians he chose the Cuirassiers, and the body of a thousand horse: to these he added all the forces, horse and foot, of the Medes, Sacæ, Bactrians, and Indians. From the rest of the allies he selected only those who were distinguished by their advantages of person, or who had performed some remarkable exploit. He took also the greater part of those Persians who wore collars and bracelets;[4] and next to those the Medes, inferior to the Persians in force, but not in number. The aggregate of these troops, including the cavalry, was three hundred thousand men.

CXIV. Whilst Mardonius was employed in selecting his army, and Xerxes was still in Thessaly, an oracle was addressed to the Lacedæmonians from Delphi, requiring them to demand compensation of Xerxes for the death of Leonidas, and to accept of what he should offer. A messenger was instantly despatched from Sparta, who came up with the army, the whole of which was still in Thessaly, and being introduced to Xerxes, thus addressed him: "King of the Medes, the Lacedæmonians and Heraclidæ of Sparta,[5] claim of you a compensation for the death of their king, whom you slew whilst he was defending Greece." The king laughed at this, and for some time returned no answer; till at length, turning to Mardonius, who stood near him, "This man," says he, "shall make you a becoming retribution." The herald receiving this answer departed.

CXV. Xerxes, leaving Mardonius in Thessaly, hastened towards the Hellespont. Within the space of forty-five days he arrived at the place of passage with a very inconsiderable number of troops. But wherever these troops came, without any distinction, they consumed all the corn of the inhabitants, and when this failed, they fed upon the natural produce of the earth, stripping wild and cultivated trees alike of their bark and leaves, to such extremity of famine were they come. To this a pestilence succeeded, which with the dysentery destroyed numbers in their march. Xerxes distributed his sick through the cities as he passed, recommending the care and maintenance of them to the inhabitants. Some were left in Thessaly, others at Siris in Pæonia, others at Macedonia. At this last place, on his march to Greece, Xerxes had left the sacred chariot of Jupiter, which he did not find on his return. The Pæonians had given it to the Thracians; but when Xerxes inquired for it again, they told him that the mares, whilst feeding, had been driven away by the people of the higher Thrace, who lived near the source of the Strymon.

CXVI. Here the king of Bisaltica and Crestonia, a Thracian, did a most unnatural action. Refusing to submit to Xerxes, he had retired to the higher parts of mount Rhodope, and had commanded his sons not to serve against Greece. They, either despising their father, or curious to see the war, had joined the Persian army. There were six of them, and they all returned safe, but their father ordered their eyes to be put out; such was the reward they received.

CXVII. The Persians, leaving Thrace,

4 *Collars and bracelets.*]—As marks of royal favour, and rewards for service. See an account of the royal gifts of Persia, in a note on the first book.

5 *Heraclidæ of Sparta.*]—Herodotus expresses himself thus, to distinguish the kings of Lacedæmon from those of Argos, and Macedonia, who also were Heraclidæ, that is to say, of the race of Hercules.—*Larcher.*

came to the passage, where they eagerly crowded into their vessels to cross to Abydos. The bridge of vessels was no more, a tempest had broken and dispersed it. Here meeting with provisions in greater abundance than they had enjoyed during their march, they indulged themselves so intemperately, that this, added to the change of water, destroyed a great number of those who remained; the rest with Xerxes arrived at Sardis.[1]

CXVIII. There is also another story.—It is said that Xerxes, leaving Athens, came to a city called Eion, on the banks of the Strymon. Hence he proceeded no farther by land, but intrusting the conduct of his forces to Hydarnes, with orders to march them to the Hellespont, he went on board a Phenician vessel to cross over into Asia. After he had embarked, a heavy and tempestuous wind set in from the lake, which, on account of the great number of Persians on board, attendant upon Xerxes, made the situation of the vessel extremely dangerous. The king, in an emotion of terror, inquired aloud of the pilot if he thought they were safe? "By no means," was the answer, "unless we could be rid of some of this multitude. Upon this Xerxes exclaimed, "Persians, let me now see which of you has an affection for his prince; my safety it seems depends on you." As soon as he had spoken, they first bowed themselves before him, and then leaped into the sea.[2] The vessel being thus lightened, Xerxes was safely landed in Asia. As soon as he got on shore, he rewarded the pilot with a golden crown for preserving the life of the king; but as he had caused so many Persians to perish he cut off his head.

CXIX. This last account of the retreat of Xerxes seems to deserve but little credit for many reasons, but particularly from this catastrophe of the Persians who accompanied the king. If Xerxes really made such a speech to the pilot, I cannot hesitate a moment to suppose, that the king would have ordered his attendants, who were not only Persians, but men of the highest rank, to descend into the hold of the ship, and would have thrown into the sea as many Phenician rowers as there were Persians on board. But the truth is, that the king with the residue of his army, returned toward Asia by land.

CXX. Of this there is a yet stronger proof. It is well known that Xerxes, on his return to Asia, came to Abdera, with the inhabitants of which he made a treaty of friendship, presenting them with a golden scymitar, and a tiara richly embroidered. The Abderites assert what does not to me appear probable, that with them, Xerxes, for the first time after his departure from Athens, pulled off his robes, as not being till then released from alarm. Abdera is much nearer the Hellespont than Strymon and Eion, where it is said he went on board.

CXXI. The Greeks not succeeding in their attempts upon Andros, attacked Carystus, and after wasting its lands returned to Salamis. Here their first care was to set apart as sacred to the gods the first fruits of their success, among which were three Phenician triremes. One of these was deposited upon the isthmus, where it continued within my memory; a second was placed at Sunium; the third was consecrated to Ajax, and reserved at Salamis. They then proceeded to a division of the plunder, sending the choicest to Delphi. Here a statue was erected twelve cubits high, having in its hand the beak of a ship:[3] it was placed on the same spot where stands a statue in gold of Alexander of Macedon.

CXXII. After these offerings had been presented at Delphi, it was inquired publicly of the deity, in the name of all the Greeks, whether what he had received was perfect and satisfactory to him. He replied, that from the Greeks in general it was, but not from the Æginetæ, from whom he claimed a farther mark of their gratitude, as they had principally

1 Mr. Richardson, who rejects altogether the Grecian account of Xerxes, and his invasion of Greece, finally expresses himself in these strong terms.

"To sum up all: the expedition of Xerxes, upon the most moderate scale of the Greek writers, seems to be inconsistent with probability, and the ordinary power of man.—It is all upon stilts; every step we take is upon romantic ground: nothing seems wanting but a few genii, to make it in every respect an exceeding good Arabian tale."—*Dissertations*, 8vo. 316.

2 *Leaped into the sea.*]—An anecdote not very unlike this, and particularly characteristic of the spirit of British sailors, is related of James the second, when duke of York. He was by some accident, in imminent danger of being lost at sea, but getting into the ship's boat, with a select number of attendants, he, though with extreme difficulty, got safe to shore. The honest crew, when they saw his highness landed on the beach, gave him three cheers, and in a few minutes all went down, and perished.—*T.*

3 *Beak of a ship.*]—The first naval triumph of Rome was commemorated in a similar manner. A pyramid, or rather trophy, was erected in the forum, composed of the beaks of ships taken from the enemy.—*T.*

been distinguished at the battle of Salamis. The people of Ægina, on hearing this, consecrated to the divinity three golden stars, which were fixed upon a brazen mast, in the angle near the cistern of Crœsus.

CXXIII. After the division of the plunder, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, to confer the reward of valour upon him who should be judged to have been most distinguished during the war. On their arrival here, the Grecian leaders severally inscribed their opinions, which they deposited upon the altar of Neptune. They were to declare whom they thought the first, and whom the second in merit; each individual inscribed his own name, as claiming the first reward; but a great majority of them united in declaring Themistocles deserving the second. Whilst each, therefore, had only his own suffrage for the first, Themistocles had the second place awarded him, by a great majority.

CXXIV. Whilst the Greeks severally returned to their homes, avoiding from envy to decide the question for which they had purposely assembled, Themistocles was not only esteemed, but celebrated through Greece as the first in sagacity and wisdom. Not having been honoured by those with whom he conquered at Salamis, he retired for this purpose to Lacedæmon: here he was splendidly entertained,[4] and honourably distinguished. The prize of personal prowess was assigned to Eurybiades; but that of wisdom and skill to Themistocles, and each was presented with an olive crown. To the latter they also gave the handsomest chariot in Sparta; they heaped praises upon him, and when he returned, three hundred chosen Spartans, of those who are called the knights,[5] were appointed to attend him as far as Tegea. I know no other example of the Spartans conducting any person from their city.

CXXV. On his return from Lacedæmon to Athens, Timodemus of Aphidnæ, a man chiefly remarkable for his implacable enmity against Themistocles, imputed to him his visit to Sparta as a public crime. The honours, he said, which he had received at Lacedæmon, were not bestowed out of respect to him, but to Athens. Whilst he was continuing his invectives, "Friend," says Themistocles, "the matter is thus; if I had been a Belbinite,[6] I should not have been thus distinguished at Sparta, nor would you, although an Athenian."

CXXVI. At this juncture, Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, who had always had great reputation among his countrymen, and particularly from his conduct at Platea, accompanied the king with a detachment of sixty thousand men of the army which Mardonius had selected. When Xerxes had passed the Hellespont, and was arrived in Asia, Artabazus returned, and encamped near Pallene. Mardonius had taken up his winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia, and as he did not wish to have his camp enlarged by this additional number, Artabazus thought it expedient to take the opportunity now before him of chastising the rebellious Potidæans. When the king was gone, and the Persian fleet had fled from Salamis, this people openly revolted from the Barbarians; they of Pallene had done the same.

CXXVII. Artabazus therefore laid siege to Potidæa: distrusting the fidelity of the Olynthians, he attacked them also. Their city was at this time possessed by the Bottiæans, whom the Macedonians had driven from the gulf of Therma. Artabazus having taken their city, put the inhabitants to death in a neighbouring marsh. The government of the place he gave to Critobulus of Torone: the Chalcidians thus became masters of Olynthus.

CXXVIII. Having taken Olynthus, Artabazus applied with greater ardour to the siege of Potidæa. He contrived to induce Timoxenus, the chief of the Scionæans, to betray the town into his hands. In what manner their correspondence commenced I am not able to say, I can only speak of the event. Whenever they

4 *Splendidly entertained.*]—This was the more remarkable, and must have been a proof of the extraordinary regard in which the character of Themistocles was held, as it was contrary to the genius of the Spartans, and the inveterate prejudices of that people. While at Athens there were sometimes known to be ten thousand foreigners of different nations, all of whom were treated with hospitality and attention, strangers were discouraged from visiting Sparta, and if ever they ventured there, were considered as spies.—*T.*

5 *The knights.*]—The Greek word is ἱππεῖς: it nevertheless may fairly be doubted whether they served on horseback, or whether it was not a term of honour only. It is certain the country of Lacedæmon was ill adapted for cavalry; that Xenophon calls the few they had πονηρότατοι; and that none but those who were wealthy possessed horses See Larcher's elaborate note at this word.—*T.*

6 *Belbinite.*]—In the beginning of the chapter, Herodotus tells us that this man was of Aphidnæ.—Wesseling thinks that nevertheless he might be a Belbinite, though when made a citizen of Athens, he was enrolled in the tribe of Aphidnæ.—*T.*

wanted to communicate with each other, a letter was fixed to an arrow, and made to serve as wings, which was then shot to a place agreed upon. But the betrayer of Potidæa was ultimately detected: Artabazus directed an arrow to a concerted place, but it deviated from its direction, and wounded a Potidæan in the shoulder. A crowd, as is usual on such occasions, surrounded the wounded man, who seeing the letter connected with the arrow, carried it immediately to the magistrates, with whom their Pallenian allies were present. The letter was read, and the traitor discovered: it was not, however, thought proper to inflict the deserved punishment on Timoxenus, out of regard to his country, and that the Scionæans might not in future be stigmatized as traitors: but it was in this manner that the treachery of Timoxenus became known.

CXXIX. Artabazus had been now three months before Potidæa, when there happened a great overflowing of the sea, which continued for a considerable time. The Barbarians seeing the ground become a swamp, retired to Pallene: they had already performed two-fifths of their march, and had three more before them, when the sea burst beyond its usual limits with so vast an inundation, that the inhabitants, who had often witnessed similar incidents, represent this as without parallel. They who could not swim were drowned; they who could, were killed by the Potidæans from their boats. This inundation, and the consequent destruction of the Persians, the Potidæans thus explain.—The Barbarians, they say, had impiously profaned the temple and shrine of Neptune, situate in their suburbs, who may therefore be considered as the author of their calamity, which to me appears probable. With the few who escaped, Artabazus joined the army of Mardonius in Thessaly, and this was the fate of those who conducted Xerxes to the Hellespont.

CXXX. The remainder of the fleet of Xerxes, which flying from Salamis, arrived in Asia, after passing over the king and his forces from the Chersonese to Abydos, wintered at Cyma. In the commencement of the spring it assembled at Samos, where some other vessels had continued during the winter. This armament was principally manned by Persians and Medes, and was under the conduct of Mardontes, the son of Bagæus, and Artayntes, son of Artachæus, whose uncle Amitres had been joined to him as his colleague. As the alarm of their former defeat was not yet subsided, they did not attempt to advance farther westward, nor indeed did any one impel them to do so. Their vessels, with those of the Ionians, amounted to three hundred, and they stationed themselves at Samos, to secure the fidelity of Ionia. They did not think it probable that the Greeks would penetrate into Ionia, but would be satisfied with defending their country. They were confirmed in this opinion, as the Greeks, after the battle of Salamis, never attempted to pursue them, but were content to retire also themselves. With respect to their affairs at sea, the Persians were sufficiently depressed; but they expected that Mardonius would do great things by land. Remaining on their station at Samos, they consulted how they might annoy the enemy, and they anxiously attended to the progress and affairs of Mardonius.

CXXXI. The approach of the spring, and the appearance of Mardonius in Thessaly, roused the Greeks. Their land army was not yet got together, but their fleet, consisting of a hundred and ten ships, was already at Ægina, under the command of Leutychides. He was descended in a right line from Menares, Agesilaus, Hippocratidas, Leutychides, Anaxilaus, Archidamus, Anaxandrides, Theopompus, Nicander, Charillus, Eunomus, Polydectes, Prytanes, Euryphon, Procles, Aristodemus, Aristomachus, Cleodæus, Hyllus, and lastly from Hercules. He was of the second royal family, and all his ancestors, except the two named after Leutychides, had been kings of Sparta. The Athenians were commanded by Xanthippus, son of Ariphon.

CXXXII. When the fleet of the Greeks had arrived at Ægina, the same individuals who had before been at Sparta to entreat the assistance of that people to deliver Ionia, arrived amongst the Greeks. Herodotus,[1] the son of Basilides, was with them: they were in all seven, and had together concerted the death of Strattes, tyrant of Chios. Their plot having

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1 *Herodotus.*]—This seems anciently to have been a very common name. Fabricius, in his Bibliotheca Græca, gives a long catalogue of eminent persons who bore the name of Herodotus. I will mention some of them.

Herodotus, brother of Democritus, spoken of by Ælian, V. H. iv. 20. Herodotus, a comedian, in great favour with king Antiochus, as Athenæus asserts, book i. 4. Herodotus, a friend of Epicurus; see Laertius, b. x. sect. 4. Herodotus the musician; Herodotus, a Lycian, commended by Athenæus, l. iii. with many others.

been discovered by one of the accomplices, the other six had withdrawn themselves to Sparta, and now came to Ægina, to persuade the Greeks to enter Ionia: they were induced, though not without difficulty, to advance as far as Delos. All beyond this the Greeks viewed as full of danger, as well because they were ignorant of the country, as because they supposed the enemy's forces were in all these parts strong and numerous: Samos they considered as not less remote than the pillars of Hercules. Thus the Barbarians were kept by their apprehensions from advancing beyond Samos, and the Greeks, notwithstanding the solicitations of the Chians, would not move farther eastward than Delos. Their mutual alarm thus kept the two parties at an equal distance from each other.

CXXXIII. Whilst the Greeks thus moved to Delos, Mardonius, who had wintered in Thessaly, began to break up his quarters. His first step was to send an European, whose name was Mys, to the different oracles, ordering him to use his endeavours, and consult them all. What it was that he wished to learn from them I am unable to say, for I have never heard; I should, however, suppose that he only intended to consult them on his present affairs.

CXXXIV. It is certain that this man went to Lebadia, and by means of a native of the country, whom he bribed to his purpose, descended to the cave of Trophonius; he went also to the oracle of Abæ in Phocis; he then proceeded to Thebes, where with the same ceremonies as are practised in Olympia, he consulted the Ismenian Apollo; afterwards he obtained permission by his gold, of some stranger, but not of a Theban, to sleep in the temple of Amphiaraus. No Theban is here permitted to consult the oracle; for when Amphiaraus had formerly submitted to their choice, whether they would have him for their diviner, or their ally, they preferred having him as the latter. On this account no Theban is allowed to sleep in this temple.

CXXXV. According to the account given me by the Thebans, a remarkable prodigy at this time happened. Mys the European having visited all the oracles, came to the temple of Apollo Ptous. This, though so called, belongs to the Thebans; it is beyond the lake of Copais, at the declivity of a mountain near Acræphia.[4] When this Mys arrived here, he was attended by three persons of the place, appointed for the express purpose of writing down the answer of the oracle. The priestess immediately made reply to him in a barbarous language,[5] which filled those who were present, and who expected the answer to be given in Greek, with astonishment. Whilst his attendants remained in great perplexity, Mys snatched the tablets from their hands, and wrote down the reply of the priestess, which, as afterwards appeared, was in the Carian tongue: having done this he returned to Thessaly.

CXXXVI. As soon as the oracular declarations had been conveyed to Mardonius, he sent Alexander the Macedonian, son of Amyntas, ambassador to Athens. His choice of him was directed from his being connected with the Persians by ties of consanguinity. Bubares, a Persian, had married Gygæa, sister of Alexander, and daughter of Amyntas: by her he had a son, who after his grandfather, by the mother's side, was called also Amyntas, to whom the king had presented Alabanda, a city of Phrygia. Mardonius was farther influenced in employing Alexander, from his being a man of a munificent and hospitable spirit. For these reasons he deemed him the most likely to conciliate the Athenians, who were represented to him as a valiant and numerous people, and who he understood had principally contributed to the defeats which the Persians had sustained by sea. He reasonably presumed, that if he could prevail on them to unite their forces with his own, he might easily become master of the sea. His superiority by land was in his opinion superior to all resistance, and as the oracles had probably advised him to make an alliance with the Athenians, he hoped by these means effectually to subdue the Greeks.

CXXXVII. Attending to this, he sent to Athens Alexander, descended in the seventh degree from Perdiccas, whose manner of obtaining the throne of Macedonia I shall here relate:—Three brothers, Gavanes, Æropus, and Perdiccas, sons of Temenus, fled on some occasion from Argos to Illyrium, from whence retiring to the higher parts of Macedonia, they came to Lebæa. Here they engaged in the

4 *Acræphia.*]—From this place Apollo had the name of Acræphius.—*T.*

5 *Barbarous language.*]—See chapter 19.

service of the king, in different menial employments: one had the care of his horses, another of the cattle, the third and youngest, of the sheep. In remoter times, the families even of kings had but little money,[1] and it was the business of the queen herself to cook for her husband.[2] When the bread prepared by the younger domestic, Perdiccas, was baked, she always observed that it became twice as big as before: this she at length communicated to her husband. The king immediately considered the incident as a prodigy, and as foreboding some extraordinary event. He therefore sent for the brothers, and commanded them to leave his territories. They told him it was but reasonable that they should first receive what was due to them. Upon this the king answered, as if heaven-struck, "I give you this sun (the light of which then came through the chimney) as proper wages for you." Gavanes and Æropus, the two elder brothers, on hearing this, were much astonished, but the younger one exclaimed, "We accept, O king, what you offer us:" Then taking the sword, for he had one with him, he made a circular mark with it upon that part of the ground on which the sun shone, and having three several times received the light upon his bosom, departed with his brothers.

CXXXVIII. One of the king's porters informed him of what the young man had done, and of his probable design in accepting what was offered. The king was much incensed, and immediately despatched some horsemen to kill them. In this country is a river, near which the posterity of those men who were originally from Argos offer sacrifices as to their preserver. This, as soon as the Temenidæ had got to the opposite bank, swelled to so great a degree that the horsemen were unable to pass it. The Temenidæ, arriving at another district of Macedonia, fixed their residence near the gardens said to belong to Midas the son of Gordius. In these a species of rose grows naturally, having sixty leaves, and more than ordinary fragrance; here also, as the Macedonians relate, Silenus[3] was taken. Beyond this place is a mountain, called Bermion, which during the winter is inaccessible. The Temenidæ first settled here, and afterwards subdued the rest of Macedonia.

CXXXIX. From the above Perdiccas, Alexander was thus descended: He was the

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1 *Little money.*]—In the time of the Trojan war, the use of money was not known among the Greeks. Homer and Hesiod do not speak of gold and silver money; they express the value of things by saying they are worth so many oxen or sheep. They estimated the riches of a man by the number of his flocks, and that of a country by the abundance of its pastures, and the quantity of its metals. See the Iliad, vii. 466.—Pope's version:

> Each in exchange proportioned treasures gave,
> Some brass or iron, some an ox or slave.

Lucan attributes the invention of money (l. 6. v. 402.) to Itonus, king of Thessaly, and son of Deucalion: others to Ericthonius, king of Athens, who, as they say, was the son of Vulcan, and had been brought up by the daughters of Cecrops. Aglaosthenes (in Julius Pollux) gives the honour of this invention to the inhabitants of the island of Naxos. The more received opinion is, that Phidon, king of Argos, and contemporary with Lycurgus and Iphitus, first introduced the use of money in Ægina, to enable the people of Ægina to obtain a subsistence by commerce as their island was so barren.

Neither gold nor silver was permitted at Lacedæmon. According to Athenæus, they gave the widow of the king Polydonus, who reigned about 310 years before Lycurgus, a certain number of oxen to purchase a house. When Lysander plundered Athens, the Lacedæmonians began to have gold and silver, but only for public necessities, the use of it among individuals being forbidden on penalty of death.

Herodotus, l. i. c. 94, says that the Lydians were the first who coined gold and silver money, and used it in commerce.

The treasures of Crœsus contained gold and silver only in the mass. See Herodotus, b. vi. c. 125.

It does not appear that the Persians had money before the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes. See Herod. l. vi. 166.—l. ix. 40.

None of the ancient money of the Lydians, Persians, &c. is now to be seen: the most ancient of those preserved in cabinets are Greek, and of the Greek the oldest are those of Amyntas, grandfather of Alexander the Great.—*Bellanger.*

2 *Cook for her husband.*]—A shaik, who has the command of five hundred horse, does not disdain to saddle and bridle his own, nor to give him barley and chopped straw. In his tent his wife makes the coffee, kneads the dough, and superintends the dressing of his victuals: his daughters and kinswomen wash the linen, and go with pitchers on their heads, and veils over their faces, to draw water from fountains. These manners agree precisely with the descriptions in Homer, and the history of Abraham in Genesis.—*Volney.*

3 *Silenus.*]—Most authors affirm that he was a satyr: some confound the Sileni with the satyrs. Marsyas is called Silenus by some writers, and a satyr by others. There was certainly a difference betwixt them; the Sileni were the elder satyrs.—*Larcher.*

We learn from the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, l. iv. 460, that there was a people of Arabia, called Selenitæ. It has been said, that this name was taken by the Arcadians, to confront the vain boast of the Athenians; see book vii. I think that the name Sileni was assumed by the Arcadians before they began to dispute antiquity with the Athenians. A principal part of their possessions in Asia was called Salonum, and the cheese there made Caseus Salonites, words not unlike Silenus and Selenitæ. The name is preserved in Silenus, the usual companion of Pan.—*T.*

son of Amyntas, Amyntas was the son of Alcetas, Alcetas of Æropus, Æropus of Philip, Philip of Argæus, Argæus of Perdiccas, who obtained the kingdom.

CXL. When Alexander arrived at Athens, as deputed by Mardonius, he delivered the following speech: "Men of Athens, Mardonius informs you by me, that he has received a commission from the king of the following import: 'Whatever injuries the Athenians may have done me, I willingly forgive; return them therefore their country; let them add to it from any other they may prefer, and let them enjoy their own laws. If they will consent to enter into an alliance with me, you have my orders to rebuild all their temples which I have burned.' It will be my business to do all this, unless you prevent me: I will now give you my own sentiments:—What infatuation can induce you to continue your hostilities against a king to whom you can never be superior, and whom you cannot always resist: you already know the forces and exploits of Xerxes; neither can you be ignorant of the army under me. If you should even repel and conquer us, of which if you be wise you can indulge no hope, another army not inferior in strength will soon succeed ours. Do not, therefore, by endeavouring to render yourselves equal tó so great a king, risk not only the loss of your native country, but the security of your persons: accept, therefore, of our friendship, and avail yourselves of the present honourable opportunity of averting the indignation of Xerxes. —Be free, and let us mutually enter into a solemn alliance, without fraud or treachery. Hitherto, O Athenians, I have used the sentiments and language of Mardonius; for my own part it cannot be necessary to repeat what partiality I bear you, since you have experienced proofs of it before. Accept, therefore, the terms which Mardonius offers you: you cannot always continue your opposition to Xerxes; if I thought you could, you would not now have seen me. The power of the king is prodigious,[4] and extensive beyond that of any human being. If you shall refuse to accede to the advantageous proposals which are made you, I cannot but be greatly alarmed for your safety, who are so much more exposed to danger than the rest of the confederates, and who, possessing the region betwixt the two armies, must be involved in certain ruin. Let, then, my offers prevail with you as their importance merit, for to you alone of all the Greeks, the king forgives the injuries he has sustained, wishing to become your friend."

CXLI. The Lacedæmonians, having heard that this prince was gone to Athens to invite the Athenians to an alliance with the Persian, were exceedingly alarmed. They could not forget the oracle which foretold, that they with the rest of the Dorians, should be driven from the Peloponnese by a junction of the Medes with the Athenians, to whom, therefore, they lost no time in sending ambassadors. These were present at the Athenian council, for the Athenians had endeavoured to gain time, well knowing that the Lacedæmonians would learn that an ambassador was come to invite them to a confederacy with the Persians, and would consequently send deputies to be present on the occasion; they therefore deferred the meeting, that the Lacedæmonians might be present at the declaration of their sentiments.

CXLII. When Alexander had finished speaking, the Spartan envoys made this immediate reply: "We have been deputed by the Spartans, to entreat you not to engage in any thing which may operate to the injury of our common country, nor listen to any propositions of Xerxes; such a conduct would not be equitable in itself, and would be particularly base in you for various reasons: you were the first promoters of this war, in opposition to our opinions: it was first of all commenced in vindication of your liberties, though all Greece was afterwards drawn into the contest. It will be most of all intolerable, that the Athenians should become the instruments of enslaving Greece, who, from times the most remote, have restored their liberties to many. Your present condition does not fail to excite in us sentiments of the sincerest pity, who, for two successive seasons, have been deprived of the produce of your lands, and have so long seen your mansions in ruins. From reflecting on your situation, we Spartans, in conjunction with your other allies, undertake to maintain, as long as the war shall continue, not only your wives, but such other parts of your families as are incapable of military service. Let not, therefore, this Macedonian Alexander, softening the sentiments of Mardonius, seduce you: the part he acts is consistent; a tyrant himself, he espouses

4 *Prodigies.*]—As the word χειρ is used in Greek, so is *manus* in Latin.

An nescis longas regibus esse manus.—*Larcher.*

the interests of a tyrant. If you are wise you will always remember, that the Barbarians are always false and faithless."

CXLIII. After the above address of the Spartans, the Athenians made this reply to Alexander: "It was not at all necessary for you to inform us, that the power of the Persians was superior to our own: nevertheless, in defence of our liberties, we will continue our resistance to the utmost of our abilities. You may be assured that your endeavours to persuade us into an alliance with the Barbarians never will succeed: tell, therefore, Mardonius, on the part of the Athenians, that as long as the sun shall continue its ordinary course, so long will we avoid any friendship with Xerxes, so long will we continue to resist him. Tell him, we shall always look with confidence to the protecting assistance of those gods and heroes whose shrines and temples he has contemptuously destroyed. Hereafter do not you presume to enter an Athenian assembly with overtures of this kind, lest whilst you appear to mean us well, you prompt us to do what is abominable. [1] We are unwilling that you should receive any injury from us, having been our guest and our friend."

CXLIV. The above was the answer given to Alexander; after which the Athenians [2] thus spoke to the Lacedæmonians: "That the Spartans should fear our entering into an alliance with the Barbarians seems natural enough; but in doing this, as you have had sufficient

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1 *What is abominable.*]—"Our ancestors so loved their country," says Lycurgus, "that they were very near stoning Alexander, the ambassador of Xerxes, and formerly their friend, because he required of them earth and water."

It was the circumstance of their being united to him by the ties of hospitality, which induced the Athenians to spare his life. See my note on the ancient rites of hospitality.—*T.*

2 I choose in this place to make a few observations on the Athenians, which after so many learned works on the subject, may perhaps at first appear superfluous; they cannot, however, be deemed impertinent, and, in so fertile a topic, something may have occurred to me novel enough both to interest and entertain the English reader.

Of the Lacedæmonians I remarked at the end of the preceding book, that the characteristic feature was *fortitude*. It will, I fear, be found, that indolence was that of the Athenians: they were lovers of their ease, and averse to labour. From the Trojan to the Persic and Peloponnesian wars, it is the observation of Thucydides, their own historian, that they performed nothing worthy of being recorded; and Plutarch in some places passes the same censure upon them. Thucydides resolves this hypothesis into two causes, the barrenness of their soil, and the incursion of pirates: the historian indeed endeavours to gloss over the failings and follies of his countrymen; but their comic poet Aristophanes never spared them. See also the character given by Demosthenes of the Athenians in his third Olynthiac. He tells them, that their *magistrates* were now become their lords, and they their slaves, courting every one who entertained them with sports, or fed them with pieces of beef; what was still more unmanly, they confessed themselves under obligations for things that were their own. Voltaire, Hist. of Europe, part v. speaking of the Chinese, remarks, that the spirit of a nation is ever confined to the few who employ, who feed, and who govern the many. I know not whether this be true; but if the Athenian spirit is to be determined by that of the magistrates, the imputation I endeavour to fix upon them is true and just.

At Athens, from the great conflux of strangers continually resorting thither, many individuals of other nations were at length incorporated with the natives, and gave them a spirit and activity not naturally their own. The dangers also to which they were continually exposed, from the Persians, the Spartans, and the Macedonians, kept alive a resolution which present distress made necessary. Polybius resolves the Athenian valour into the same cause, and compares this people to mariners, who will obey the pilot, and navigate the ship with much diligence in a storm, but when that is blown over, they despise their leaders, and fall a quarrelling, l. vi.488.

For the truth of this, I may appeal to the testimony and judgment of their lawgiver Solon, who found it necessary to animate the people with a spirit of industry, by sundry edicts, and to force them to till and cultivate their lands, which lay neglected. To this end he required, after the example of the Egyptian policy, that the magistrates should inquire vigorously what ways and means each man followed to provide for himself, and severely punish the idle: he ordained, that the parent who neglected to train his son to some business, should not be maintained by him in his old age. Notwithstanding this and more, the Athenians continued to have in after ages the same character as formerly, and the writers of other nations passed the same censure upon them which their neighbours had done before. See Horace:

> Ut primum positis *nugari* Græcia bellis
> Cœpit et in vitium fortuna labier æqua.

But with these soft and ensnaring arts of *trifling* and *luxury*, in which Athens from her infancy was versed, did she at length revenge herself on the Roman arms, and lead her captivity captive; Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.

When St. Luke says in the Acts, xvii. 21.—"For all the Athenians and strangers that sojourn there spend their time in nothing but in telling and in hearing some new thing;" it is exactly the same character which their comic poet passes on them. See the Pax of Aristophanes, ουδεν γαρ αλλο δρατε πλην δικαζετε.

When St. Paul opened to them his commission and preached Jesus and the resurrection, the newness of the thing excited their curiosity: their unsteadiness also in their common amusements is thus finely ridiculed by Horace:

> Nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragœdis:
> Sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans
> Quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit.

Homer applies a similar remark to them in their military capacity, thus distinguishing their chief

> Amphilochus the vain,
> Who, trick'd with gold, and glitt'ring in his car
> Rode like a woman to the field of war.

testimonies of Athenian firmness, you certainly did us injury. There is not upon earth a quantity of gold, nor any country so rich or so beautiful, as to seduce us to take part with the Medes, or to act injuriously to the liberties of Greece. If of ourselves we were so inclined, there still exist many important circumstances to deter us: in the first place, and what is of all motives the most powerful, the shrines and temples of our deities, consumed by fire, and levelled with the ground, prompt us to the prosecution of a just revenge, and manifestly compel us to reject every idea of forming an alliance with him who perpetrated these impieties. In the next place, our common consanguinity, our using the same language, our worship of the same divinities, and our practice of the same religious ceremonies, render it impossible that the Athenians should prove perfidious. If you knew it not before, be satisfied now, that as long as one Athenian shall survive, we will not be friends with Xerxes; in the mean time, your interest in our fortunes, your concern for the ruin of our mansions, and your offers to provide for the maintenance of our families, demand our gratitude, and may be considered as the perfection of generosity. We will, however, bear our misfortunes as we may be able, and not be troublesome to you; be it your care to bring your forces into the field as expeditiously as possible; it is not probable that the Barbarian will long defer his invasion of our country, he will be upon us as soon as he shall be informed that we have rejected his proposals: before he shall be able to penetrate into Attica, it becomes us to advance to the assistance of Bœotia."

I will subjoin a few words on Athenian superstition and idolatry, the rather as this is a subject which has been less copiously discussed.

In bigotry and superstition, in the pageantry and foppery of religious ceremonies, Athens was a servile copier of Egypt. The Athenians were the factors of Egypt, for uttering and dispersing her idolatrous enchantments: ever unwilling to put themselves to trouble, they would not be at the pains, out of the abundance of trumpery which Egypt snowed them, to make a discreet choice, but adopted indiscriminately the whole synod of her gods. They took them just as they found them, with all their insignia and hieroglyphics, whose design and purport they did not know, retaining also their Egyptian names, which they did not understand. But Egypt was not the only mart at which Athens trafficked for superstition: Strabo censures the Athenians for picking up foreign gods wherever they could find them, and informs us that they had naturalized many religious ceremonies of foreign invention, and were ridiculed for doing so by their comic poets.

I have intimated how well disposed they were to give St. Paul a hearing, because he seemed to be a setter forth of strange gods; and no mark could be stronger of their inveterate superstition, than their erecting an altar to *the unknown God*. Such an inscription could not fail of giving to one of St. Paul's eloquence a fine opportunity of exposing so absurd a worship; and he accordingly tells them, that, as he passed through their city, and beheld their devotions, and especially this altar, that he perceived they were in all things too superstitious. If Italy was first occupied by the Pelasgi, or by Tyrrhenus and his colony, and the proper and original natives were the European and Asiatic Ionians, we need not be surprised that Rome, as she extended her conquests, enlarged her theology, till her fasti swelled to the Athenian size.

Quos colit ob meritum magnis donata triumphis,

says Prudentius contra Symmachum, and then adds these examples:

Jupiter ut Crete domineris, Pallas ut Argis,
Cynthius ut Delphis tribuerunt, omine dextro,
Iris Nilicolas, Rhodios Cytherea reliquit,
Venatrix Ephesum virgo, Mars dedidit Hebrum
Destituit Thebes Bromius, concessit ut ipsa
Juno tuos Phrygiis servire nepotibus Aphro.

A medley then of devotions (σεβασματα, the objects of devotion) borrowed of every family of the earth with whom they had commerce, however discordant from or opposite to each other in temper and manners, and a long train of religious rites and ceremonies attendant on these, justify me in affirming, that *superstition* and *indolence* were the two great features of the Athenian character.

I have said nothing of the Athenian virtues, or of the respectable commerce they carried on: my only intention in this place was to point out two striking defects, which the prejudice of education might incline us to overlook.

The glory of teaching the Athenians civility, and of forming them into society by the gentle arts of persuasion, belongs to Theseus.—See the Theseus of Meursius. The body of men he collected together, Theseus named Αστυ, Astu, that is πολις, the city; afterwards he named it Athens. The Hebrew word *ethan*, or *asper*, suits very well with the situation of Athens. The epithet τραχεια, was bestowed generally on Attica by Thucydides and Plutarch; it agrees particularly with Athens, which stood on a promontory, jutting out into the sea. The Abbe la Pluche derives it from the Hebrew word signifying linteum; this corresponds very well with the idea of Minerva's skill in the art of weaving, and he observes that linen was the dress of the Athenians.

HERODOTUS.

BOOK IX.

CALLIOPE.

I. On receiving this answer from the Athenians, the ambassadors returned to Sparta. As soon as Mardonius heard from Alexander the determination of the Athenians, he moved from Thessaly, directing by rapid marches his course towards Athens. Wherever he came he furnished himself with supplies of troops. The princes of Thessaly were so far from repenting of the part they had taken, that they endeavoured still more to animate Mardonius. Of these, Thorax[1] of Larissæ,[2] who had attended Xerxes in his flight, now openly conducted Mardonius into Greece.

II. As soon as the army in its progress arrived at Bœotia, the Thebans received Mardonius. They endeavoured to persuade him to fix his station where he was, assuring him that a place more convenient for a camp, or better adapted for the accomplishment of the purpose he had in view, could not be found. They told him, that by staying here he might subdue the Greeks without a battle. He might be satisfied, they added, from his former experience, that as long as the Greeks were united, it would be impossible for any body of men to subdue them. "If," said they, "you will be directed by our advice, you will be able, without difficulty, to counteract their wisest counsels. Send a sum of money to the most powerful men in each city; you will thus create anarchy in Greece, and by the assistance of your partizans, easily overcome all opposition."

III. This was the advice of the Thebans, which he was prevented from following,[3] partly by his earnest desire of becoming a second time master of Athens, and partly by his pride. He was also anxious to inform the king at Sardis, by means of fires[4] dispersed at certain distances along the islands, that he had taken Athens. Proceeding therefore to Attica, he found it totally deserted; the inhabitants, as he was informed, being either at Salamis or on board the fleet. He then took possession of Athens a second time, ten months after its capture by Xerxes.

IV. Whilst he continued at Athens, he despatched to Salamis, Murichides, a native of the Hellespont, with the same propositions that Alexander the Macedonian had before made to the Athenians. He sent this second time, not that he was ignorant of the ill-will of the Athenians towards him; but because he hoped, that seeing Attica effectually subject to his power, their firmness would relax.

V. Murichides went to the council, and delivered the sentiments of Mardonius. A senator named Lycidas gave his opinion, that the terms offered by Murichides were such as it became them to listen to, and communicate to the people: he said this, either from convic-

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1 *Thorax.*]—He was the son of Aleuas, and with his two brothers Eurypylus and Thrasydeius, were remarkable for their attachment to Xerxes.—*T.*

2 *Larissæ.*]—There were several cities of this name in Asia and in Europe. Strabo remarks, that it was something peculiar to the Larissæi, both of Europe and Asia, that the ground or soil of their settlements was alike in three places, at the rivers Cayster, Hermus, and Peneus. It was γη ποταμοχωστος, land thrown up by the river.]—*T.*

3 *From following.*]—Diodorus Siculus assures us on the contrary, that Mardonius, whilst in Bœotia, did actually send money to the Peloponnese, to detach the principal cities from the league.

4 *Fires.*]—I have before spoken on this subject, and informed my reader, how, in remoter times, intelligence of extraordinary events was communicated from one place to another by means of fires. The word here is πυρσοισι, which Larcher renders torches, and adds in a note the following particulars:

"Men placed at different distances gave notice of whatever happened. The first who saw any thing gave notice of it by holding up lighted torches: the second held up as many torches as he had seen; the third and the rest did the same: by which means intelligence was communicated to a great distance in a short space of time."—*T.*

tion, or seduced by the gold of Mardonius; but he had no sooner thus expressed himself, than both the Athenians who heard him, and those who were without rushed with indignation upon him, and stoned[1] him to death. Murichides they dismissed without injury. The Athenian women soon heard of the tumult which had been excited at Salamis on account of Lycidas, when in a body mutually stimulating each other, they ran impetuously to his house, and stoned his wife and his children.

VI. These were the inducements with the Athenians for returning to Salamis: as long as they entertained any expectation of assistance from the Peloponnese they staid in Attica: but when they found their allies careless and inactive, and that Mardonius was already in Bœotia, they removed with all their effects to Salamis. At the same time they sent envoys to Lacedæmon, to complain that the Spartans, instead of advancing with them to meet the Barbarian in Bœotia, had suffered him to enter Attica. They told them by what liberal offers the Persian had invited them to his friendship; and they forewarned them, that if they were not speedy in their communication of assistance, the Athenians must seek some other remedy. The Lacedæmonians were then celebrating what are called the Hyacinthia,[2] which solemnity they deem of the highest importance; they were also at work upon the wall of the isthmus, of which the battlements were already erected.

VII. The Athenian deputies, accompanied by those of Megara and Platea, arrived at Lacedæmon, and being introduced to the Ephori,[3] thus addressed them: "We have to inform you, on the part of the Athenians, that the king of the Medes has expressed himself willing to restore us our country, and to form an alliance with us on equitable terms, without fraud or collusion: he has also engaged to give us any other country which we may choose, in addition to our own. We, however, though deserted and betrayed by the Greeks, have steadily refused all his offers, through reverence for the Grecian Jupiter,[4] and detestation of the crime of treachery to our countrymen. We are sensible that it would be more to our advantage to accept the Barbarian's offered friendship, than continue the object of his hostilities: we shall however be very unwilling to do so. Thus far we have discharged our duty to the Greeks with sincerity and candour; but you, who were so greatly alarmed at the possibility of our becoming the confederates of Persia, when once you were convinced that we should continue faithful to Greece, and when you had nearly completed the wall on the isthmus, thought no further of us nor of our danger. You had agreed with us jointly to meet the Barbarian in Bœotia; but you never fulfilled the engagement, considering the entrance of the enemy into Attica of no importance. The Athenians therefore confess, that they are incensed against you, as having violated your engagements. We now require you instantly to send us supplies, that we may be able to oppose the Barbarian in Attica. We have failed in meeting him in Bœotia; but we think the plains of Thria,[5] in our own territories, a convenient and proper place to offer him battle."

1 *Stoned him.*]—A man of the name of Cyrsilus had ten months before met a similar fate for having advised the people to stay in their city and receive Xerxes. The Athenian women in like manner stoned his wife. Cicero mentions the same fact, probably from Demosthenes.—See *Demost. Orat. pro Corona.*—*Larcher.*

The stoning a person to death was in remoter times not only resorted to by the people to gratify their fury against an obnoxious character, but it had the sanction of law, and was a punishment annexed to more enormous crimes. The extreme barbarity of it is too obvious to require discussion; we accordingly find it gradually disused as civilization extended its powerful influence. Within these last centuries, in all the distractions of civil, or the tumults occasioned by religious fanaticism, we meet with no example of any one's being stoned to death. A modern traveller informs us, that lapidation, or stoning to death, is a punishment at this time inflicted in Abyssinia for crimes against religion.—*T.*

2 *Hyacinthia.*]—A particular description of this solemnity is given by Athenæus in his fourth book. They were celebrated in memory of the beautiful Hyacinthus, whose story must be sufficiently familiar; and they were accompanied by games in honour of Apollo. They continued three days, and were exhibited at Amyclæ, in Laconia.—*T.*

3 *Ephori.*]—Of the Ephori I have before spoken at some length, but I omitted to mention that the principal Ephorus was called Eponymus, as the principal Archon was at Athens, and for the same reason, because from him the year was named ἐφορευοντος του δεινα.—*T.*

4 *Grecian Jupiter.*]—Pausanias in Corinthiis, c. xxx. speaks of a temple erected to this Jupiter on a mountain called Panhellenium: It was said to have been erected by Æacus. There was also a festival called the Panellenia, celebrated by an assembly of people from the different parts of Greece.—*T.*

5 *Thria.*]—This was a village in Attica.—See *Spon de Pagis Atticis.* Athens had ten gates, the largest of which, probably because the entrance to the city from Thria, were called Portæ Thriasiæ.—See *Meursius Atticæ Lectiones.* The same gates were afterwards called Dipylon.—See *Plutarch in Pericle.* Παρα τας Θριασιας πυλας αἱ νυν Διπυλον ονομαζονται. It was also called the sacred gate, and was that through which Sylla entered from the Piræus. It was named moreover the gate of Ceramicus.—*T.*

VIII. The Ephori heard, but deferred answering them till the next day: when the morrow came, they put them off till the day following, and this they did for ten days successively. In this interval, the Peloponnesians prosecuted with great ardour on the isthmus their work of the wall, which they nearly completed. Why the Spartans discovered so great an anxiety on the arrival of Alexander at Athens, lest the Athenians should come to terms with the Medes, and why now they did not seem to concern themselves about them, is more than I am able to explain, unless it was that the wall of the isthmus was unfinished, after which they did not want the aid of the Athenians; but when Alexander arrived at Athens, this work was not completed, although from terror of the Persians they eagerly pursued it.

IX. The answer and motions of the Spartans were finally these: on the day preceding that which was last appointed, a man of Tegea, named Chileus,[6] who enjoyed at Lacedæmon greater reputation than any other foreigner, inquired from one of the Ephori what the Athenians had said: which when he knew, he thus addressed them: "Things, O Ephori, are thus circumstanced. If the Athenians, withdrawing from our alliance, shall unite with the Persian, strong as our wall on the isthmus may be, the enemy will still find an easy entrance into the Peloponnese. Let us therefore hear them before they do any thing which may involve Greece in ruin."

X. The Ephori were so impressed by what Chileus had said, that without communicating with the deputies of the different states, whilst it was yet night, they sent away a detachment of five thousand Spartans, each accompanied by seven Helots, under the conduct of Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus. The command properly belonged to Plistarchus,[7] son of Leonidas; he was yet a child, and Pausanias was his guardian and his uncle. Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandrides, and father of Pausanias, died very soon after having conducted back from the isthmus the detachment which constructed the wall. He had brought them back, because, whilst offering a sacrifice to determine whether he should attack the Persian, an eclipse[8] of the sun had happened. Pausanias selected as his assistant in command, Euryanactes, son of Dorieus, who was his relation.

XI. With these forces Pausanias left Sparta: the deputies, ignorant of the matter, when the morning came went to the Ephori, having previously resolved to return to their respective cities: "You, O Lacedæmonians," they exclaimed, "lingering here, solemnize the Hyacinthia, and are busy in your public games, basely deserting your allies. The Athenians, injured by you, and but little assisted by any, will make their peace with the Persians on the best terms they can obtain. When the enmity betwixt us shall have ceased, and we shall become the king's allies, we shall fight with him wherever he may choose to lead us: you may know therefore what consequences you have to expect." In answer to this declaration of the ambassadors, the Ephori protested upon oath, that they believed their troops were already in Orestium, on their march against the strangers;[9] by which expression they meant the

6 *Chileus.*]—Plutarch, in the Essay so often quoted, takes occasion in this place severely to reprobate Herodotus. According to the Historian, says he, we are taught to believe, that if any private business had kept Chileus at home, or if the rites of private hospitality had not accidentally subsisted betwixt this man and some of the Ephori, the splendid victory of Platea never would have happened. Surely it could not be necessary to inform a man of Plutarch's wisdom, that from causes equally insignificant, events not less important than the one here recorded have proceeded.—*T.*

7 *Plistarchus.*]—This prince, according to Pausanias, died at a very early age, and was succeeded by the Pausanias here mentioned.—*T.*

8 *An eclipse.*]—That an eclipse in the early ages of ignorance and superstition should be deemed an inauspicious omen seems very natural. A partial deprivation of light or heat, contrary to their ordinary experience, and beyond their ability to account for or explain, must to untutored minds have had the appearance of preternatural interposition, and have seemed expressive of divine displeasure.

Mr. Seldon makes no scruple to assert, that the authors of the melancholy rites instituted in Phrygia in honour of Adonis, had no other meaning than to represent thereby the access and recess of the sun. *Attes Hyes, Hyes Attes*, was the set form of exclamation used in these mysteries, which, as explained by Bochart, means, *tu es ignis, ille est ignis*, is consistent with Seldon's opinion, and justifies us in concluding, that ignis, fire or heat, whether solar or any other, whether real or symbolical, was the chief thing intended and pointed at in these mysteries. Neither is it perhaps unworthy of remark, that Ezekiel was carried to the north door of the temple to behold the women lamenting Thammuz or Adonis.

"Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house which was towards the north, and behold, there sat women weeping for Thammuz."—*Ezek.* viii. 15.—*T.*

9 *The Strangers, &c. Barbarians.*]—I have before remarked, that the ancients used the word Barbarians in a much milder sense than we do. In the sense in which it is here used, it occurs in the following classical lines of Milton:

High on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus or of Ind,

Barbarians. The deputies, not understanding them, requested an explanation. When the matter was properly represented to them, they departed with astonishment to overtake them, accompanied by five thousand armed troops from the neighbourhood of Sparta.

XII. Whilst these were hastening to the isthmus, the Argives,[1] as soon as they heard of the departure of Pausanias at the head of a body of troops from Sparta, sent one of their fleetest messengers to Mardonius in Attica. They had before undertaken to prevent the Lacedæmonians from taking the field. When their herald arrived at Athens, "I am sent," said he to Mardonius, "by the Argives, to inform you that the forces of Sparta are already on their march, and we have not been able to prevent them; avail yourself therefore of this information." Saying this, he returned.

XIII. Mardonius, hearing this, determined to stay no longer in Attica. He had continued until this time, willing to see what measures the Athenians would take; and he had refrained from offering any kind of injury to the Athenian lands, hoping they would still make peace with him. When it was evident that this was not to be expected, he withdrew his army before Pausanias and his detachment arrived at the isthmus. He did not however depart without setting fire to Athens,[2] and levelling with the ground whatever of the walls, buildings, or temples, still remained entire. He was induced to quit his station, because the country of Attica was ill adapted for cavalry, and because in case of defeat he had no other means of escape but through straits, where a handful of men might cut off his retreat. He therefore determined to move to Thebes, that he might have the advantage of fighting near a confederate city, and in a country convenient for his cavalry.

XIV. Mardonius was already on his march, when another courier came in haste to inform him, that a second body of a thousand Spartans was moving towards Megara. He accordingly deliberated how he might intercept this latter party. Turning aside towards Megara,[3] he sent on his cavalry to ravage the Megarian lands. These were the extreme limits, on the western parts of Europe, to which the Persian army penetrated.

XV. Another messenger now came to tell him, that the Greeks were assembled with great strength at the isthmus, he therefore turned back through Decelea. The Bœotian chiefs had employed their Asopian neighbours as guides, who conducted Mardonius first to Sphendaleas, and thence to Tanagra. At Tanagra, Mardonius passed the night, and the next day came to Scolos, in the Theban territory. Here the lands of the Thebans, though the friends and allies of the Medes, were laid waste, not from any enmity, but from the urgent necessities of the army. The general was desirous to fortify his camp, and to have some place of refuge in case of defeat. His camp extended from Erythræ, by Hysiæ, as far as Platea, on the banks of the Asopus. It was protected by a wall which did not continue the whole extent of the camp, but which occupied a space of ten stadia in each of the four fronts. Whilst the Barbarians were employed on this work, Attaginus, the son of Phrynon, a Theban, gave a magnificent entertainment, to which Mardonius and fifty Persians of the highest rank were invited. They accepted the summons, and the feast was given at Thebes.

XVI. What I am now going to relate, I received from Thersander, an Orchomenian, one of the most esteemed of his countrymen. He informed me that he was one of fifty Thebans whom Attaginus at the same time invited. They were so disposed at the entertainment,

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Or where the gorgeous east with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
Satan exalted sat.—*T.*

1 *The Argives.*]—Eustathius in Dionys. informs us, that Apis having cleared the Peloponnese of serpents, named it from himself Apia. He was afterwards deified, and thence called Serapis, all which has a manifest allusion to the great idol of the Egyptians. From these serpents probably this part of the Peloponnese was called Argus, for Argus, according to Hesychius, was used synonymously with Ophis, Serpens.—See Hesychius at the word Διχις. But this is mere conjecture.

2 *Fire to Athens.*]—The fate of Athens has been various. It was burned by Xerxes; the following year by Mardonius; it was a third time destroyed in the Peloponnesian war; it received a Roman garrison to protect it against Philip, son of Demetrius, but was, not long afterwards, ravaged and defaced by Sylla; in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius, it was torn to pieces by Alaric, king of the Goths, and it is now as obscure and insignificant as it was once famous and splendid. When in its glory, the circumference of the walls of the city alone was seven miles and a half. Modern Athens is called Athini.—*T.*

3 *Megara*]—Was at the point of middle distance betwixt Athens and Corinth: it took its name either from Megarus, a son of Neptune, or Megareus, a son of Apollo. It was the native place of Euclid the Socratic, and of Theognis. There was a place of the same name in Sicily. The Megara here mentioned retains its ancient name.—*T.*

that a Theban and a Persian were on the same couch.[4] After the feast they began to drink cheerfully, when the Persian who was on the same couch, asked him in Greek, "What countryman he was?" he replied, "An Orchomenian." "Well," answered the Persian, "since we have feasted together, and partaken of the same libations,[5] I would wish to impress upon your mind something which may induce you to remember me, and at the same time enable you to provide for your own security. You see the Persians present at this banquet, and you know what forces were encamped upon the borders of the river; of all these in a short interval very few will remain." Whilst he was saying this, the Persian wept. His neighbour, astonished at the remark, replied: "Does it not become you to communicate this to Mardonius, and to those next him in dignity?" "My friend," returned the Persian, "it is not for man to counteract the decisions of providence. Confidence is seldom obtained to the most obvious truths. A multitude of Persians think as I do; but like me, they follow what it is not in their power to avoid. Nothing in human life is more to be lamented, than that a wise man should have so little influence." This information I received from Thersander the Orchomenian, who also told me that he related the same to many, before the battle of Platea.

XVII. Whilst Mardonius was stationed in Bœotia, all the Greeks who were attached to the Persians supplied him with troops, and joined him in his attack on Athens; the Phoceans alone did not: these had indeed, and with apparent ardour, favoured the Medes, not from inclination but necessity. A few days after the entertainment given at Thebes, they arrived with a thousand well armed troops under the command of Harmocydes, one of their most popular citizens. Mardonius, on their following him to Thebes, sent some horsemen, commanding them to halt by themselves in the plain where they were: at the same moment all the Persian cavalry appeared in sight. A rumour instantly circulated among those Greeks who were in the Persian camp, that the Phoceans were going to be put to death by the cavalry. The same also spread among the Phoceans; on which account their leader Harmocydes thus addressed them: My friends, I am convinced that we are destined to perish by the swords of these men, and from the accusations of the Thessalians. Let each man therefore prove his valour. It is better to die like men, exerting ourselves in our own defence, than to suffer ourselves to be slain tamely and without resistance: let these Barbarians know that the men whose deaths they meditate are Greeks."

XVIII. With these words Harmocydes animated his countrymen. When the cavalry had surrounded them, they rode up as if to destroy them; they made a show of hurling their weapons, which some of them probably did. The Phoceans upon this closed their ranks, and on every part fronted the enemy. The Persians, seeing this, faced about and retired. I am not able to decide whether, at the instigation of the Thessalians, the Phoceans were actually doomed to death; or whether, observing them determined to defend themselves, the Persians retired from the fear of receiving some injury themselves, and as if they had been so ordered by Mardonius, merely to make experiment of their valour. After the cavalry were withdrawn, a herald came to them on the part of Mardonius: "Men of Phocis," he exclaimed, "be not alarmed; you have given a proof of resolution which Mardonius had been taught not to

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4 *On the same couch.*]—The ancients, in more remote times, sat at table as we do. Homer represents people as sitting round a table. Yet the custom of reclining on a couch at meals must have been practised very early, as is evident from this passage of Herodotus. The Romans also, in the earlier times of the republic, sat; and Montfaucon, expressing his surprise at this, inquires what could possibly induce the Romans, as they became more luxurious and voluptuous, to adopt a custom much less convenient and easy. He proceeds to give the following reason from Mercurialis, who says, that they first began to eat in a reclining attitude when the use of the bath became fashionable; it was their custom to bathe before supper; after bathing to lie down, and have their supper placed before them; it soon became universally the practice to eat in that posture. Heliogabalus had his sleeping beds and table beds of solid silver.—See *Montfaucon*, vol. iii. 74 See also Harmer's Observations on Passages of Scripture, from which I extract the following:

"The Persian carvings at Persepolis frequently exhibit a venerable personage sitting in a sort of high-raised chair, with a footstool; but the latter sovereigns of that country have sat with their legs under them on some carpet or cushion laid on the floor, like their subjects. Two very ancient colossal statues in Egypt are placed on cubical stones, in the same attitude we make use of in sitting." In like manner, we find the figures on the ancient Syrian coins are represented sitting on seats as we do.—*T.*

5 *Same libations.*]—The Greek is, ὁμοσπονδος, which perhaps might as well have been rendered, drank of the same cup. This expression occurs with great beauty and effect in the lively allegorical description which Nathan gives David of his conduct. "It did eat of his own meat, *and drank of his own cup*," &c.—*T.*

expect; assist us therefore in the war with alacrity, for you shall neither outdo me nor the king in generosity." The above is what happened with respect to the Phoceans.

XIX The Lacedæmonians arriving at the isthmus,[1] fortified their camp. As soon as this was known to the rest of the Peloponnesians, all were unwilling to be surpassed by the Spartans, as well they who were actuated by a love of their country, as they who had seen the Lacedæmonians proceed on their march. The victims which were sacrificed having a favourable appearance, they left the isthmus in a body, and came to Eleusis. The sacrifices at this place being again auspicious, they continued to advance, having been joined at Eleusis by the Athenians, who had passed over from Salamis. On their arrival at Erythræ, in Bœotia, they first learned that the Barbarians were encamped near the Asopus; consulting upon which, they marched forward to the foot of Mount Cithæron.[2]

XX. As they did not descend into the plain,[3] Mardonius sent against them the whole of his cavalry, under the command of Masistius, called by the Greeks Macisius. He was a Persian of distinction, and was on this occasion mounted on a Nisæan horse,[4] decorated with a bridle of gold, and other splendid trappings. When they came near the Greeks, they attacked them in squadrons, did them considerable injury, and by way of insult called them women.

XXI. The situation of the Megarians being most easy of access, was most exposed to the enemy's attack. Being hardly pressed by the Barbarians, they sent a herald, who thus addressed the Grecian commanders: "We Megarians, O allies, are unable to stand the shock of the enemy's cavalry in our present position: nevertheless, though closely pressed, we make a vigorous and valiant resistance. If you are not speedy in relieving us, we shall be compelled to quit the field." After this report of the heralds, Pausanias wished to see if any of the Greeks would voluntarily offer themselves to take the post of the Megarians. All refused except a chosen band of three hundred Athenians, commanded by Olympiodorus the son of Lampon.

XXII. This body, which took upon itself the defence of a post declined by all the other Greeks encamped at Erythræ, brought with them a band of archers. The engagement, after an obstinate dispute, terminated thus: The enemies' horse attacked in squadrons; the steed of Masistius, being conspicuous above the rest, was wounded in the side by an arrow; it reared, and becoming unruly from the pain of the wound, threw its rider. The Athenians rushed upon him, seized the horse, and notwithstanding his resistance, killed Masistius. In doing this, however, they had some difficulty, on account of his armour. Over a purple tunic he wore a breast-plate covered with plates of gold. This repelled all their blows, which some person perceiving, killed

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1 *At the isthmus.*]—Diodorus Siculus says, that the Peloponnesians, arriving at the isthmus, agreed without reserve to take the following oath:

"I will not prefer life to liberty; I will not desert my commanders, living or dead; I will grant burial to all the allies who shall perish in the contest; after having vanquished the Barbarians, I will not destroy any city which contributed to their defeat: I will not rebuild any temple which they have burned or overturned; but I will leave them in their present condition, as a monument to posterity of the impiety of the Barbarians."

Lycurgus says, and with great probability, that this oath was taken by the confederates at Platea.—*Lycurg. contra Leocreton.* The oath is there preserved, but it differs in some respect: it adds, "I will decimate all those who have taken part with the Barbarians."—*Larcher.*

2 *Cithæron.*]—This place was particularly eminent for the sacrifices to Bacchus.—See *Virg. Æn.* v. 301.

Qualis commotis excita sacris
Thyas ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho
Orgia, nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithæron. *T.*

3 *Into the plain.*]—Plutarch relates some particulars previous to this event, which are worth transcribing.

Whilst Greece found itself brought to a most delicate crisis, some Athenian citizens of the noblest families of the place, seeing themselves ruined by the war, and considering that with their effects they had also lost their credit and their influence, held some secret meetings, and determined to destroy the popular government of Athens: in which project if they failed, they resolved to ruin the state, and surrender Greece to the Barbarians. This conspiracy had already made some progress, when it was discovered to Aristides. He at first was greatly alarmed, from the juncture at which it happened; but as he knew not the precise number of conspirators, he thought it expedient not to neglect an affair of so great importance, and yet not to investigate it too minutely in order to give those concerned opportunity to repent. He satisfied himself with arresting eight of the conspirators; of these, two as the most guilty were immediately proceeded against, but they contrived to escape. The rest he dismissed, that they might show their repentance by their valour, telling them that a battle should be the great tribunal to determine their sincere and good intentions to their country.—*Plutarch's Life of Aristides.*—*Larcher.*

4 *Nisæan horse.*]—These horses are mentioned as remarkable for their size, in Thalia, c. 136. Strabo says, book the 11th, that they were used by kings, being the best and largest breed, Αριστοις ουσι και μεγιστοις; they are said to have been all of a golden colour, ειναι ξανθας πασας.—*T.*

him by wounding him in the eye.[5] The death of Masistius was unknown to the rest of his troops; they did not see him fall from his horse, and were ignorant of his fate, their attention being entirely occupied by succeeding in regular squadrons to the charge. At length making a stand, they perceived themselves without a leader. Upon this they mutually animated each other, and rushed in with united force upon the enemy, to bring off the body[6] of Masistius.

XXIII. The Athenians seeing them advance no longer in successive squadrons, but in a collected body, called out for relief. While the infantry were moving to their support, the body of Masistius was vigorously disputed. While the three hundred were alone, they were compelled to give ground, and recede from the body; but other forces coming to their relief, the cavalry in their turn gave way, and, with the body of their leader, lost a great number of their men. Retiring for the space of two stadia, they held a consultation, and being without a commander, determined to return to Mardonius.

XXIV. On their arrival at the camp, the death of Masistius spread a general sorrow through the army, and greatly afflicted Mardonius himself. They cut off the hair from themselves, their horses, and their beasts of burden, and all Bœotia resounded with their cries and lamentations. The man they had lost was next to Mardonius, most esteemed by the Persians and the king. Thus the Barbarians in their manner honoured the deceased Masistius.

XXV. The Greeks having not only sustained but repelled the attacks of the cavalry, were inspired with increasing resolution. The body of Masistius, which from its beauty and size deserved admiration, they placed on a carriage, and passed through the ranks,[7] while all quitted their stations to view it. They afterwards determined to remove to Platea; they thought this a more commodious place for a camp than Erythræ, as well for other reasons as because there was plenty of water. To this place, near which is the fountain of Gargaphie, they resolved to go and pitch a regularly fortified camp. Taking their arms, they proceeded by the foot of Cithæron, and passing Hysiæ, came to Platea They drew themselves up in regular divisions of the different nations near the fountain of Gargaphie[8] and the shrine of the hero Androcrates,[9] some on a gently rising ground, others on the plain.

XXVI. In the arrangement of the several nations, a violent dispute arose betwixt the Tegeans and Athenians, each asserting their claim to one of the wings, in vindication of which they appealed to their former as well as more recent exploits. The Tegeans spoke to this effect: "The post which we now claim has ever been given us by the joint consent of the allies, in all the expeditions made beyond the Peloponnese: we not only speak of ancient but of less distant periods. After the death of Eurystheus, when the Heraclidæ[10] made an attempt to return to the Peloponnese, the rank we now vindicate was allowed us on the following occasion: In conjunction with the Achæans and Ionians, who then possessed the Peloponnese, we advanced as allies to the isthmus, encamping opposite to those who were endeavouring to return. At that time Hyllus made a proposition not to risk the safety of the two armies, but that the Peloponnesians should select the bravest man of all their army to engage

5 *In the eye.*]—Plutarch, in his life of Aristides, says that Masistius was killed by a wound through the opening of his helmet.

6 *Bring off the body.*]—This was considered as a high point of honour in ancient military service. Some of the finest passages of Homer are found in his descriptions of battles about the dead bodies of the slain. The superstitious ideas which prevailed, from the circumstance of a deceased relative's not receiving the rites of burial, are beautifully employed by Sophocles in his Antigone. It seems a very natural impulse, but I remember no other instance where the Persians appear to have been tenacious with respect to this prejudice. Their obstinacy on this occasion might increase in the proportion in which they saw it exercised by their adversaries. On the customs of the Persians with respect to their dead, see book i. c. cxl. and note 125.—*T.*

7 *Through the rank.*]—Thus in the twenty-second book of the Iliad, Achilles directs the body of Hector to be carried for inspection through the Grecian army.

> Meanwhile ye sons of Greece in triumph bring
> The corpse of Hector, and your Pæans sing;
> Be this the song, slow moving towards the shore;
> Hector is dead, and Ilion is no more.—*T.*

8 *Gargaphie.*]—This place is celebrated in poetic story for being the place where Actæon was devoured by his dogs.—*T.*

9 *Androcrates.*]—Androcrates had been anciently a Platean commander.

10 *Heraclidæ.*]—This speech of the Tegeatæ does not to me seem remarkably wise. They had better, I should suppose, have spoken but very tenderly of their exploits against the Heraclidæ in the presence of their immediate descendants, who to punish their arrogance might naturally enough assign the superiority to their rivals, although their pretensions were not so well founded.—*Larcher.*

him in single combat, upon certain terms. The Peloponnesians assented, and an oath was taken to this effect: If Hyllus conquered the Peloponnesian chief, the Heraclidæ should be suffered to resume their paternal inheritance, if Hyllus was vanquished, the Heraclidæ were to retire, nor during the space of one hundred years make any effort to return to the Peloponnese. Echemus the son of Œnopus, and grandson of Phegeus,[1] our leader and prince, was selected on this occasion by the voice of all the confederates. He encountered Hyllus, and slew him. From this exploit, the Peloponnesians of that period assigned us many honourable distinctions which we still retain, and this in particular, that as often as any expedition should be made by their joint forces, we should command one of the wings. With you, O Lacedæmonians, we do not enter into competition, we are willing that you should take your post in which wing you think proper; the command of the other, which has so long been allowed us, we claim now. Not to dwell upon the action we have recited, we are certainly more worthy of this post than the Athenians. On your account, O Spartans, as well as for the benefit of others, we have fought again and again with success and glory. Let not then the Athenians be on this occasion preferred to us; for they have never in an equal manner distinguished themselves in past or in more recent periods."

XXVII. The Athenians made this reply: "We are well aware, that the motive of our assembling here is not to spend our time in altercations, but to fight the Barbarians; but since it has been thought necessary to urge on the part of the Tegeatæ their ancient as well as more recent exploits, we feel ourselves obliged to assert that right, which we receive from our ancestors, to be preferred to the Arcadians as long as we shall conduct ourselves well. These Heraclidæ, whose leader they boast to have slain at the isthmus, after being rejected by all the Greeks with whom they wished to take refuge from the servitude of the people of Mycenæ, found a secure retreat with us alone. In conjunction with them we chastised the insolence of Eurystheus, and obtained a complete victory over those who at that time possessed the Peloponnese. The Argives, who under Polynices fought against Thebes, remaining unburied,[2] we undertook an expedition against the Cadmeans, recovered the bodies, and interred them in our country at Eleusis.[3] A farther instance of our prowess was exhibited in our repulsion of the Amazons,[4] who advanced from the river Thermodon, to invade Attica. We were no less conspicuous at the siege of Troy. But this recital is vain and useless; the people who were then illustrious might now be base, or dastards then might now be heroes. Enough therefore of the examples of our former glory, though we are still able to introduce more and greater; for if any of the Greeks at the battle of Marathon merited renown, we may claim this, and more also. On that day we alone contended with the Persian, and after a glorious and successful contest, were victorious over an army of forty-six different nations: which action must confessedly entitle us to the post we claim; but in the present state of affairs, all dispute about rank is unreasonable; we are ready, O Lacedæmonians, to oppose the enemy wherever you shall choose to station us. Wherever we may be, we shall endeavour to behave like men. Lead us, therefore, we are ready to obey you."

1 *Phegeus.*]—Larcher, on the authority of Pausanias, proposes to read Cepheus, and I think it ought to be so. Cepheus was one of the Argonauts.

2 *Unburied.*]—The sentiments of the ancients, with respect to the bodies of the dead remaining unburied, cannot be better expressed than in the following lines of Homer, which I give in the version of Pope. The shade of Patroclus, in the 23d book, thus addresses Achilles:

And sleeps Achilles (thus the phantom said)
Sleeps my Achilles, his Patroclus dead:
Living, I seemed his dearest tenderest care;
But now forgot, I wander in the air.
Let my pale corpse the rites of burial know,
And give me entrance in the realms below;
Till then the spirit finds no resting place,
But here and there the unbodied spectres chase
The vagrant dead around the dark abode,
Forbid to cross the irremeable flood,
Now give thy hand: for to the farther shore,
When once we pass, the soul returns no more:
When once the last funereal flames ascend,
No more shall meet Achilles and his friend, &c.

Upon this translation of Mr. Pope I may be excused remarking, that in the fourth line, the expression, "I wander in the air," is not in Homer. Homer contents himself with saying, "You did not neglect me living, but dead." The seventh line also is not in Homer: "Till then the spirit," &c. It is implied perhaps, but certainly not expressed. It may seem cavilling to quarrel with the epithet "irremeable" in the tenth line: I can only say it is not in Homer, who merely says, ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο, over the river. "For to the farther shore, when once we pass," in lines eleven and twelve, are not found in Homer.—*T.*

3 *At Eleusis.*]—Pausanias as well as Herodotus asserts that these bodies were interred at Eleusis.—*Pausan.* l. i. c. 39.

4 *Amazons.*]—Concerning the Amazons, see book Melpomene, chap. cx.

XXVIII. When the Athenians had thus delivered their sentiments, the Lacedæmonians were unanimous in declaring that the Arcadians must yield to the people of Athens the command of one of the wings. They accordingly took their station in preference to the Tegeatæ. The Greeks who came afterwards, with those who were present before, were thus disposed. The Lacedæmonians to the number of ten thousand, occupied the right wing; of these five thousand were Spartans, who were followed by thirty-five thousand Helots lightly armed, allowing seven Helots to each Spartan. The Tegeatæ, to the number of fifteen hundred were placed by the Spartans next themselves, in consideration of their valour, and as a mark of honour. Nearest the Tegeatæ were five thousand Corinthians, who, in consequence of their request to Pausanias, had contiguous to them three hundred Potidæans of Pallene. Next in order were six hundred Arcadians of Orchomene, three thousand Sicyonians, eight hundred Epidaurians, and a thousand Trœzenians. Contiguous to these last, were two hundred Lepreatæ; next to whom were four hundred Myceneans and Tirynthians. Stationed by the Tirynthians were in regular succession a thousand Phliasians, three hundred Hermonians, six hundred Eretrians and Styreans: next came four hundred Chalcidians, five hundred Ampraciatæ, eight hundred Leucadians and Anactorians; to whom two hundred Paleans of Cephallenia, and five hundred Æginetæ, successively joined. Three thousand Megarians and six hundred Plateans were contiguous to the Athenians, who to the number of eight thousand, under the command of Aristides, son of Lysimachus, occupied the left wing at the other extremity of the army.

XXIX. The amount of this army, independent of the seven Helots to each Spartan, was thirty-eight thousand seven hundred men, all of them completely armed and drawn together to repel the Barbarian. Of the light-armed troops were the thirty-five thousand Helots, each well prepared for battle, and thirty-four thousand five hundred attendant on the Lacedæmonians and other Greeks, reckoning a light armed soldier to every man; the whole of these therefore amounted to sixty-nine thousand five hundred.

XXX. Thus the whole of the Grecian army assembled at Platea, including both the heavy and the light-armed troops, was one hundred eight thousand two hundred men; adding to these one thousand and eight hundred Thespians who were with the Greeks, but without arms, the complete number was one hundred and ten thousand. These were encamped on the banks of the Asopus.[5]

XXXI. The Barbarian army having ceased to lament Masistius, as soon as they knew that the Greeks were advanced to Platea, marched also to that part of the Asopus nearest to it; where they were thus disposed by Mardonius. Opposed to the Lacedæmonians were the Persians, who, as they were superior in number, fronted the Tegeatæ also. Of this body the select part was opposed to the Lacedæmonians, the less effective to the Tegeatæ. In making which arrangement, Mardonius followed the advice of the Thebans. Next to the Persians were the Medes, opposed to the Corinthians, Potidæans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians. The Bactrians were placed next, to encounter the Epidaurians, Trœzenians, Lepreatæ, Tirynthians, Myceneans, and Phliasians. Contiguous to the Bactrians the Indians were disposed, in opposition to the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styreans, and Chalcidians. The Sacæ, next in order, fronted the Ampraciatæ, Anactorians, Leucadians, Paleans, and Æginetæ. The Athenians, Plateans, and Magareans were ultimately faced by the Bœotians, Locrians, Melians, Thessalians, and a thousand Phoceans. All the Phoceans did not assist the Medes; some of them about Parnassus, favoured the Greeks, and from that station attacked and harassed both the troops of Mardonius and those of the Greeks who were with him. The Macedonians and Thessalians were also opposed to the Athenians.

XXXII. In this manner Mardonius arranged those nations who were the most numerous and the most illustrious; with these were promiscuously mixed bodies of Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Pæonians, and others.

5 *Of the Asopus.*]—An ingenious plan of this battle, which may give the reader a general idea of the respective situations of the two armies, may be seen in the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis. In the description of places, every succeeding observation of different travellers confirms the fidelity and accuracy of Herodotus. On this subject Mr. Wood speaks thus: "I would not encourage that diffidence in Herodotus which has already been carried too far. Were I to give my opinion of him, having followed him through most of the countries which he visited, I would say, that he is a writer of veracity in his description of what he *saw*, but of credulity in his relations of what he heard."—*T.*

To the above might be added the Ethiopians, and those Egyptians named Hermotybians and Calasirians,[1] who alone of that country follow the profession of arms. These had formerly served on board the fleet, whence they had been removed to the land forces by Mardonius when at Phalerum: the Egyptians had not been reckoned with those forces which Xerxes led against Athens. We have before remarked that the Barbarian army consisted of three hundred thousand men; the number of the Greek confederates of Mardonius, as it was never taken, cannot be ascertained; as far as conjecture may determine, they amounted to fifty thousand. Such was the arrangement of the infantry; the cavalry were posted apart by themselves.

XXXIII. Both armies being thus ranged in nations and squadrons, on the following day offered sacrifices. The diviner on the part of the Greeks was Tisamenus, the son of Antiochus, who had accompanied the Grecian army in this character. He was an Elean of the race of Jamidæ,[2] and of the family of Clytiadæ, but had been admitted to the rights of a Lacedæmonian citizen. Having consulted the oracle at Delphi concerning his offspring, the Pythian informed him, he should be victorious in five remarkable contests. Tisamenus not understanding this, applied himself to gymnastic exercises, presuming it was here he was to expect renown and victory: becoming, therefore, a competitor in the Pentathlon, he carried off all the prizes, except that of wrestling,[3] in which he was foiled by Hieronymus, an Andrian. The Lacedæmonians, however, applying the oracular declaration to Tisamenus not to gymnastic but military contests, endeavoured to prevail on him by money to accompany their kings, the Heraclidæ, as a leader in their warlike enterprises. He, observing that his friendship was of importance to the Spartans, endeavoured to make the most of it; he told them, that if they would admit him to all the privileges of a citizen of Sparta, they might expect his services, otherwise not. The Spartans were at first incensed, and for a time neglected him: but when the terror of the Persian army was impending, they acceded to his terms. Tisamenus seeing them thus changed, increased his demand,[4] and insisted upon their making his brother Hegies also a citizen of Sparta.

XXXIV. In this conduct he seems to have imitated the example of Melampus, excepting that the one claimed a throne, the other the rights of a citizen. Melampus was invited from Pylos by the Argives, for a certain proposed compensation, to remove a kind of madness which prevailed among their women. The Argives, on his requiring half of their kingdom,[5] disdained and left him: but as the disease continued to spread still farther among their females, they returned to him, accepting his terms: he observing this change, extended his views, refusing to accomplish what they desired, unless they would also give a third part

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1 *Hermotybians and Calasirians.*]—See book Euterpe, c. clxiv.

2 *Jamidæ.*]—The families of the Jamidæ, Clytiadæ, and Telliadæ, seem to have been all soothsayers, with some specific distinction. Cicero, in his book de Divinat. makes a difference betwixt the Jamidæ and the Clytiadæ.

Larcher thinks the text of Herodotus is in this place corrupt. Of Jamus, the founder of this family, it may farther be remarked, that his mother being secretly delivered of him, concealed him among the rushes and violets, from whence he had the name of Jamus, ἴον, Ion, signifying a violet. This is Larcher's account, who refers the reader to Pindar, Olymp. vi. ver. 90.—It nevertheless seems very far-fetched.—*T.*

3 *Except that of wrestling.*]—See Pausanias, l. iii. c xi. where the same thing is said of this personage.

4 *Increased his demand.*]—The story of the Sibyline books will here occur to the reader. A woman came to Tarquin with nine books of the oracles of the Sibyls, which she offered to sell: the king hesitating about the price, she went away and burned three of them, and then came and asked the same price for the remaining six; Tarquin again refused to accede to her demand; she accordingly went away, and burned three more, and returning, still asked the same price.—The augurs advised the king to pay her, and preserve the books as sacred, which was done.—*T.*

5 *Half of their kingdom.*]—These men sometimes sold their knowledge at a very high price. There were diviners and soothsayers in all parts of Greece; but Elis of the Peloponnese was particularly remarkable for two families, the Jamidæ and the Clytiadæ, who for many generations transmitted the art of divination from father to son.—See *Cicero de Divinat.* l. i. c. 41.—*T.*

Melampus is thus mentioned in the Odyssey:

A wretch ran breathless to the shore,
New from his crime and reeking yet with gore;
A seer he was, from great Melampus sprung,
Melampus, who in Pylos flourish'd long;
Till urged by wrongs, a foreign realm he chose,
Far from the hateful cause of all his woes.
Neleus his treasures one long year detains,
As long he groan'd in Philacus's chains.
Meantime what anguish and what rage combined
For lovely Pero rack'd his lab'ring mind:
Yet 'scaped he death, and vengeful of his wrong,
To Pylos drove the lowing herds along:
Then Neleus vanquish'd, and consign'd the fair
To Bias' arms, he sought a foreign air;
Argos the rich for his retreat he chose,
There form'd his empire, there his palace rose, *T.*

to his brother Bias; the Argives, compelled by necessity, granted this also.

XXXV. In like manner the Spartans, from their want of the assistance of Tisamenus, granted all that he desired. He, from being an Elian, thus became a Spartan, and assisting them as a diviner, they obtained five remarkable victories. The Spartans never admitted but these two strangers into the number of their citizens. The five victories were these: the first was this of Platea; the second was the battle of Tegea, won by the Spartans against the Tegeatæ and the Argives; the third at Dipæa, against all the Arcadians, except the Mantineans; the fourth was over the Messenians at the isthmus; the last at Tanagra,[6] against the Athenians and Argives, which completed the predicted number.

XXXVI. This Tisamenus officiated as the augur of the Greeks at Platea, to which place he had accompanied the Spartans. The sacrifices promised victory to the Greeks if they acted on the defensive, but the contrary, if passing the Asopus, they began the fight.

XXXVII. Mardonius, though anxious to engage, had nothing to hope from the entrails, unless he acted on the defensive only. He had also sacrificed according to the Grecian rites, using as his soothsayer, Hegesistratus an Elean, and the most illustrious of the Telliadæ. The Spartans had formerly seized this man, thrown him into prison, and menaced him with death, as one from whom they had received many and atrocious injuries. In this distress, alarmed not merely for his life, but with the idea of having previously to suffer many severities, he accomplished a thing which can hardly be told. He was confined in some stocks bound with iron, but accidentally obtaining a knife, he perpetrated the boldest thing which has ever been recorded. Calculating what part of the remainder he should be able to draw out, he cut off the extremity of his foot; this done, notwithstanding he was guarded, he dug a hole under the wall, and escaped to Tegea, travelling only by night, and concealing himself in the woods during the day. Eluding the strictest search of the Lacedæmonians, he came on the third night to Tegea, his keepers being astonished at his resolution, for they saw the half of his foot, but could not find the man. In this manner Hegesistratus escaped to Tegea, which was not at that period in amity with Sparta. When his wound was healed he procured himself a wooden foot, and became an avowed enemy of Sparta. His animosity, however, against the Lacedæmonians proved ultimately of no advantage to himself, he was taken in the exercise of his office at Zacynthus, and put to death.

XXXVIII. The fate of Hegesistratus was subsequent to the battle of Platea; but at the time of which we were speaking, Mardonius, for a considerable sum, had prevailed with him to sacrifice, which he eagerly did, as well from his hatred of the Lacedæmonians, as from the desire of reward: but the appearance of the entrails gave no encouragement to fight, either to the Persians or their confederate Greeks, who also had their own appropriate soothsayer, Hippomachus of Leucadia. As the Grecian army continually increased, Timogenides of Thebes, son of Herpys, advised Mardonius to guard the pass of Cithæron, representing that he might thus intercept great bodies, who were every day thronging to the allied army of the Greeks.

XXXIX. The hostile armies had already remained eight days encamped opposite to each other, when the above counsel was given to Mardonius. He acknowledged its propriety, and immediately on the approach of night, detached some cavalry to that part of Cithæron, leading to Platea, a place called by the Bœotians the "Three Heads," by the Athenians the "Heads of Oak." This measure had its effect, and they took a convoy of five hundred beasts of burden, carrying a supply of provisions from the Peloponnese to the army; with the carriages, they took also all the men who conducted them. Masters of this booty, the Persians, with the most unrelenting barbarity, put both men and beasts to death: when their cruelty was satiated, they returned with what they had taken to Mardonius.

XL. After this event two days more passed, neither army being willing to engage. The Barbarians, to irritate the Greeks, advanced as far as the Asopus, but neither army would pass the stream. The cavalry of Mardonius greatly and constantly harassed the Greeks. The Thebans, who were very zealous in their attachment to the Medes, prosecuted the war with ardour, and did every thing but join battle; the

6 *Tanagra.*]—Thucydides, in his account of this battle agrees with Herodotus, and says that the Lacedæmonians were victorious: Diodorus Siculus, on the contrary, represents it as doubtful.—*Larcher.*

Persians and Medes supported them, and performed many illustrious actions.

XLI. In this situation things remained for the space of ten days: on the eleventh, the armies retaining the same position with respect to each other, and the Greeks having received considerable reinforcements, Mardonius became disgusted with their inactivity. He accordingly held a conference with Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who was one of the few Persians whom Xerxes honoured with his esteem; it was the opinion of Artabazus that they should immediately break up their camp, and withdraw beneath the walls of Thebes, where was already prepared a magazine of provisions for themselves, and corn for their cavalry; here they might at their leisure terminate the war by the following measures. They had in their possession a great quantity of coined and uncoined gold, with an abundance of silver and plate: it was recommended to send these with no sparing hand to the Greeks, and particularly to those of greatest authority in their respective cities. It was urged that if this were done, the Greeks would soon surrender their liberties, nor again risk the hazard of a battle. This opinion was seconded by the Thebans, who thought that it would operate successfully. Mardonius was of a contrary opinion, fierce, obstinate, and unyielding. His own army he thought superior to that of the Greeks, and that they should by all means fight before the Greeks received farther supplies: that they should give no importance to the declarations of Hegesistratus, but without violating the laws of Persia, commence a battle in their usual manner.

XLII. This opinion of Mardonius nobody thought proper to oppose, for to him, and not to Artabazus, the king had confided the supreme command of the army. He therefore assembled the principal officers of the Persians and confederate Greeks, and asked them, whether they knew of any oracle predicting that the Persians should be overthrown by the Greeks. No one ventured to reply, partly because they were ignorant of any such oracle, and partly because they were fearful of delivering their real sentiments. Mardonius, therefore, thus addressed them: "As either you know no such oracle, or dare not say what you think, I will tell you my opinion, which I conceive to be well founded: an oracle has said, that the Persians, on their entering Greece, shall plunder the temple of Delphi, and in consequence be destroyed. Being aware of this, we will not approach that temple, nor make any attempt to plunder it, and thus shall avoid the ruin which has been menaced: let then all those among you, who wish well to Persia, rejoice in the conviction that we shall vanquish the Greeks." Having said this, he ordered that every thing should be properly disposed to commence the attack early in the morning.

XLIII. The oracle which Mardonius applied to the Persians, referred, as I well know, not to them but to the Illyrians and Encheleans.[1] Upon the event of this battle, this oracle had been communicated from Bacis:

"Thermodon's and Asopus' banks along,
The Greeks in fight against Barbarians throng;
What numbers then shall press the ensanguined field,
What slaughter'd Medes their vital breath shall yield."

These words, and others of Musæus like them, doubtless related to the Persians. The Thermodon flows betwixt Tanagra and Glisas.[2]

XLIV. After Mardonius had thus spoken concerning the oracles, and endeavoured to animate his troops, the watches of the night were set. When the night was far advanced, and the strictest silence prevailed through the army, which was buried in sleep, Alexander, son of Amyntas, general and prince of the Macedonians, rode up to the Athenian outposts, and earnestly desired to speak with their commanders. On hearing this, the greater number continued on their posts, while some hastened to their officers, whom they informed that a horseman was arrived from the enemy's army, who, naming the principal Greeks, would say nothing more than that he desired to speak with them.

XLV. The commanders[3] lost no time in

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1 *Illyrians and Encheleans.*]—Pausanias, who describes with so much exactness the antiquities of Greece, does not (in Phocis) say any thing either of the plunder of the temple of Delphi, or of the calamities of the people concerned in it. Appian says, that the Antanians, who were an Illyrian nation, plundered this temple, and were destroyed by a pestilence. Something more to the purpose is found in Euripides: Bacchus discovers to Cadmus an oracle of Jupiter, which predicted to him, that when he should retire amongst the Illyrians and Encheleans, he should reign over these people, and they should destroy a vast number of cities; but that, after having plundered the temple of Delphi, they should have an unfortunate return. If we had the oracle itself, we might see in what manner Mardonius applied it to the Persians.—*Larcher.*

2 *Glisas.*]—This place is indifferently written Glisas, and Glissas, and was anciently famous for its wine.—*T.*

3 *The commanders.*]—Plutarch, who mentions this interview, speaks only of Aristides. "A man on horse-

repairing to the advanced guard, where, on their arrival, they were thus addressed by Alexander: "I am come, O Athenians, to inform you of a secret, which you must impart to Pausanias only,[4] lest my ruin ensue. Nor would I speak now, were not I anxious for the safety of Greece. I from remote antiquity am of Grecian origin, and I would not willingly see you exchange freedom for servitude; I have therefore to inform you, that if Mardonius and his army could have drawn favourable omens from their victims, a battle would long since have taken place: intending to pay no farther attention to these, it is his determination to attack you early in the morning, being afraid, as I suppose, that your forces will be yet more numerous. Be therefore on your guard; but if he still defer his purpose of an engagement, do you remain where you are, for he has provisions but for a few days more. If the event of this war should be agreeable to your wishes, it will become you to make some efforts to restore my independence, who on account of my partiality to the Greeks, have exposed myself to so much danger in thus acquainting you with the intention of Mardonius, to prevent the Barbarians attacking you by surprise. I am Alexander[5] of Macedon." When he had thus spoken, he returned to his station in the Persian camp.

XLVI. The Athenian chiefs went to the right wing, and informed Pausanias of what they had learned from Alexander. Pausanias, who stood in much awe[6] of the Persians, addressed them thus in reply: "As a battle is to take place in the morning, I think it advisable that you, Athenians, should front the Persians, and we those Bœotians and Greeks who are now posted opposite to you. You have before contended with the Medes, and know their mode of fighting by experience at Marathon; we have never had this opportunity; but we have before fought the Bœotians and Thessalians: take therefore your arms, and let us exchange situations." "From the first," answered the Athenians, "when we observed the Persians opposed to you, we wished to make the proposal[7] we now hear from you; we have only been deterred by our fear of offending you: as the overture comes from you, we are ready to comply with it."

XLVII. This being agreeable to both, as soon as the morning dawned they changed situations; this the Bœotians observed, and communicated to Mardonius. The Persian general immediately exerted himself to oppose the Lacedæmonians with his troops. Pausanias, on seeing his scheme thus detected, again removed the Spartans to the right wing, as did Mardonius instantly his Persians to the left.

XLVIII. When the troops had thus resumed their former post, Mardonius sent a herald with this message to the Spartans: "Your character, O Lacedæmonians, is highly celebrated amongst all these nations, as men who disdain to fly; who never desert your ranks, determined either to slay your enemies or die. —Nothing of this is true: we perceive you in

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back," says he, "approached silently the Grecian camp, and addressing himself to the sentinels, desired to speak with Aristides, who came immediately."—*Larcher*.

4 *To Pausanias only.*]—This account is more probable than that given by Plutarch, who makes Alexander say to Aristides, that he must not communicate the secret to any one.—*Larcher*.

5 *I am Alexander.*]—

Aristides hastes—
To whom the stranger:—bulwark of this camp
Hear, credit, weigh the tidings which I bear:.
Mardonius, press'd by fear of threat'ning want,
At night's fourth watch the fatal stream will pass,
Inflexibly determined, tho' forbad
By each diviner, to assail your host
With all his numbers.—I against surprise
Am come to warn you: thee alone I trust,
My name revealing. I, O man divine,
I who thus hazard both my realm and life,
Am Alexander, Macedonian friend
Of Athens.—Kindly on a future day
Remember me. *Athenaid.*

6 *In much awe.*]—Commenting on this passage, Wesseling asks, if Pausanias had forgotten the noble defence of the three hundred Spartans at the straits of Thermopylæ? and if their glorious deaths had rendered the Persians more terrible? To this Larcher replies, in a manner not entirely satisfactory; he observes that the Spartans on that occasion being all slain, there was not one in the army of Pausanias who had been engaged against the Persians, and who was acquainted with their mode of fighting.

It seems very singular that M. Larcher should not remember, that there was a man in the army of Pausanias who had fought with the Persians, escaped the great destruction of his countrymen, and consequently could have informed his fellow soldiers in what manner the Persians fought. See chapter lxx. of this book, in which we are told, that Aristodemus, who escaped from Thermopylæ, most distinguished himself at Platea, in order to retrieve his reputation. We find also, that Leonidas had sustained many battles with the flower of the Persian army, aided by his Grecian allies, before he devoted himself and his three hundred to death, dismissing all the rest of his army.

But after all, the most serious objection to this passage of Herodotus is, that it evidently militates with the received opinions of the discipline of Sparta, and the patient fortitude which was the characteristic feature of that singular people.—*T.*

7 *Make the proposal.*]—According to Plutarch, the Grecian leaders were at first exceedingly offended at this conduct of Pausanias, but were pacified by the remonstrances of Aristides.

the act of retreating, and of deserting your posts before a battle is commenced; we see you delegating to the Athenians the more dangerous attempt of opposing us, and placing yourselves against our slaves, neither of which actions is consistent with bravery. We are, therefore, greatly deceived in our opinion of you; we expected that from a love of glory you would have despatched a herald to us, expressing yourselves desirous to combat with the Persians alone. Instead of this we find you alarmed and terrified; but as you have offered no challenge to us, we propose one to you. As you are esteemed the most illustrious of your army, why may not an equal number of you, on the part of the Greeks, and of us on the part of the Barbarians, contend for victory? If it be agreeable to you, the rest of our common forces may afterwards engage; if this be unnecessary, we will alone engage, and which ever conquers shall be esteemed victorious over the whole[1] of the adverse army."

XLIX. The herald, after delivering his commission, waited some time for an answer; not receiving any, he returned to Mardonius. He was exceedingly delighted, and already anticipating a victory, sent his cavalry to attack the Greeks: these with their lances and arrows materially distressed the Grecian army, and forbade any near approach. Advancing to the Gargaphian fountain, which furnished the Greeks with water, they disturbed[2] and stopped it up. The Lacedæmonians alone were stationed near this fountain, the other Greeks, according to their different stations, were more or less distant, but all of them in the vicinity of the Asopus; but as they were debarred from watering here, by the missile weapons of the cavalry, they all came to the fountain.

L. In this predicament the leaders of the Greeks, seeing the army cut off from the water, and harrassed by the cavalry, came in crowds to Pausanias on the right wing, to deliberate about these and other emergencies. Unpleasant as the present incident might be, they were still more distressed from their want of provision; their servants, who had been despatched to bring this from the Peloponnese, were prevented by the cavalry from returning to the camp.

LI. The Grecian leaders, after deliberating upon the subject, determined, if the Persians should for one day more defer coming to an engagement, to pass to the island opposite to Platea, and about ten stadia from the Asopus and the fountain Gargaphie, where they were at present encamped. This island is thus connected with the continent: the river, descending from Cithæron to the plain, divides itself into two streams, which after flowing separately, for about the distance of three stadia, again unite, thus forming the island which is called Oeroe, who, according to the natives, is the daughter of Asopus.[3] The Greeks by this measure proposed to themselves two advantages; first to be secure of water, and secondly to guard against being further annoyed by the enemy's cavalry. They resolved to decamp at the time of the second watch[4] by night, lest the Persians, perceiving them, should pursue and harras them with their cavalry. It was also their intention, when arrived at the spot, where the Asopian Oeroe is formed by the division of the waters flowing from Cithæron, to detach one half of their army to the mountain to relieve a body of their servants, who, with a convoy of provisions, were there encompassed.

LII. After taking the above resolutions, they remained all that day much incommoded by the enemy's horse: when these, at the ap-

1 *Over the whole.*]—Such partial challenges, as preventing an unnecessary effusion of blood, seem in cases of unavoidable hostilities most consonant to the dictates of humanity, and we find them frequently adopted in the earlier ages of the world. The histories of Greece and Rome abound with innumerable examples of this kind; as war gradually refined into a science, they came into disuse, and in later times have been totally laid aside. —*T.*

2 *Disturbed, &c.*]—Bellanger is very angry with M. l'Abbe Gedoyn, for making Pausanias say, that Mardonius on this occasion *poisoned* the water. "The Persians, barbarians," he says, "as they were, had a greater respect for the laws of nations, and the rights of humanity:—they were no poisoners." The Greek expression in Herodotus is συνεταραξαν και συνεχωσαν. The word which Pausanias uses is συνεχειν.—*T.*

3 *Daughter of Asopus.*]—Diodorus Siculus, who mentions the twelve daughters of Asopus, and Apollodorus, who speaks of twenty by name, says nothing of this Oeroe.—*Wesseling.*

Diodorus Sic. speaks of Ægina, as well as Apollodorus, which last remarks that Ægina is the same with Œnone. Perhaps it is a mistake in the text of Herodotus, and Œnone is the true reading.—*Larcher.*

4 *Second watch.*]—About four hours after sun-set. The Greeks divided the night into four watches.—*Larcher.*

The Romans divided their night into four watches. They had a *tessera*, upon which something was inscribed; this was given from one centurion to another throughout the army, till it returned to the man from whom it was first received.—*T.*

proach of evening, retired, and the appointed hour was arrived, the greater part of the Greeks began to move with their baggage, but without any design of proceeding to the place before resolved on. The moment they began to march, occupied with no idea but that of escaping the cavalry, they retired towards Platea, and fixed themselves near the temple of Juno, which is opposite to the city, and at the distance of twenty stadia from the fountain of Gargaphie: in this place they encamped.

LIII. Pausanias, observing them in motion, gave orders to the Lacedæmonians to take their arms, and follow their route, presuming they were proceeding to the appointed station. The officers all showed themselves disposed to obey the orders of Pausanias, except Amompharetus, the son of Poliadas, captain of the band of Pitanatæ,[5] who asserted that he would not fly before the Barbarians, and thus be accessary to the dishonour of Sparta: he had not been present at the previous consultation, and knew not what was intended. Pausanias and Euryanax, though indignant at his refusal to obey the orders which had been issued, were still but little inclined to abandon the Pitanatæ, on the account of their leader's obstinacy; thinking, that by their prosecuting the measure which the Greeks in general had adopted, Amompharetus and his party must unavoidably perish. With these sentiments the Lacedæmonians were commanded to halt, and pains were taken to dissuade the man from his purpose, who alone, of all the Lacedæmonians and Tegeatæ, was determined not to quit his post.

LIV. At this crisis the Athenians determined to remain quietly on their posts, knowing it to be the genius of the Lacedæmonians to say one thing and think another.[6] But as soon as they observed the troops in motion, they despatched a horseman to learn whether the Lacedæmonians intended to remove, and to inquire of Pausanias what was to be done.

LV. When the messenger arrived, he found the men in their ranks, but their leaders in violent altercation. Pausanias and Euryanax were unsuccessfully attempting to persuade Amompharetus not to involve the Lacedæmonians alone in danger by remaining behind, when the Athenian messenger came up to them. At this moment, in the violence of dispute, Amompharetus took up a stone with both his hands, and throwing it at the feet of Pausanias, exclaimed, "There is my vote for not flying before the foreigners;" so terming the Barbarians. Pausanias, after telling him that he could be only actuated by phrenzy, turned to the Athenian, who delivered his commission. He afterwards desired him to return, and communicate to the Athenians the state in which he found them, and to entreat them immediately to join their forces, and act in concert, as should be deemed expedient.

LVI. The messenger accordingly returned to the Athenians, whilst the Spartan chiefs continued their disputes till the morning. Thus far Pausanias remained indecisive, but thinking, as the event proved, that Amompharetus would certainly not stay behind, if the Lacedæmonians actually advanced, he gave orders to all the forces to march forwards by the heights, in which they were followed by the Tegeans. The Athenians keeping close to their ranks, pursued a route opposite to that of the Lacedæmonians; these last, who were in great awe of the cavalry, advanced by the steep paths

5 *Pitanatæ.*]—At this word Larcher quotes from Pausanias the following passage,—"There is a port of Sparta called the *Theometida*, where are the tombs of the princes, called Agidæ. Near this is a place where the Crotani assemble, and the Crotani are the body of troops named the *Pitanatæ.*"

Thucydides, on the contrary, asserts that there never was a body of troops at Lacedæmon distinguished by this name.—See *Duker's edition of Thucyd.* p. 17.

According to Meursius; see his Miscellanea Laconica, l. ii. c. 2. Thucydides says this of the cohort called Σκιριτην. See also the same author's Atticæ Lectiones. l. i. c. 16.

Herodian, l. iv. says, that Antoninus Caracalla instituted a Roman band, which he named Pitanetes. The word is derived from Pitana, a daughter of Eurotas, from whom a city was called, which was the country of Menelaus.—*T.*

6 *Think another.*]—Artifice and cunning were adopted by Lycurgus in the system of his politics. To *æolize* or to deceive, was made a distinguishing note and maxim of the Spartan government. Αιολος, Hesychius explains by the word ποικιλος, duplex, a sharper. The care which they took at Sparta to train their youth in the arts of wiliness and deceit, the applause which was bestowed on the young knave who excelled therein, and the chastisement inflicted on the lad who miscarried, and was detected, ὡς κακως κλεπτοντα, as one who had not yet learned his lesson, show that they were reconciled to their name in its worst acceptation. To give it the best construction, we ought to consider, that the object Lycurgus had in view, was to render the people expert in the stratagems of war.—τους παιδας ποιειν πολεμικωτερους. *Xenoph.* de *Lac. Rep.* The arms of the Spartan monarchy were *an eagle holding a serpent*: symbolically representing a superiority of cunning.—Αιετος δρακοντος επειλημμενος; with this seal was their letter signed, which they sent to Onias the high priest.—See *Joseph. A. J.* l. xii. c. 5. See also the Trachiniæ of Sophocles, where the expression Αιολος Δρακων occurs.—*T.*

which led to the foot of mount Cithæron; the Athenians marched over the plain.

LVII. Amompharetus, never imagining that Pausanias would venture to abandon them, made great exertions to keep his men on their posts; but when he saw Pausanias advancing with his troops, he concluded himself effectually given up; taking therefore his arms, he with his band proceeded slowly after the rest of the army. These continuing their march for a space of ten stadia, came to a place called Argiopius, near the river Moloes, where is a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, and there halted, waiting for Amompharetus and his party. The motive of Pausanias in doing this was, that he might have the opportunity of returning to the support of Amompharetus, if he should be still determined not to quit his post. Here Amompharetus and his band joined them; the whole force of the enemy's horse continuing as usual to harass them. As soon as the Barbarians discovered that the spot where the Greeks had before encamped was deserted, they put themselves in motion, overtook, and materially distressed them.

LVIII. Mardonius being informed that the Greeks had decamped by night, and seeing their former station unoccupied, sent for Thorax of Larissæ and his brothers Eurypilus and Thrasydeius, and thus addressed them: "Sons of Aleuas,[1] what will you now say, seeing the Lacedæmonians desert their post, whom you, their neighbours, asserted to be men who never fled, but were above all others valiant. You have before seen them change their station in the camp, and you find, that in the last night, they have actually taken themselves to flight. They have now shown, that being opposed by men of undisputed courage, they are of no reputation themselves, and are as contemptible as their fellow Greeks; but as you may have had some testimony of their prowess, without being spectators of ours, I can readily enough forgive the praises which you rendered them. But that Artabazus, from his terror of these Spartans, should assert an opinion full of pusillanimity, and endeavour to prevail on us to leave this station, and retire to Thebes, fills me with astonishment.—The king, however, shall hear from me of his conduct; but of this more hereafter: let us, therefore, not suffer these men to escape, but pursue them vigorously, and chastise them with becoming severity for their accumulated injuries to Persia."

LIX. Having thus expressed himself, he led the Persians over the Asopus, and pursued the path which the Greeks had taken, whom he considered as flying from his arms. The Lacedæmonians and Tegeans were the sole objects of his attack, for the Athenians, who had marched over the plain, were concealed by the hills from his view. The other Persian leaders seeing the troops moving, as if in pursuit of the Greeks, raised their standards, and followed the rout with great impetuosity, but without regularity or discipline; they hurried on with tumultuous shouts, considering the Greeks as absolutely in their power.

LX. When Pausanias found himself thus pressed by the cavalry, he sent a horseman with the following message to the Athenians: "We are menaced, O Athenians, by a battle, the event of which will determine the freedom or slavery of Greece; and in this perplexity you, as well as ourselves, have, in the preceding night, been deserted by our allies. It is nevertheless our determination to defend ourselves to the last, and to render you such assistance as we may be able. If the enemy's horse had attacked you, we should have thought it our duty to have marched with the Tegeatæ, who are in our rear, and still faithful to Greece, to your support. As the whole operation of the enemy seems directed against us, it becomes you to give us the relief we materially want; but if you yourselves are so circumstanced, as to be unable to advance to our assistance, at least send us a body of archers. We confess, that in this war your activity has been far the most conspicuous, and we therefore presume on your compliance with our request."

LXI. The Athenians, without hesitation, and with determined bravery, advanced to communicate the relief which had been required. When they were already on their march, the confederate Greeks, in the service of the king, intercepted and attacked them; they were thus prevented from assisting the Lacedæmonians, a circumstance which gave them extreme uneasiness. In this situation the Spartans, to the amount of fifty thousand light armed troops,

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1 *Sons of Aleuas.*]—

Now, Larissæan Thorax, and the rest
Of Aleuadian race, now, Theban lords,
Judge of the Spartans justly. Vaunted high
For unexampled prowess, them you saw
First change their place, imposing on the sons
Of Athens twice the formidable task
To face my chosen Persians; next, they gave
To my defiance no reply; and last,
Are fled before me; can your augurs show
A better omen than a foe dismay'd? &c.—*Athenaid.*

with three thousand Tegeatæ,[2] who on no occasion were separated from them, offered a solemn sacrifice,[3] with the resolution of encountering Mardonius. The victims, however, were not auspicious, and in the mean time many of them were slain, and more wounded. The Persians, under the protection of their bucklers,[4] showered their arrows upon the Spartans with prodigious effect. At this moment Pausanias, observing the entrails still unfavourable, looked earnestly towards the temple of Juno at Platea, imploring the interposition of the goddess, and entreating her to prevent their disgrace and defeat.

LXII. Whilst he was in the act of supplicating the goddess, the Tegeatæ advanced against the Barbarians: at the same moment the sacrifices became favourable, and Pausanias, at the head of his Spartans, went up boldly to the enemy. The Persians, throwing aside their bows, prepared to receive them. The engagement commenced before the barricade:[5] when this was thrown down, a conflict took place near the temple of Ceres, which was continued with unremitted obstinacy till the fortune of the day was decided. The Barbarians seizing their adversaries' lances, broke them in pieces, and discovered no inferiority either in strength or courage; but their armour was inefficient, their attack without skill, and their inferiority, with respect to discipline, conspicuous. In whatever manner they rushed upon the enemy, from one to ten at a time, they were cut in pieces by the Spartans.

LXIII. The Greeks were most severely pressed where Mardonius himself on a white horse,[6] at the head of a thousand chosen Persians, directed his attack. As long as he lived, the Persians, both in their attack and defence, conducted themselves well, and slew great numbers of the Spartans; but as soon as Mardonius was slain, and the band which fought near his person, and which was the flower of the army, was destroyed, all the rest turned their backs and fled. They were much oppressed and encumbered by their long dresses, besides which they were lightly armed, to oppose men in full and complete armour.

LXIV. On this day, as the oracle had before predicted, the death of Leonidas was am-

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2 *Tegeatæ.*]—

Of the Spartans there were - - -	5,000
Seven Helots to each Spartan - -	35,000
Lacedæmonians - - - - - -	5,000
A light armed soldier to each Lacedæmonian - - - - - - -	5,000
Tegeatæ - - - - - - - - -	1,500
Light-armed Tegeatæ - - - - -	1,500
Total - -	53,000

See chapters xxviii. and xxix.

3 *Sacrifice.*]—Plutarch gives various particulars of this action omitted by Herodotus, which the reader perhaps may as well like to see in the words of Glover, who has almost literally copied Plutarch:

Slain is the victim, but the inspecting seer
Reveals no sign propitious. Now full nigh
The foremost Persian horse discharge around
Their javelins, darts, and arrows. Sparta's chief,
In calm respect of inauspicious heaven
Directs each soldier at his foot to rest
The passive shield, submissive to endure
Th' assault, and watch a signal from the gods.
A second time unfavourable prove
The victim's entrails.—Unremitted showers
Of pointed arms distribute wounds and death.
A second victim bleeds: the gath'ring foes
To multitude are grown: the showers of death
Increase. Then melted into flowing grief
Pausanian pride.—He towards the fane remote
Of Juno lifting his afflicted eyes,
Thus suppliant spake: O goddess, let my hopes
Be not defeated, whether to obtain
A victory so glorious, or expire
Without dishonour to Herculean blood.—
The sacrifice is prosperous, &c.

Potter gives a particular account of the mode of divination, by inspecting the entrails. If they were whole and sound, had their natural place, colour, and proportion, all was well; if any thing was out of order, or wanting, evil was portended. The palpitation of the entrails was unfortunate; if the liver was bad they inspected no farther. For other particulars, see Potter. The Roman mode of divination by the entrails, was the same as that of the Greeks.—*T.*

4 *Their bucklers.*]—The Persian bucklers were made of osier, and covered with skin.—See *Taylor on Demosthenes*, vol. iii. p. 620.

This passage has perplexed the commentators. Bellanger understands that the Persians made a rampart of their bucklers, behind which they used their arrows. Larcher approves of this, but it seems attended with many difficulties. Did they approach within a given distance of the enemy, and then pile up their bucklers by way of entrenchment? If so, in case of defeat, they became naked and defenceless; for how, in the tumult of action, and the terror of a victorious foe, could they undo their entrenchment, and each recover his buckler. In Homer we find, that Teucer shot his arrows under the protection of the shield of Ajax; and though I am hardly warranted to make the assertion, it by no means seems improbable, that with the archers a body of shield bearers might be distributed, to enable them to take their aim with more steadiness and certainty.—*T.*

5 *Barricade.*]—The former difficulty here recurs; the Greek is περι τα γερρα, and the γερρα are explained to be the Persian shields. But whilst the Greeks were endeavouring to overturn this, were the Persians fighting without shields?—*T.*

6 *White horse.*]—

But fiercest was the contest where sublime
The son of Gobryas from a snow-white steed
Shot terror.—There selected warriors charged;
A thousand veterans, by their fathers train'd,
Who shared renown with Cyrus. *Athenaid.*

ply revenged upon Mardonius, and the most glorious victory[1] which has ever been recorded, was then obtained by Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, and grandson of Anaxandrides. The other ancestors, which he had in common with Leonidas, I have before mentioned. Mardonius was slain by Aimnestus, a Spartan of distinguished reputation, who long after this Persian war, with three hundred men, was killed in an engagement at Stenyclerus, in which he opposed the united force of the Messenians.

LXV. The Persians, routed by the Spartans at Platea, fled in the greatest confusion towards their camp, and to the wooden entrenchment which they had constructed in the Theban territories. It seems to me somewhat surprising, that although the battle was fought near the grove of Ceres, not a single Persian took refuge in the temple, nor was slain near it; but the greater part of them perished beyond the limits of the sacred ground. If it may be allowed to form any conjecture on divine subjects, I should think that the goddess interfered to prevent their entrance, because on a former occasion they had burned her temple[2] at Eleusis. Such was the issue of the battle of Platea.

LXVI. Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who had from the first disapproved of the king's leaving Mardonius behind him, and who had warmly, though unsuccessfully, endeavoured to prevent a battle, determined on the following measures. He was at the head of no small body of troops; they amounted to forty thousand men: being much averse to the conduct of Mardonius, and foreseeing what the event of an engagement must be, he prepared and commanded his men to follow him wherever he should go, and to remit or increase their speed by his example. He then drew out his army, as if to attack the enemy; but he soon met the Persians flying from them: he then immediately and precipitately fled with all his troops in disorder, not directing his course to the entrenchment or to Thebes, but towards Phocis, intending to gain the Hellespont with all possible speed.—In this manner did these troops conduct themselves.

LXVII. Of those Greeks who were in the royal army, all except the Bœotians, from a preconcerted design, behaved themselves ill. The Bœotians fought the Athenians with obstinate resolution: those Thebans who were attached to the Medes made very considerable exertions, fighting with such courage, that three hundred of their first and boldest citizens fell by the swords of the Athenians. They fled at length, and pursued their way to Thebes, avoiding the route which the Persians had taken with the immense multitude of confederates, who, so far from making any exertions, had never struck a blow.

LXVIII. To me it appears, that the conduct of the barbarians in general, was decided by that of the Persians. Before they had at all engaged with the enemy, they took themselves to flight, seeing the Persians do so. The whole army, however, fled in confusion, except the horse, and those of the Bœotians in particular, who were of essential service in covering the retreat, being constantly at hand to defend their flying friends from the Greeks, who continued the pursuit with great slaughter.

LXIX. In the midst of all this tumult, intelligence was conveyed to those Greeks posted near the temple of Juno, and remote from the battle, that the event was decided, and Pausanias victorious. The Corinthians instantly, without any regularity, hurried over the hills which lay at the foot of the mountain, to arrive at the temple of Ceres. The Megarians and Phliasians, with the same intentions, posted over the plain, the more direct and obvious road. As they approached the enemy, they were observed by the Theban horse, commanded by Asopodorus, son of Timander, who, taking advantage of their want of order, rushed upon them and slew six hundred, driving the rest towards mount Cithæron. Thus did these perish ingloriously.

LXX. The Persians, and a promiscuous multitude along with them, as soon as they

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1 *Glorious victory.*]—It was principally, says the author of the Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis, to the victories which the Athenians obtained over the Persians, that they owed the ruin of their ancient constitution. After the battle of Platea, it was ordered that the citizens of the lower classes, who had been excluded by Solon the principal magistracies, should from that time have the privilege of obtaining them. The wise Aristides, who prevented this decree, afforded a calamitous example to those who succeeded him in command; they were first compelled to flatter the multitude, and finally to bow before it. Formerly they disdained to attend the general assemblies; but as soon as government had ordained, that a gratification of three oboli should be given to whoever assisted at them, they rushed there in crowds, driving away the affluent by their presence and their furies, and insolently substituting their caprices for laws.—*T.*

2 *Burned her temple.*]—I fear the remark of Mr. Gibbon, that the style of Herodotus is half sceptical and half superstitious, will here be thought true.—*T.*

arrived at the entrenchment, endeavoured to climb the turrets, before the Lacedæmonians should come up with them. Having effected this, they endeavoured to defend themselves as well as they could. The Lacedæmonians soon arrived, and a severe engagement commenced at the entrenchment. Before the Athenians came up, the Persians not only defended themselves well, but had the advantage, as the Lacedæmonians were ignorant of the proper method of attack; but as soon as the Athenians advanced to their support, the battle was renewed with greater fierceness, and long continued. The valour and firmness of the Athenians finally prevailed. Having made a breach they rushed into the camp: the Tegeatæ were the first Greeks that entered, and were they who plundered the tent of Mardonius, taking from thence, among other things, the manger[3] from which his horses were fed, made entirely of brass, and very curious. This was afterwards deposited by the Tegeatæ in the temple of the Alean Minerva: the rest of the booty was carried to the spot where the common plunder was collected. As soon as their entrenchment was thrown down, the Barbarians dispersed themselves different ways, without exhibiting any proof of their former bravery: they were, indeed, in a state of stupefaction and terror, from seeing their immense multitude overpowered in so short a period. So great was the slaughter made by the Greeks, that of this army, which consisted of three hundred thousand men, not three thousand escaped, if we except the forty thousand who fled with Artabazus. The Lacedæmonians of Sparta lost ninety-one men; the Tegeatæ sixteen; the Athenians fifty-two.[4]

LXXI. Of those who most distinguished themselves on the part of the Barbarians, are to be reckoned the Persian infantry, the Sacian cavalry, and lastly Mardonius himself. Of the Greeks, the Tegeatæ and Athenians were eminently conspicuous; they were, nevertheless, inferior to the Lacedæmonians. The proof of this with me is, that though the former conquered those to whom they were opposed, the latter vanquished the pride and strength of the Barbarian army. The most daring of the Spartans, in my opinion, was Aristodemus: the same who alone returning from Thermopylæ fell into disgrace and infamy; next to him, Posidonius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan, behaved best. Nevertheless, when it was disputed in conversation what individual had on that day most distinguished himself, the Spartans who were present said, that Aristodemus, being anxious to die conspicuously, as an expiation of his former crime, in an emotion of fury had broke from his rank, and performed extraordinary exploits; but that Posidonius had no desire to lose his life, and therefore his behaviour was the more glorious: but this remark might have proceeded from envy. All those of whom I have spoken, as slain on this day, were highly honoured, except Aristodemus. To him, for the reason above mentioned, no respect was paid, as having voluntarily sought death.

LXXII. The above were those who gained the greatest reputation in the battle of Platea. Callicrates, the handsomest man, not only of all the Lacedæmonians, but of all the Greeks, was not slain in actual engagement: whilst Pausanias was sacrificing he was sitting in his rank, and received a wound in his side from an arrow. In the heat of the conflict he was carried off, lamenting to Aimnestus, a man of Platea, not that he perished for his country, but that he died without any personal exertions, without performing any deed of valour worthy of himself, or his desire of renown.

LXXIII. The most eminent on this occasion of the Athenians is said to have been Sophanes, the son of Eutychides, of the Decelean tribe. The Deceleans, at some former period, according to the Athenians, did what proved for ever of the greatest advantage to them. The Tyndaridæ had, with a numerous force, invaded Attica, to recover Helen,[5] and had driven away all the natives, without being able to discover where Helen was. On this

3 *Manger.*]—One of the later Roman emperors, I believe it was Caracalla, fed a favourite horse from a manger of solid gold.—*T.*

4 *Fifty-two.*]—The Greeks, according to Plutarch, lost in all 1,360 men; all those who were slain of the Athenians were of one particular tribe. Plutarch is much incensed at Herodotus for his account of this battle; but the authority of our historian seems entitled to most credit.—*T.*

5 *Helen.*]—Helen, as every body knows, was the daughter of Tyndarus, and the sister of Castor and Pollux; she was carried off by Theseus, when, according to Hellanicus, he was fifty years old. She was not then marriageable, probably not more than ten. This event consequently happened many years before Menelaus married her, and Paris carried her away. The Greeks were ten years assembling forces for the siege, which continued ten years. "This is the twentieth year of my arrival at Troy," says Helen, in the Iliad, at which time she must have been in her thirty-sixth year.—*Larcher*

emergence, the Deceleans are reported, and, as some say, Deceleus himself, to have discovered what was required, and to have conducted the invaders to Aphidnæ, which Titacus,[1] a native of the place, delivered into his hands. To this measure they were induced, partly from a sense of the infamy which was occasioned by the crime of Theseus, and partly from the fear that the whole territories of Attica would be ravaged. On account of this action, an immunity from taxes in Sparta, which has continued to the present period, was granted to the Deceleans, as well as a place of honour in the public assemblies. In the war which many years afterwards[2] took place between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, the Lacedæmonians laying waste the rest of Attica, spared Decelea alone.

LXXIV. Of this people was Sophanes, who so greatly distinguished himself among the Athenians, though the particulars of his conduct are differently represented. He is reported by some to have carried before him an anchor of iron, secured by a leathern thong to his breast-plate: this, when the enemy approached, he threw on the ground, lest their rushing upon him might remove him from his rank: when the enemy fled he took up his anchor, and pursued them. Another report says, that he did not carry a real anchor, but merely the impression of one upon his shield, which he continually moved about.

LXXV. Another noble action is told of this Sophanes: when the Athenians besieged Ægina, he challenged, and killed in single combat, Eurybates[3] of Argos, who had conquered in the Pentathlon. Sometime after this battle of Platea, whilst exerting himself with great bravery as leader of the Athenians, in conjunction with Leagrus, the son of Glaucon, he lost his life; he was slain by the Edonians at Datus,[4] in a contest about some gold mines.

LXXVI. After this victory of the Greeks over the Barbarians at Platea, a woman hearing of the event, came to the Greeks as a suppliant. She was the concubine of Pharandates,[5] a Persian, the son of Teaspes; both she and her female attendants were superbly dressed in habits of the richest embroidery. Descending from her carriage, she approached the Lacedæmonians, who were still engaged in slaughter, and addressing herself to Pausanias, who she saw commanded, and whose name and country she had before known: "Prince of Sparta," said she, embracing his knees,[6] "be my deliverer from servitude: you have already merited my gratitude, by exterminating those who revered neither gods nor demons. I am a Coan by birth, daughter of Hegetoridas, granddaughter of Antagoras; the Persian carried me off violently from Cos, and detained me with him." "Be under no alarm," answered Pausanias, "both because you are a suppliant,[7] and because, if what you say be true, you are the daughter of Hegetoridas of Cos, to whom of all his countrymen, I am most bound by the ties of hospitality." He then recommended her to the care of the ephori, who were present, and finally, at her request, removed her to Ægina.

LXXVII. After the departure of this woman, and when the battle was finally decided, the Mantineans arrived. Their not coming in

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1 *Titacus.*]—There was a town in Attica called Titacidæ, doubtless so called from this Titacus.—*Larcher.*

It is not mentioned by Spon, in his book de Pagis Atticis.—*T.*

2 *Many years afterwards.*]—The battle of Platea took place in the second year of the 75th Olympiad; the Peloponnesian war commenced in the spring of the first year of the 87th Olympiad, that is, near forty-eight years after the battle of Platea.—*Larcher.*

3 *Eurybates.*]—He was conqueror in the Nemean games, and Pausanias relates the particular manner in which he was slain. See our author, book vi. chap. 92. This Eurybates must not be confounded with the Eurybates who betrayed Crœsus, and whose name became proverbial for a traitor. The latter was of Ephesus, the former of Argos.—*Larcher.*

4 *Datus.*—Upon this place Meursius, in his Lectiones Atticæ, employs a whole chapter, correcting errors concerning it committed by Stephanus and Hesychius. Stephanus the geographer places it in Thrace, Ptolemy in Macedonia, on the confines of Thrace; Eustathius on Dionysius agrees with Ptolemy, placing Datus on the banks of the Strymon, a river of Macedonia.—*T.*

5 *Pharandates.*]—This man commanded the Mares and Colchians. See b. viii. c. 79.

6 *Embracing his knees.*]—This was a common, and indeed very natural act of extreme humility, and earnest supplications, innumerable instances occur of its being practised in ancient writers, and in Homer particularly. Priam, when he goes to beg of Achilles the body of Hector, throws himself at his feet, and embraces his knees:

> Unseen by these the king his entry made
> And prostrate now before Achilles laid;
> Sudden (a venerable sight) appears,
> Embraced his knees, and bathed his hands in tears;
> Those direful hands his kisses press'd, imbrued
> E'en with the best, the dearest of his blood.

These six lines are expressed with much greater pathos and beauty by Homer in three.—*T.*

7 *Suppliant.*]—See the Odyssey, book vii. 216.—Pope's Translation:

> To raise a lowly suppliant from the ground
> Befits a monarch.

time for the engagement they esteemed a serious calamity, and an incident for which they ought to undergo a voluntary punishment.—Having learned that the Medes, under Artabazus,[8] had taken themselves to flight, they determined to pursue them as far as Thessaly, from which they were with some difficulty dissuaded by the Lacedæmonians: afterwards, on their return home, they sent their leaders into banishment. The Eleans arrived after the Mantineans, and expressing the same regret, they also returned, and banished their commanders. Such was the conduct of these two people.

LXXVIII. Among the troops of the Æginetæ, assembled at Platea, was Lampon,[9] one of their principal citizens, and son of Pytheas. This man went to Pausanias, giving him the following most impious counsel: "Son of Cleombrotus, what you have done is beyond comparison splendid, and deserving admiration. The deity, in making you the instrument of Greece's freedom, has placed you far above all your predecessors in glory; in concluding this business, so conduct yourself, that your reputation may be still increased, and that no Barbarian may ever again attempt to perpetrate atrocious actions against Greece. When Leonidas was slain at Thermopylæ, Mardonius and Xerxes cut off his head, and suspended his body from a cross. Do the same with respect to Mardonius, and you will deserve the applause of Sparta and Greece, and avenge the cause of your uncle Leonidas. Thus spake Lampon, thinking he should please Pausanias,

LXXIX. "Friend of Ægina," replied Pausanias, "I thank you for your good intentions, and commend your foresight; but what you say violates every principle of equity.[10] After elevating me, my country, and this recent victory, to the summit of fame, you again depress us to infamy, in recommending me to inflict vengeance on the dead.[11] You say, indeed, that by such an action, I shall exalt my character; but I think it is more consistent with the conduct of Barbarians than of Greeks, as it is one of those things for which we reproach them. I must therefore dissent from the Æginetæ, and all those who approve their sentiments. For me, it is sufficient to merit the esteem of Sparta, by attending to the rules of honour, both in my words and actions: Leonidas, whom you wish me to avenge, has, I think, received the amplest vengeance. The deaths of this immense multitude must sufficiently have atoned for him, and for those who fell with him at Thermopylæ. I would advise you in future, having these sentiments, to avoid my presence; and I would have you think it a favour that I do not punish you."

LXXX. Pausanias afterwards proclaimed by a herald, that no person should touch any of the booty; and he ordered the helots to collect the money into one place. They, as they dispersed[12] themselves over the camp, found tents decorated with gold and silver, couches of the same, goblets, cups, and drinking vessels of gold, besides sacks of gold, and silver caldrons placed on carriages. The dead bodies they stripped of bracelets, chains, and scimetars of gold; to their habits of various colours they paid no attention. Many things of value the helots secreted, and sold them to the Æginetæ: others, unable to conceal, they were obliged to

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8 *Artabazus.*]—He commanded the Parthians and Chorasmians, consisting of forty thousand men. See book vii. c. 66.

9 *Lampon.*]—This Lampon was of a family illustrious no less for the prizes they obtained at the Isthmean and Nemean games, than for their noble origin. He was the son of Pytheas, to whom the fifth Nemean Ode of Pindar was addressed; which see.

10 *Of equity.*]—Pausanias altered materially afterwards. He aspired to the supreme power, became magnificent and luxurious, fierce and vindictive. See Thucydides, l. l. c. 128, 29, 30, &c.—*Larcher.*

11 *On the dead.*]—This sentiment is frequently expressed by ancient and modern authors. Homer says,

T' insult the dead is cruel and unjust.

Dr. Young, in his play of the Revenge, makes Zanga say,

————I war not with the dead.

And in the Complaint, Night iii. 190,

What guilt
Can equal violations of the dead:
The dead how sacred: sacred is the dust
Of this heaven labour'd form.

But perhaps the most forcible and elegant sentiments on this subject may be found in the Antigone of Sophocles; where Antigone in defiance of the edicts of Creon, at the peril of her own life, buries the dead body of her brother Polynices.

12 *As they dispersed.*]—This circumstance and behaviour of the helots necessarily reminds us of the four leprous men, 2 kings, chap. vii. ver. 8.

"And when these lepers came to the uttermost part of the camp, they went into one tent, and did eat and drink, and carried thence silver and gold and raiment, and went and hid it; and came again and entered into another tent, and carried thence also, and went and hid it."

The plunder of the Syrian camp by the king of Israel resembles in many other particulars what is here described of the Persian camp by Herodotus. See on the events related in this chapter, Diodorus Sic. l. ii. c. 26; Plutarch's Life of Aristides: Thucyd. l. iii. 114; Ælian V. History, vol. ii. p. 680, where we are told that the Æginetæ were the first coiners of money.—*T.*

produce. The Æginetæ from this became exceedingly rich; for they purchased gold of the helots at the price of brass.

LXXXI. From the wealth thus collected, a tenth part was selected for sacred purposes. To the deity at Delphi was presented a golden tripod,[1] resting on a three-headed snake of brass: it was placed near the altar. To the Olympian god they erected a Jupiter,[2] ten cubits high: to the god of the Isthmus, the figure of Neptune, in brass, seven cubits high. When this was done, the remainder of the plunder was divided among the army, according to their merits: it consisted of Persian concubines, gold, silver, beasts of burden, with various riches. What choice things were given to those who most distinguished themselves at Platea,[3] has never been mentioned, though certain presents, I believe, were made to them. It is certain, that to Pausanias was given a tenth part of the whole, consisting, among other things, of women, horses, talents, and camels.

LXXXII. It is farther recorded, that when Xerxes fled from Greece, he left all his equipage to Mardonius; Pausanias seeing this composed of gold, silver, and cloth of the richest embroidery, gave orders to the cooks and domestics to prepare an entertainment for him, as for Mardonius. His commands were executed, and he beheld couches of gold and silver, tables of the same, and every thing that was splendid and magnificent. Astonished at the spectacle, he again with a smile directed his servants to prepare a Lacedæmonian repast. When this was ready, the contrast was so striking, that he laughing sent for the Grecian leaders: when they were assembled, he showed them the two entertainments: "Men of Greece," said he, "I have called you together to bear testimony to the king of Persia's folly, who forsook all his luxury to plunder us who live in so much poverty."[4] These were the words which Pausanias is said to have used to the Grecian leaders.

LXXXIII. In succeeding times, many of the Plateans found on the field of battle, chests of gold, silver, and other riches. This thing also happened: when the flesh had fallen from the bones of the dead bodies, the Plateans, in removing them to some other spot, discovered a scull of one entire bone without any suture.[5] Two jaw-bones also were found with their teeth, which though divided were of one entire bone,[6] the grinders as well as the rest. The bones of a man also were seen five cubits high.

LXXXIV. The body of Mardonius was removed the day after the battle: but it is not known by whom. I have heard the interment of Mardonius ascribed to various people of different nations: and I know that many persons received on this account liberal presents from Artóntas, his son; but who it actually was that privately removed and buried the body of Mardonius, I have never been able to ascertain. It has sometimes been imputed to Dionysiophanes, a native of Ephesus.

LXXXV. The Greeks, after the division of the plunder of Platea, proceeded to inter their dead, each nation by themselves.[7] The Lacedæmonians[8] sunk three trenches; in the one

1 *Tripod.*]—On the subject of ancient tripods, see Montfaucon, vol. ii. p. 85. What Herodotus here says is confirmed by Pausanias, in Phoc. book, p. 633.—*T.*

2 *Jupiter.*]—See Pausanias, Elis. c. xxiii.

"Near the senate house is a Jupiter without an inscription, and another, which was dedicated by those who fought against Mardonius at Platea; the names of the states, whose subjects were in that action, being inscribed upon the base of the figure, which was made by Anaxagoras of Ægina. The Lacedæmonians are the first, the Athenians next, then the Corinthians, fourthly the Sicyonians, then the Æginetæ, &c.—*Larcher.*

3 *At Platea.*]—That sagacious and entertaining traveller, Mr. Coxe, relates in his vol. i, of Switzerland, that the people of Glaris, to the amount only of three hundred and fifty, assisted by thirty Switzers, not only repulsed, but vanquished with a prodigious slaughter, an army of fifteen thousand Austrians. "This surprising victory," says he, "gained by a handful of men, against an enemy so superior in number (instances of which are by no means rare in the history of Switzerland) render the wonderful combats of Marathon and Platea perfectly credible."—*T.*

This battle took place on the fourth of the month Boedromion, which corresponds with our September.

4 *Poverty.*]—If this remark were made with truth with respect to the Greeks, how much more pertinent does it appear, comparing the Scythians with the Persians, against whom Darius unsuccessfully led a numerous army.

5 *Without any suture.*]—Father Hardouin, in a note on a passage of Pliny, observes, that Albert, Marquis of Brandenburg, surnamed the German Achilles, had a scull without a suture.—*Larcher.*

Natural historians have remarked this peculiarity in the sculls of many persons. It has also been affirmed of the celebrated cardinal Ximenes.—*T.*

6 *Entire bone.*]—Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, had his teeth of one entire bone, though distinct from each other. It has been related also of many.—*Larcher.*

7 *By themselves.*]—The Lacedæmonians and Athenians had an appropriate burial; the other Greeks were interred promiscuously.—*Larcher.*

8 *The Lacedæmonians.*]—We learn from Plutarch, that it was not unusual to separate the commanders from the common men.—See *Montfaucon*, vol. v. 14, 15, &c.—*T.*

they deposited the bodies of their priests.[9] among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus, Philocyon, and Callicrates: in the second were interred the other Spartans; in the third the helots. The Tegeatæ were buried by themselves, but with no distinction; the Athenians in like manner, and also the Megarians and Phliasians who were slain by the cavalry. Mounds of earth were raised over the bodies of all these people. With respect to the others shown at Platea, I am told they were raised by those, who being ashamed of their absence from the battle, wished to secure the esteem of posterity. There is here a monument said to be that of the Æginetæ, but this I have been informed was raised ten years after the battle, by Cleades of Platea, the son of Autodicus, at the particular request of the Æginetæ, to whom he was bound by the ties of hospitality.

LXXXVI. Having buried their dead on the plain of Platea, the Greeks, after serious deliberation, resolved to attack Thebes, and demand the persons of those who had taken part with the Medes. Of these the most distinguished were Timegenides and Attaginus, the leaders of the faction. They determined, unless these were given up, not to leave Thebes, without utterly destroying it. On the eleventh day after the battle, they besieged the Thebans, demanding the men whom we have named. They refused to surrender them; in consequence of which, their lands were laid waste, and their walls attacked.

LXXXVII. This violence being continued, Timegenides, on the twentieth day, thus addressed the Thebans: "Men of Thebes,[10] since the Greeks are resolved not to retire from Thebes till they shall either have destroyed it, or you shall deliver us into their power, let not Bœotia on our account be farther distressed. If their demand of our persons be merely a pretence to obtain money, let us satisfy them from the wealth of the public, as not we alone, but all of us have been equally and openly active on the part of the Medes; if their real object in besieging Thebes, is to obtain our persons, we are ready to go ourselves and confer with them." The Thebans approving his advice sent immediately a herald to Pausanias, saying they were ready to deliver up the men.

LXXXVIII. As soon as this measure was determined, Attaginus fled, but his children were delivered to Pausanias, who immediately dismissed them, urging that infants could not possibly have any part in the faction of the Medes. The other Thebans who were given up, imagined they should have the liberty of pleading for themselves, and by the means of money hoped to escape. Pausanias, expecting such a thing might happen, as soon as he got them in his power, dismissed all the forces of the allies; then removing the Thebans to Corinth, he there put them to death.

LXXXIX. These things were done at Platea and Thebes. Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, fled from Platea to the Thessalians. They received him with great hospitality, and entirely ignorant of what had happened, inquired after the remainder of the army. The Persian was fearful that if he disclosed the whole truth, he might draw upon him the attack of all who knew it, and consequently involve himself and army in the extremest danger. This reflection had before prevented his communication of the matter to the Phoceans: and on the present occasion he thus addressed the Thessalians: "I am hastening, as you perceive, with great expedition to Thrace, being despatched thither from our camp with this detachment, on some important business. Mardonius with his troops follows me at no great distance: show him the rites of hospitality and every suitable attention. You will finally have no occasion to repent of your kindness." He then proceeded through Thessaly and Macedonia, immediately to Thrace, with evident marks of being in haste. Directing his march through the midst of the country, he arrived at Byzantium, with the loss of great numbers of his men, who were either cut in pieces by the Thracians, or quite worn out by fatigue and hunger. From Byzantium, he passed over his army in transports, and thus effected his return to Asia.

XC. On the very day of the battle of Pla-

9 *Their priests.*]—For τους ἱερεας, Valcnaer thinks we may read τους ἱππεας, the knights of whom we learn, b. viii. c. 124. These were three hundred.—*T.*

10 *Men of Thebes.*]—The gallant behaviour of Timegenides on this occasion will remind the English reader of the siege of Calais by Edward the Third, when Eustace de St Pierre, one of the principal inhabitants, behaved precisely in a similar manner. He declared himself willing to suffer death for the safety of his friends and fellow citizens. The entreaties of Philippa, Henry's queen, induced the English monarch to behave with more magnanimity than we find Pausanias did. The citizens of Calais saved their lives, received magnificent presents, and were dismissed in safety. See the story admirably told by Hume, vol. ii. p. 442.

tea, a victory was gained at Mycale in Ionia. Whilst the Grecian fleet was yet at Delos, under the command of Leutychides the Lacedæmonian, ambassadors came to them from Samos. These were Lampon the son of Thrasyales, Athenagoras, son of Archestratidas, and Hegesistratus, son of Aristagoras, who were employed on this occasion without the knowledge of the Persians or of Theomestor,[1] son of Androdamas, whom the Persians had made prince of Samos. On their arrival, they sought the Grecian leaders, whom Hegesistratus addressed with various arguments. He urged, that as soon as they should show themselves, all the Ionians would shake off their dependence, and revolt from the Persians: he told them that they might wait in vain for the prospect of a richer booty. He implored also their common deities, that being Greeks, they would deliver those who were Greeks also from servitude, and avenge them on the Barbarian. He concluded by saying, that this might be easily accomplished, as the ships of the enemy were slow sailers, and by no means equal to the Greeks. He added, that if they had any suspicions of treachery, they were ready to go on board their vessels, and there remain as hostages.

XCI. Whilst the Samian continued his importunities, Leutychides, either for the sake of some omen, or by accident, Providence so ordering it, asked him his name. He replied, "Hegesistratus." If he had intended saying any more, Leutychides prevented him by exclaiming, "My Samian friend, I accept the omen of your name, you may therefore return, after promising us on behalf of yourself and your companions, that the Samians will prove themselves zealous allies."

XCII. Saying this, he proceeded to execute what was proposed. The Samians, with an oath, engaged to become the confederates of the Greeks. Leutychides then dismissed them all except Hegesistratus, who on account of his name,[2] he chose to take along with him. The Greeks, after remaining that day on their station, on the next sacrificed with favourable omens; Deiphonus, son of Evenius of Apollonia, in the Ionian gulf, being their minister.

XCIII. To this Evenius the following thing happened. There are in Apollonia, sheep sacred to the sun, which by day are fed on the banks of a river, that, flowing from mount Lacmon, passes through Apollonia, and empties itself into the sea, near the harbour of Oricum. By night they are kept by men, one of whom is every year chosen from the noblest and wealthiest of his fellow citizens. To these sheep, on account of some oracle, the people of Apollonia pay the greatest reverence, and they are every night secured in a cave at some distance from the city. Evenius being once elected to this office, was so remiss as to fall asleep, when some wolves entered, and destroyed nearly sixty of his sheep. On discovering the accident, he made no person acquainted with what had happened, intending to buy an equal number to substitute in their room. It could not however be concealed from the people of Apollonia, who, bringing Evenius to trial, condemned him to lose his eyes for sleeping on his duty. After they had inflicted this punishment upon him, their cattle ceased to bring forth, and their lands to be fruitful. This had been before predicted by the oracles of Dodona and Delphi. The prophets being interrogated concerning the occasion of the present calamity, replied, "That it was because they had unjustly deprived of his sight, Evenius, the keeper of the sacred sheep." They were the persons they said who had sent the wolves: nor would they cease their vengeance till Evenius should be satisfied in whatever manner he desired. They added, that they themselves would afterwards make him such a present as would induce most men to think him happy.

XCIV. This reply was made by the oracles to the people of Apollonia. They, concealing this, commissioned some of their citizens to compound the business. The method they took was this: they visited Evenius in his house, and seating themselves by him, talked of indifferent matters, till they at length began to pity his misfortune. When this was introduced, they asked him what compensation

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1 *Theomestor.*]—It may be seen in book viii. c. 15. what it was that induced the Persians to give this man the government of Samos.—*Larcher.*

2 *On account of his name.*]—The ancients paid great attention, Greeks as well as Romans, to the presages to be drawn from names. When Augustus was proceeding to the battle of Actium, he met a man driving an ass; the man's name was Eutychus, which means fortunate, the name of the ass was Nicon, which signifies victory. He accepted this as a favourable omen, and after his conquest of Anthony, he constructed a temple, in which he placed figures of the ass and its master. Many similar examples are to be found.—*T.*

would satisfy him, if the Apolloniatæ would engage to make it? As he knew nothing of the oracle, he expressed his wish to have the lands of two citizens, whom he specified, which he believed to be the best in the country; to this he added the most splendid house in the city. If he had but these, he said, he should be perfectly content, and no longer feel any resentment. When Evenius had made this reply, his visitors interrupted him: "Accept," said they, "what you require, and what in compliance with the oracle, your countrymen are disposed to give you as an atonement for depriving you of sight." Evenius, on hearing the matter explained, was greatly incensed at the deception. The farms which he had wished for were purchased of their owners, and given him. He had afterwards the power of divination, whence he became famous.

XCV. Deiphonus was the son of this Evenius, whom the Corinthians had brought with them as soothsayer to the army. I have been informed that Deiphonus performed this office in Greece, availing himself of the name of Evenius, whose son he really was not.

XCVI. The Greeks having sacrificed favourably, set sail from Delos towards Samos. On their arrival at Calami[3] of Samos, they drew themselves up near the temple of Juno, and prepared for a naval engagement. When the Persians heard of their approach, they moved with the residue of their fleet towards the continent, having previously permitted the Phenicians to retire. They had determined, after a consultation, not to risk an engagement, as they did not think themselves a match for their opponents. They therefore made towards the continent, that they might be covered by their land forces at Mycale, to whom Xerxes had intrusted the defence of Ionia. These, to the amount of sixty thousand, were under the command of Tigranes the Persian, one of the handsomest and tallest of his countrymen. To these troops the commanders of the fleet resolved to retire: it was also their intention to draw their vessels on shore, and to throw up an intrenchment round them, which might equally serve as a protection to their vessels and themselves.

XCVII. After the above resolution, they proceeded on their course, and were carried near the temple of the Eumenidæ at Mycale, contiguous to Gæson and Scolopeæ. In this place is a temple of the Eleusinian Ceres, built by Philistus, son of Pasicles, who accompanied Neleus the son of Codrus, when he founded Miletus. Here the Persians drew their ships to land, defending them with an intrenchment formed of stones, branches of fruit-trees cut down upon the spot, and pieces of timber closely fitted together. In this position they were ready to sustain a blockade, and with the hopes of victory, being prepared for either event.

XCVIII. When the Greeks received intelligence that the Barbarians were retired to the continent, they considered them as escaped out of their hands. They were exceedingly exasperated, and in great perplexity whether they should return or proceed towards the Hellespont. Their ultimate determination was to follow the enemy towards the continent. Getting therefore all things ready for an engagement by sea, and providing themselves with scaling ladders, and such other things as were necessary, they sailed to Mycale. When they approached the enemy's station, they perceived no one advancing to meet them; but beheld the ships drawn on shore, secured within an intrenchment, and a considerable body of infantry ranged along the coast. Leutychides upon this advanced before all the rest in his ship, and coming as near the shore as he could, thus addressed the Ionians by a herald: "Men of Ionia, all you who hear me, listen to what I say, for the Persians will understand nothing of what I tell you. When the engagement shall commence, remember first of all our common liberties; in the next place take notice, our watch-word is Hebe. Let those who hear me, inform all who do not." The motive of this conduct was the same with that of Themistocles at Artemisium. These expressions, if not intelligible to the Barbarians, might make the desired impression on the Ionians; or if explained to the former, might render the fidelity of the latter suspected.

XCIX. When Leutychides had done this,

3 *Calami.*]—Larcher in his Memoire sur Venus, p.146, says, there was a temple at Samos erected to Venus, in a place full of reeds, which occasioned the goddess to be called Venus among the reeds, ην οι μεν εν καλαμοις καλουσιν. This, says the learned Frenchman, is a valuable piece of intelligence, for we learn that there was a place in Samos called Καλαμοι, Calami, which explains this passage in Herodotus, concerning which the two last editors have not said a syllable; neither has any geographer or author spoken of this place; but it is evident from Athenæus, l. xiii. c. 4. that it ought to be read προς Καλαμοισι.—*T.*

the Greeks approached the shore, disembarked, and prepared for battle. The Persians observing this, and knowing the purport of the enemy's address to the Ionians, took their arms from the Samians, suspecting them of a secret attachment to the Greeks. The Samians had purchased the freedom of five hundred Athenians, and sent them back with provisions to their country, who having been left in Attica, had been taken prisoners by the Persians, and brought away in the Barbarian fleet. The circumstance of their thus releasing five hundred of the enemies of Xerxes made them greatly suspected. To the Milesians, under pretence of their knowledge of the country, the Persians confided the guard of the paths to the heights of Mycale; their real motive was to remove them to a distance. By these steps the Persians endeavoured to guard against those Ionians, who might wish, if they had the opportunity, to effect a revolt. They next heaped their bucklers upon each other, to make a temporary rampart.

C. The Greeks being drawn up, advanced to attack the Barbarians: as they were proceeding, a herald's wand was discovered on the beach, and a rumour circulated through the ranks, that the Greeks had obtained a victory over the forces of Mardonius in Bœotia. These things which happen[1] by divine interposition, are made known by various means. On the same day that their enemies were slaughtered at Platea, and were about to be defeated at Mycale, the rumour of the former victory being circulated to this distance, rendered the Greeks more bold, and animated them against every danger.

CI. It appears farther worthy of observation, that both battles took place near the temple of the Eleusinian Ceres. The battle of Platea, as I have before remarked, was in the vicinity of the temple of Ceres: the one at Mycale was in a similar situation. The report of the victory of the Greeks under Pausanias came at a very seasonable moment; the engagement at Platea happening early in the morning, that at Mycale towards the evening. It was soon afterwards ascertained, that these incidents occurred on the same day of the same month. Before the arrival of this rumour at Mycale, the Greeks were in great consternation, not so much on their own account, as from the fear that Greece would not be able to withstand the exertions of Mardonius; but after they had heard this news, they advanced to combat with greater eagerness and courage. The Barbarians testified equal resolution, and both seemed to consider the islands and the Hellespont as the reward of victory.

CII. The Athenians, who, with those that accompanied them, constituted one half of the army, advanced by the coast, and along the plain: the Lacedæmonians and their auxiliaries, by the more woody and mountainous places. Whilst the Lacedæmonians were making a circuit, the Athenians in the other wing were already engaged. The Persians, as long as their intrenchment remained uninjured, defended themselves well, and without any inferiority; but when the Athenians with those who supported them, increased their exertions, mutually exhorting one another, that they and not the Lacedæmonians might have the glory of the day, the face of things was changed; the rampart was thrown down, and a sensible advantage obtained over the Persians. They sustained the shock for a considerable time, but finally gave way, and retreated behind their intrenchments. The Athenians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, and Trœzenians, rushed in with them; for this part of the army was composed of these different nations. When the wall was carried, the Barbarians gave no testimony of their former prowess, but, except the Persians, indiscriminately fled. These last, though few in number, vigorously resisted the Greeks, who poured in upon them in crowds. Artayntes and Ithamitres, the commanders of the fleet, saved themselves by flight; but Mardontes, and Tigranes the general of the land forces, were slain.

CII. Whilst the Persians still refused to give ground, the Lacedæmonians and their party arrived, and put all who survived to the sword. Upon this occasion many of the Greeks were slain, and amongst a number of the Sicyonians, Perilaus their leader. The Samians, who were in the Persian army, and from whom their weapons had been taken, no sooner saw victory incline to the side of the Greeks, than they assisted them with all their power. The other Ionians seeing this, revolted also, and turned their arms against the Barbarians.

1 *Which happen.*]—It is unnecessary to remark, that the superstition of the writer is in this passage conspicuous. Diodorus Siculus is most sagacious when he says that Leutychides, and those who were with him, knew nothing of the victory of Platea; but that they contrived this stratagem to animate their troops. Polyænus relates the same in his Strategemata.—*Larcher.*

CIV. The Milesians had been ordered, the better to provide for the safety of the Persians, to guard the paths to the heights, so that in case of accident, the Barbarians, under their guidance, might take refuge on the summits of Mycale: with this view, as well as to remove them to a distance, and thus guard against their perfidy, the Milesians had been so disposed: but they acted in direct contradiction to their orders. Those who fled, they introduced directly into the midst of their enemies, and finally were active beyond all the rest in putting them to the sword. In this manner did Ionia a second time revolt from the Persian power.

CV. In this battle the Athenians most distinguished themselves, and of them Hermolycus, the son of Euthynus, a man famous in the Pancratium. This man afterwards was slain in a battle at Cyrnus of Carystus, in the war betwixt the Athenians and Carystians,[2] and was buried at Geræstum. Next to the Athenians, they who obtained the greatest reputation were the Corinthians, Trœzenians, and Sicyonians.

CVI. The greater number of the Barbarians being slain, either in the battle or in the pursuit, the Greeks burned their ships, and totally destroyed their wall: the plunder they collected upon the shore, amongst which was a considerable quantity of money. Having done this, they sailed from the coast. When they came to Samos, they deliberated on the propriety of removing the Ionians[3] to some other place, wishing to place them in some part of Greece where their authority was secure; but they determined to abandon Ionia to the Barbarians. They were well aware both of the impossibility of defending the Ionians on every emergence, and of the danger which these would incur from the Persians if they did not. The Peloponnesian magistrates were of opinion that those nations who had embraced the cause of the Medes should be expelled, and their lands given to the Ionians. The Athenians would not consent that the Ionians should be transported from their country, nor would they allow the Peloponnesians to decide on the destruction of Athenian colonies. Seeing them tenacious of this opinion, the Peloponnesians no longer opposed them. Afterward the people of Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and the other islands who had assisted with their arms in the present exigence, were received into the general confederacy, having by an oath promised constant and inviolable fidelity. This ceremony performed, they sailed towards the Hellespont, meaning to destroy the bridge, which they expected to find in its original state.

CVII. The Barbarians who saved themselves by flight, came to the heights of Mycale, and thence escaped in no great numbers to Sardis. During the retreat, Masistes, son of Darius, who had been present at the late unfortunate engagement, severely reproached Artaynes the commander-in-chief: amongst other things, he said, that in the execution of his duty he had behaved more like a woman[4] than a man, and had materially injured the interest of his master. To say that a man is more dastardly than a woman, is with the Persians the most infamous of all reproaches. Artayntes, after bearing the insult for some time, became at length so exasperated, that he drew his scymitar, intending to kill Masistes. He was prevented by Xenagoras, son of Praxilaus, a native of Halicarnassus, who happening to be behind Artayntes, seized him by the middle, and threw him to the ground: at the same time the guards of Masistes came up. Xenagoras by this action not only obtained the favour of Masistes, but so much obliged Xerxes, by thus preserving his brother, that he was honoured with the government of all Cilicia. Nothing farther of consequence occurred in their way to Sardis, where they found the king, who after his retreat from Athens, and his ill success at sea, had there resided.

CVIII. Xerxes, during his residence at

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2 *Carystians.*]—The Athenians had war also with the Carystians, in which the rest of Eubœa took no part. It finished by a treaty. See Thucydides, l. i. c. 98.

3 *Removing the Ionians.*]—Twice, says the Abbe Bartelemy, in his Voyage de Jeune Anacharsis, might this people have withdrawn themselves from the dominion of Persia; once by following the counsel of Bias, the other in complying with the will of the Lacedæmonians, who after the Persian war offered to transport them into Greece. They constantly refused to forsake their residence; and if it be permitted to judge from their populousness and wealth, independence was not essential to their happiness.—*T.*

4 *Like a woman.*]—This reproach seems anciently to have been considered as the most contemptuous that could be imagined. Xerxes with this inveighed against his troops at Salamis. See also the speech of Thersites in the second book of the Iliad:

O women of Achaia, men no more,
Hence let us fly, and let him waste his store
In loves and pleasures on the Phrygian shore.

This expression in Greek is Αχαιΐδες ουκετ' Αχαιοι.—*T.*

Sardis, had attached himself to the wife of Masistes, who happened to be there at the same time. He was unable to obtain his wishes by presents, and out of respect to his brother he forbore to use violence. The woman, convinced that he would not force her, was restrained by the same consideration. Xerxes, perceiving his other efforts ineffectual, resolved to marry his own son Darius to the daughter of this woman by Masistes, thinking by these means to obtain the more easy accomplishment of his desires. The marriage being solemnized with the accustomed ceremonies, he departed for Susa. On his arrival here, his son's wife was received into his palace: the wife of Masistes no longer engaged his attention, but changing the object of his passion, he connected himself with the wife of his son, the daughter of his brother. Her name was Artaynta.

CIX. This intrigue was afterwards discovered in the following manner: Amestris[1] the wife of Xerxes presented her husband with a large embroidered and beautiful vest, which she herself had made; Xerxes was much delighted with it, and putting it on, went to visit Artaynta; in an emotion of love, he desired her to ask as a compensation for her favours whatever she wished, promising faithfully to gratify her. To this, impelled by the evil destiny of her whole family, she replied; "and will you really, Sir, grant me what I shall ask?" Xerxes, never supposing she would require what she did, promised with an oath that he would. The woman confidently demanded his robe. Xerxes at first refused her, fearing that Amestris would thus be convinced of what she had long suspected. Instead of what she solicited, he promised her cities, a prodigious quantity of gold, and the sole command[2] of a large body of troops: which last is amongst the Persians esteemed a most distinguished honour. Unable to change her purpose, he gave her the robe; delighted with which, she wore it with exultation.

CX. Amestris soon heard of her having it, and thus learning what had happened, was exasperated, not against the young woman herself, but against her mother, whom alone she considered as criminal, and the cause of the mischief; she accordingly determined on her destruction. Waiting therefore for the solemnity of the royal festival, which is held once in every year, on the birth-day of the king, she took this opportunity of requesting Xerxes to give her the wife of Masistes. This festival is called in the Persian tongue Tycta, in the Greek Teleion, or Perfect, upon which the king alone decorates his head, and makes presents to the Persians. Xerxes however thought the giving away the person of his brother's wife both cruel and detestable. He was satisfied that she was innocent of the crime imputed to her, and he could not be ignorant with what motive Amestris had made her request.

CXI. Conquered at length by her importunity, as well as by the law of custom, which compelled the king on every occasion of this festival to give what was required of him, he granted what she asked, though with extreme reluctance: giving therefore the woman to his wife, he told her to use her as she might think proper; but he immediately sent for his brother, whom he thus addressed: "Masistes, you are a son of Darius, and my brother, and besides this you enjoy a fair reputation: do not any more connect yourself with your present wife; I will give you my daughter in her place. It is my pleasure that you accept of her, and repudiate the other." "Sir," replied Masistes, in great astonishment, "what am I to understand from this discourse? would you have me reject a woman agreeable so me in all respects, by whom I have had three sons as well as daughters: one of whom you have married to your own son: and doing this afterwards marry your daughter? Indeed, O king, though I esteem your offer as the highest honour, I cannot accept it. Do not compel me to this measure, for you can have no motive for doing so; you may find a husband for your daughter no less suitable than myself; suffer me therefore to live with my wife as usual." To this Xerxes in great anger made answer: "You shall neither, Masistes, marry my daughter, nor continue to

1 *Amestris.*]—Many learned men, and Scaliger among others, pretend that this princess is the same with queen Esther. A vain similitude of name, the cruelty of Amestris, of which Herodotus gives various examples, the barbarity with which Esther treated the ten children of Haman, and the enemies of the Jews, have given rise to this supposition; but Esther was of a Jewish, Amestris of a Persian family. The father of this last was a satrap, named Onophas, according to Ctesias, and Otanes, according to Herodotus. If any stress were to be laid on a mere name, we might as well affirm that Esther was the same as Atossa, for she was also called Hadassa; but in my opinion, we ought not to conclude that Darius was the same with Ahasuerus.—*Larcher.*

2 *Sole command.*]—Evelthon, king of Cyprus, was more wise: he gave to Pheretima any thing rather than an army.—See b. iv. 162.—*Larcher.*

enjoy your present wife, that you may learn in future to accept what I propose." Masistes upon this retired, saying only, "you have not, O king, taken away my life."

CXII. Whilst Xerxes was engaged in this conference with his brother, Amestris, sending for the royal guards, mutilated the wife of Masistes, cutting off her breasts, and throwing them to the dogs.[3] She afterwards cut off her nose, her ears, her lips, and her tongue, and in this condition sent her home.

CXIII. Masistes, entirely ignorant of what had happened, yet fearful of some impending calamity, returned hastily to his house. When he saw the situation of his wife, he immediately, after consulting with his children, fled with some adherents to Bactria, with the intention of exciting that province to revolt, and of doing the king essential injury. If he had once arrived in Bactria, among the Sacæ, this I beleave would have been accomplished; he was the governor of Bactria, and exceedingly beloved in his province. But Xerxes having intelligence of his designs, sent a body of forces against him, who intercepting him in his progress, put him, his children, and his followers, to death. So much for the amour of Xerxes, and the death of Masistes.

CXIV. The Greeks, sailing from Mycale towards the Hellespont, were obliged by contrary winds to put in at Lectum; thence they proceeded to Abydos. Here they found the bridge, which they imagined was entire, and which was the principal object of their voyage, effectually broken down. They on this held a consultation; Leutychides, and the Lacedæmonians with him, were for returniug to Greece; the Athenians, with their leader Xanthippus, advised them to continue where they were, and make an attempt on the Chersonese. The Peloponnesians returned; but the Athenians, passing from Abydos to the Chersonese, laid siege to Sestos.

CXV. To this place, as by far the strongest in all that district, great numbers had retired from the neighbouring towns, as soon as it was known that the Greeks were in the Hellespont: among others was Œobazus of Cardia, a Persian who had previously collected here what remained of the bridge. The town itself was possessed by the native Ætolians, but they had with them a great number of Persians and other allies.

CXVI. The governor of this place under Xerxes, was Artayctes, a Persian, of a cruel and profligate character. He had circumvented Xerxes when on his way to Athens, and had fraudulently taken from Elæos the wealth of Protesilaus[4] the son of Iphiclus. In Elæos of the Chersonese, was a tomb of Protesilaus, in the centre of a shrine which had been erected to his honour. Here were considerable riches, a number of gold and silver vessels, besides brass, vests, and many votive offerings; of all these Artayctes possessed himself, having first insidiously obtained the king's sanction.—"Sir," said he, "there is in this country the house of a Greek, who entering your dominions with an armed force, met with the death he merited. Give it to me, as an example to others, not to commit hostilities in your empire." The king, having no suspicion of his object, was without difficulty persuaded to grant him the house. Artayctes asserted that Protesilaus had committed hostilities within the king's dominions, because the Persians consider all Asia as their own,[5] and the property of the reigning monarch. Having by the king been rendered master of all this wealth, he removed it to Sestos, the ground which it had before occupied at Elæos, he ploughed and planted; and as often as he went there afterwards, he enjoyed his wives in the sanctuary. At this time he was closely besieged by the

3 *To the dogs.*]—This horrid act of female cruelty in some degree justifies the strong expression of Ovid:

Sed neque fulvus aper media tam sævus in ira est,
Fulmineo rapidos dum rotat ore canes,
Nec lea quum catulis lactantibus ubera præbet,
Nec brevis ignaro vipera læsa pede,
Fœmina quam socii deprehensa pellice lecti
Audet, et in vultu pignora mentis habet,
In ferrum flammasque ruit.

See some instances of extraordinary female cruelty recorded by Stephens, in his Apology for Herodotus, one of which is so horrible, as almost to exceed the imagination. A young woman deserted by her lover, by whom she was with child, used violence to make herself miscarry three months before her time, and then murdered her infant with the most shocking and terrible barbarity. It is impossible, says Dr. Prideaux, that a woman of so vile and abominable a character as this Amestris was, could ever have been that queen of Persia, who by the name of Esther is so renowned in Holy Writ, and is there recorded as the instrument by which God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them.—*T.*

4 *Protesilaus.*]—He was a Thessalian; he went to the siege of Troy at the head of the troops of Phylace, Pyrrhasus, Itene, &c. He was killed by a Trojan as he disembarked. Various opinions are found in the Scholiast on Homer on this subject. Some affirm, according to that, that the Trojan who slew him was Æneas, others that it was Euphorbus. Some assign to Hector the honour of his death, others to Achates.—*Larcher.*

5 *As their own.*]—See book i. c. 135.

Greeks, unprepared for defence, and not expecting these enemies, who came upon him by surprise.

CXVII. Whilst they were prosecuting the siege, the autumn arrived. The Athenians, unable to make themselves masters of the place, and uneasy at being engaged in an expedition so far from their country, entreated their leaders to conduct them home. They, in return, refused to do this, till they should either succeed in their enterprise, or be recalled by the people of Athens, so intent were they on the business before them.

CXVIII. The besieged, who were with Artayctes, were reduced to such extremity of wretchedness, that they were obliged to boil for food, the cords of which their beds were composed. When these also were consumed, Artayctes, Œobazus, with some other Persians, fled, under cover of the night, escaping by an avenue behind the town, which happened not to be blockaded by the enemy. When the morning came, the people of the Chersonese made signals to the Athenians from the turrets, and opened to them the gates. The greater part commenced a pursuit of the Persians, the remainder took possession of the town.

CXIX. Æobazus fled into Thrace; but he was here seized by the Apsinthians, and sacrificed, according to their rites, to their god Pleistorus:[1] his followers were put to death in some other manner. Artayctes and his adherents, who fled the last, were overtaken near the waters of Ægos, where, after a vigorous defence, part were slain and part taken prisoners. The Greeks put them all in chains, Artayctes and his son with the rest, and carried them to Sestos.

1 *Pleistorus.*]—This deity, barbarous as the people by whom he was worshipped, is totally unknown. The sacrifices offered to him induce me to conjecture, that it was the god of war, whom the Scythians represented under the form of a sword. These people, over a large vessel, cut the throat of every hundredth prisoner, wetting the sword with their blood. The same custom prevailed among the Huns.—See *Ammianus Marcellinus*, l. xxxi. c. 2. The Cilicians paid the god of war a worship savage like this; they suspended the victim, whether a man or an animal, from a tree, and going to a small distance, killed it with their spears.—*Larcher.*

Cruel as these customs may appear, yet prevailing among a rude and uncivilized people, they are no more to be justified, than the unprovoked and unnatural inhumanity practised at Tauris. Here every stranger, whom accident or misfortune brought to their coast, was sacrificed to Diana.—See *The Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides.*—*T.*

CXX. It is reported by the people of the Chersonese, that the following prodigy happened to one of those whose business was to guard the prisoners. This man was broiling some salt fish; having put them on the fire, they moved and skipped about like fish lately taken; the standers-by expressing their astonishment at this, Artayctes, who also beheld the prodigy, sent for the man to whom it had happened, and spoke to him as follows: "My Athenian friend, be not alarmed at this prodigy, it has no reference to you, it regards me alone. Protesilaus of Elæos, although dead and embalmed in salt, shows that he has power from the gods to inflict vengeance on the man who injured him. I am therefore disposed to satisfy him for my ransom. In place of the money, which I took from his temple, I will give him a hundred talents; for my son's life, and my own, I will give the Athenians two hundred more." These offers had no effect upon Xanthippus the Athenian general; he was of himself inclined to put the man to death, to which he was farther importuned by the people of Elæos, who were very earnest to have the cause of Protesilaus avenged. Conducting him therefore to the shore where the bridge of Xerxes had been constructed, they there crucified him; though some say this was done upon an eminence near the city of Madytus. The son was stoned in his father's presence.

CXXI. The Athenians after the above transactions, returned to Greece, carrying with them, besides vast quantities of money, the fragments of the bridge, to be suspended in their temples. During the remainder of the year they continued inactive.

CXXII. Of this Artayctes, who was crucified, the grandfather by the father's side was Artembares, who drew up an address for the Persians, which they approving, presented to Cyrus; it was to this effect: "Since, O Cyrus, Jupiter has given to the Persians, and by the degradation of Astyages to you, uncontrolled dominion, suffer us to remove from our present confined and sterile region to a better. We have the choice of many, near and at a distance; let us occupy one of these, and become examples of admiration to the rest of mankind. This is a conduct becoming those whose superiority is conspicuous: we can never have a fairer opportunity of doing this, being at the head of so many people, and masters of all

Asia." Cyrus, though he did not approve what they said, told them they might do so: but he added, that by taking such a step, they must learn in future not to command but to obey. It was the operation of nature, that luxurious countries should render men effeminate,[2] for delicacies and heroes were seldom the produce of the same soil. The Persians yielded to these sentiments of Cyrus and abandoned their own. They chose rather a less pleasant country with dominion, than a fairer one with servitude.

2 *Effeminate.*]—Hippocrates confirms what is here asserted by Herodotus. After describing the advantages which the temperate parts of Asia possess over Greece; he adds, that the men there are not naturally valiant, and are unwilling to support fatigues and hardships. This sentiment is approved by experience. Greece subdued Asia, the Romans became masters of both those countries, and if they also conquered the Gauls, the Germans, and other nations of the north, it was because these were undisciplined and ignorant of the art of war. When they became so, they in their turn subdued the lords of the world, and dismembered their empire. The Franks vanquished the Gauls, the Lombards, and the Visigoths of Spain. In a word, it is always to be observed, that the people of the north have the advantage over those of the south.—*Larcher.*

The ninth cannot be thought the least interesting of the books of Herodotus. The battles of Platea and Mycale would alone claim attention, without those beautiful moral sentiments which we find every where interspersed in it. The behaviour of Pausanias after his victory, his dignity, moderation, and modesty, are admirably described; his continence, with respect to the mistress of Pharandates, may, for any thing I see to the contrary in either history, well be put on a par with the so much vaunted temperance of Scipio on a similar occasion. The concluding sentiment, which teaches that the dispositions of men should be conformed to the nature of the soil and climate in which they are born, is alike admirable for the simplicity with which it is conveyed, and the philosophic truth which it inculcates. —*T.*

INDEX.

C

D

E

F

G

I

M

P

V

W

X

THE END.